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Library of the University of Michigan
The Coryl Collection.

Miss Jean L. Coryl
of Detroit
in memory of her brother
Col. William Henry Coryl
1894.

TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF JAPAN.

VOL. XXI.

YOKOHAMA:

R. MEIKLEJOHN & Co., No 49.

1893.

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ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

MINUTES OF MEETINGS.

Meeting of October 12th, 1892.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's rooms, No. 17 Tsukiji, on Wednesday, October 12th, 1892, at 4 p.m.; the Rev. George William Knox, D.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting, having been published in the *Japan Mail*, were taken as read.

The election of J. T. Swift, Esq., of Tokyo, and Rev. J. L. Patton, of Mayebashi, to membership in the Society, was reported by the Corresponding Secretary.

Professor Milne brought forward and, after some explanatory remarks, moved his amendment to the sixth Article of the Constitution of the Society, as proposed by him at the last General Meeting. Mr. White seconded the motion, and, after remarks in favor of the amendment by Dr. Divers and Mr. Tyng, the motion was put to vote and carried unanimously.

Mr. Wigmore's "Special Report on Materials for the Study of Private Law in Old Japan" was taken as read.

The Chairman then called on the Librarian, Mr. White, who in the absence of the author read extracts from a paper on "Date Masamune" by C. Meriwether, Esq.

The Chairman, with Dr. Divers, Mr. White and Mr. Perin, took part in the brief discussion which followed. Some photographs illustrative of the paper were then handed about for inspection.

The Chairman thanked the author in the name of the Society for his valuable contribution, and the meeting then adjourned.

Meeting of February 15th, 1893.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the

rooms of the Society, No. 17, Tsukiji, on Wednesday, February 15th, 1893, at 4 p.m.; the Rev. George William Knox, D.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

From the Council the Corresponding Secretary reported the election of the following members :—on November 2nd, 1892, Dr. J. C. Hepburn, as an honorary member ;—on December 7th, 1892, Rev. Otis Cary, Rev. J. A. B. Scherer and Prof. Edmund Buckley as ordinary members, and Sir James Lyall, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G. as a life member ; on February 8th, 1893, Dr. K. Florenz and Rev. R. A. Thomson as ordinary members and A. Chion, Esq., as a life member ; and on February 15th, 1893, the Rev. John Wier as an ordinary member.

Thereafter a paper was read by Percival Lowell, Esq., on "Esoteric Shintōism."

In the discussion which followed this interesting paper Mr. W. B. Mason said that he had heard of walking over fire, but as a Buddhistic ceremony. The Chairman said that he had heard of such phenomena as connected with Ryobu-Shintō, not with pure Shintō. Mr. Lowell said that in another paper he would give an explanation of the connection of these phenomena with Buddhism.

The Chairman in the name of the Society thanked Mr. Lowell for his valuable contribution to its Transactions. A paper by Mr. E. H. Parker, entitled "Touching Burmese, Japanese, Chinese, and Korean," was taken as read.

The meeting then adjourned.

Meeting of March 8th, 1893.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the rooms of the Society at No. 17 Tsukiji, on Wednesday, March 8th, 1893, at 4 p.m.; the Vice-President, Rev. George William Knox, D. D., in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

A paper entitled "Esoteric Shintōism—Part Second," was then read by its author, Percival Lowell, Esq. This was a continuation of the paper read by the same author before the Society, February 15th, 1893.

In the discussion which followed this suggestive paper the Rev Dr. Greene spoke of a conversation with one of his servants who

had told him of a custom in one district of the province of Ise for the men at the ages of 17, 25 and 42 years to go to the temple for special religious services in which the worshipper was put into some such trance as Mr. Lowell had described.

Mr. CLAY MCCAULEY questioned whether there were more instances of cataleptic conditions in Japan than elsewhere and spoke of cases within his own observation in America which illustrated a similar mental state. He considered these phenomena merely an abnormal development of our own natural faculties and regarded Mr. Lowell's contributions to this subject as of much importance. He looked for great gain from the better knowledge of these little understood endowments of the human mind.

Mr. MILNE asked Mr. Lowell if he were quite sure of the genuineness of the manifestations which he had described, and if he had really tested the physical sensibility of Shintō occultists when in a state of trance by running pins into them. Mr. Lowell replied that there was no mistake about it, and he had chosen the body of the subject between the shoulders as the most sensitive part for the test. No sign of feeling had been shown though he ran the pin repeatedly into the flesh.

Mr. Lowell controverted Mr. McCauley's view that there was as much of the sort of thing described in the paper to be found in America as in Japan. He also differed in his estimate of the value of the results to flow from a knowledge of such conditions. To him they seemed like atavism.

Messrs. Liscomb, Mason and White also took part in the discussion and asked questions which Mr. Lowell answered, giving an illustration of the finger charms and chant referred to in the paper.

The Chairman expressed his interest in the subject, and in conveying the thanks of the meeting and the Society to the author for his interesting contribution the hope was expressed that Mr. Lowell would follow up what he had already written by yet other papers.

The meeting then adjourned.

Meeting of April 12th, 1893.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the rooms of the Society, No. 17, Tsukiji, on Wednesday, April 12th, 1893, at 4 p.m.; the Rev. George William Knox, D.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

It was reported from the Council that the Rev. Clay McCauley had resigned his office as Corresponding Secretary on account of his approaching departure for America, and J. H. Longford, Esq., had been elected to the office in his room.

It was also announced that Dr. K. Miyabe, of Sapporo, had been elected as an ordinary member.

Mr. S. TSUDA, of Tokyo, exhibited to the meeting a machine invented and used by Inō Chukei, the eminent Japanese surveyor and cartographer of nearly one hundred years ago, about whom a paper by Dr. Cargill G. Knott was published in Volume XVI, part II, at page 193, of the Transactions of the Society. This machine had been found by Mr. Tsuda in the possession of a descendant of Inō Chukei. It was so made as to measure and register the distance over which it might be drawn up to 100,000 *ken;* and at the same time, if taken backward, the machine would subtract the distance so retravelled.

Dr. Divers said that he had supposed all of Inō's instruments were enclosed in his monument erected not many years ago in Tōkyō. Mr. Milne remarked that he had understood that it was the compass only which had been so enclosed. The Chairman returned the thanks of the Society to Mr. Tsuda for his interesting contribution to the meeting. Mr. Tsuda's remarks were translated by his son.

A paper on "Ainu Economic Plants," written by Rev. John Batchelor and Dr. K. Miyabe was then presented and extracts therefrom were read in the absence of the authors by Mr. Milne, who supplemented what he read by remarks from his own observations in Hokkaidō.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. Tsuda, Dr. Divers, the Chairman, and Dr. Seymour bore a part.

The Chairman extended the thanks of the Society to the authors for their valuable paper and to Mr. Milne for reading it.

The meeting then adjourned.

Meeting of May 17th, 1893.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in its rooms at No. 17, Tsukiji, on Wednesday, May 17th, 1893, at 4 p.m.; the Vice-President, Rev. George William Knox, D.D., in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The Chairman then called on Mr. Percival Lowell, who read a paper on "Pilgrimages and the Pilgrim Clubs." The author prefaced his paper by the remark that it was a part of the same series as the two preceding papers already read by him before the Society during this session.

In the discussion which followed Dr. Divers asked if there were not records of pilgrimages and god-possession between the time of the Kojiki and the Meiji era, to which Mr. Lowell replied that there were isolated cases, but he thought that Buddhism had to be removed by the purification of Shintō, which took place in the Meiji era, before such phenomena could attain their present importance. He was quite clear that they were purely Japanese.

The Chairman thought it might be necessary to know more about China before one could be sure as to this last point. He also questioned whether the phenomena were properly called esoteric, seeing the openness of their performance. Mr. Lowell's answer was that the methods of producing the result were guarded with secrecy.

After thanking the author for his interesting paper, the Chairman declared the meeting adjourned.

ANNUAL MEETING.

June 14th, 1893.

The Annual General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the rooms of the Society at No. 17, Tsukiji, Tōkyō, on Wednesday, June 14th, 1893, at 4 p.m., with the Vice-President, Rev. George William Knox, D.D., in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

It was announced from the Council that Dr. Augustus Wood had been elected to membership in the Society.

Dr. Divers gave notice of a motion to be voted on at the next General Meeting by which Article XII of the Constitution would be so amended as to change the time of Annual Meeting from June to November.

Dr. SEYMOUR gave the like notice of a motion to amend Article II of the Constitution so as to require from non-resident members a life composition payment of $20, instead of $16, as at present.

The Chairman announced that Professor Chamberlain was prevented by illness from being present, but that Mr. Longford had kindly consented to read the paper in the author's absence. Mr. Longford then read Professor Chamberlain's paper on "The Manners and Customs of the Loochooans."

The Chairman conveyed the thanks of the meeting to the author for his very interesting and valuable contribution and to Mr. Longford for his kindness in reading it.

A recess of ten minutes was then taken to enable the large audience to inspect the many objects illustrating the paper which the writer had brought from the Loochoo Islands, and sent to the meeting.

After the recess the Council's Annual Report for the Session just closing and the Treasurer's Statement of Account with the Society for the year were read; and upon motion were duly accepted and adopted.

They were as follows:—

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN FOR THE SESSION, OCTOBER 1892 TO JUNE 1893.

The Session just closing is one in which the Society has, without special incident, prosperously carried forward its usual work.

Six General Meetings have been held during the year, one each in October, March, April, May and June. The number of such meetings is the same as last year, and they have been well attended and interesting. A list of the papers read is appended as usual.

The accessions to membership in the Society for the year number fourteen, of whom three are life members; and honorary membership was conferred upon Dr. J. C. Hepburn.

In the death of Major-General H. S. Palmer the Society lost a valued member who had been a recent contributor to its Transactions. Five members have resigned during the year, and in other ways the roll of membership has been further depleted by seven names. At present there are fourteen honorary members, seventy-one life members, and one hundred and twelve ordinary members, making a total membership of 197.

Under the Amendment to the Constitution passed October 12th, 1892, by which resident members are permitted to compound their payments, twenty-six of such members have taken advantage of the opportunity thus given them to become life members of the Society. The aggregate of payments made by them under this rule amounts to $190.50.

The finances of the Society are in a prosperous condition, as will be seen from the Treasurer's Report, which forms an appendix hereto. For printing, according to the accounts herewith submitted, the Society has expended during this session more than twice as much as was given to that object last year ; and yet the present balance shows a decrease of some $72 only as compared with the balance of 1892. Since May 31st last, however, other heavy bills for printing have been paid, thus materially decreasing the balance now in hand. The Society cannot of course continue to make so liberal a return in the way of printed matter to its members unless large permanent additions can be made to its regular sources of income. There have been some changes in the officers and Council during the session. Mr. Wyckoff asked to be relieved of his duties as Treasurer, and Dr. Seymour, having returned to Japan at the time, was invited to resume that office. Messrs. J. H. Wigmore, a Councillor, J. K. Goodrich, the Recording Secretary for Yokohama, and Clay MacCauley, the Corresponding Secretary, resigned from the Council by reason of departure from Japan. Mr. Wyckoff was elected to the Council in the room of Mr. Wigmore ; Mr. Longford was made Corresponding Secretary in place of Mr. MacCauley, and the position of Recording Secretary for Yokohama, falling vacant near the end of the session, has been left unfilled till this meeting. Mr. Liscomb was elected to the Council to fill a vacancy.

The Council, while expressing their thanks for papers already received as well as for those of which they have the promise, desire to encourage yet other members to become contributors to the Transactions of the Society. It may not be amiss to repeat that papers need not be long or exhaustive in order to be acceptable.

The Society's Transactions continue to have a good sale, as will be seen from the accounts. The amount received during the present year is $323.31 ; and while this is less than the receipts from the same source in the last session, it must be borne in mind that during that time the receipts were abnormally large because of long outstanding arrears which were then collected from London agents.

A statement of the stock of Transactions possessed by the Society is made in an appendix to this report. The value of this stock at list prices is $14,194.00.

Tōkyō, June 14th, 1893.

Appendix A.

List of papers read before the Society during the session 1892-93.

"Report by the Editor on Materials for the study of Private Law in Old Japan," by J. H. Wigmore, Esq.

"Date Masamune," by C. Meriwether, Esq.

"Esoteric Shintōism," by Percival Lowell, Esq.

"Touching Burmese, Japanese, Chinese and Korean," by E. H. Parker, Esq.

"Esoteric Shintōism, Part Second," by Percival Lowell, Esq.

"Ainu Economic Plants," by Rev John Batchelor and Dr. K. Miyabe.

"Pilgrimages and the Pilgrim Clubs," by Percival Lowell, Esq.

"On the Manners and Customs of the Loochooans," by B. H. Chamberlain, Esq.,

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Appendix B.

The Hon. Treasurer in Account with the Asiatic Society of Japan for the Year ending May 31st, 1893.

Dr.

To Balance from Last Year		$ 2,318.435
To Entrance Fees		75.000
To Yearly Subscriptions		587.000
To Non-resident Life Subscriptions		96.750
To Resident Members Life Commutation Subscriptions		190.500
To Sale of Transactions		323.310
To Interest at Bank	On fixed deposit 61.25 On current ac't. 15.47	76.720
		$ 3,667.715

Cr.

By Messrs. Meiklejohn & Co. for Printing	$ 1,176.250
By Officers of Council for Postage, Expressage etc. ..	78.405
By Mr. Ushiba for Translation	25.000
By Mr. MacArthur for Freight	8.750
By Seishibunsha for Printing	.500
By Rent of No. 17 Tsukiji..	100.000
By Insurance of Library and Transactions	32.500
	$ 1,421.405

Balance

Cash in hands of H. & S. B. Cor.	$887.720	
On Fixed Deposit	1,286.250	2,246.310
Cash in hands of Teasurer	72.340	
		$ 3,667.715

Audited with Vouchers and found correct.

YEEND DUER,
W. B. MASON, } Auditors.

Appendix C.

List of Exchanges.

Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia ; Proceedings.
" " Sciences of Finland (Acta Societatis Scientiarum Finnicæ).
Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India ; Journal.
American Association for the Advancement of Science.
" Geographical Society, New York ; Bulletin and Journal.
" Oriental Society, New Haven ; Journal.
Annalen des K. K. Natur Hist. Hofmuseum, Wien.
Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.
Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien ; Mitheilungen.
Asiatic Society of Bengal ; Journal and Proceedings.
Australian Association for the Advancement of Science.
" Museum, Sydney.
Bataviasch Genootschap ; Notulen. Tidjschrift. Verhandlungen.
Boston Society of Natural History ; Proceedings.
Bureau of Ethnology, Annual Report ; Washington.
" " Education. Circulars of Information ; Washington.

California Academy of Sciences.
" State Mining Bureau; Report.
Canadian Institute, Toronto; Proceedings and Report.
China Review; Hongkong.
Chinese Recorder; Shanghai.
Cochinchine Française, Excursions et Reconnaisances, Saigon.
Cosmos; di Guido Cora, Turin.
Deutsche Gesellschaft fur Natur-und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Tōkyō: Mittheilungen.
Geological Survey of India; Records.
Geographical and Natural History Survey of Canada.
Handelsmuseum, Wien.
Harvard University, Museum of Comparative Zoology; Bulletin, Papers, etc.
Imperial Observatory, Rio Janeiro.
Imperial Russian Geographical Society; Bulletin and Report.
" Society of the Friends of Natural Science (Moscow) Section of Anthropology and Ethnography; Transactions.
Imperial University of Japan, College of Science; Journal.
Japan Weekly Mail, Yokohama,
Johns Hopkins University Publications, Baltimore.
Journal Asiatique, Paris.
Kaiserliche Leopoldinische Carolinishe Deutsche Akademie der Naturforsche; Verhandlungen, Nova Acta.
Musee Guimet, Lyons; Annales et Revue, etc.
Oesterreichische Monatsschrift fur den Orient.
Observatorio Astronomico Nacional de Tacubaya, Anuario, Mexico.
" Meteorologico, Monte Video.
Ornithologischer Verein in Wien, Mittheilungen.
Peking Oriental Society; Transactions.
Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain; Journal, etc.
" " " Bombay Branch; Journal.
" " " Ceylon Branch; Journal and Proceedings.
" " " China Branch; Journal.
" " " Straits Branch; Journal.
" Dublin Society, Scientific Transactions.
" Geographical Society; Proceedings.
" " " New South Wales Branch.
" Society, London; Proceedings.
" " of Edinburgh; Proceedings.
" " New South Wales.
" " Tasmania.

Royal Society of Queensland.
Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C.; Report, etc.
Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid; Boletin.
" de Geographia de Lisboa, Boletin, Lisbon.
Société Académique Indo-Chinoise, Saigon.
" de Géographie; Bulletin et Compte Rendu des Séances, Paris.
" des Etudes Japonaises, Chinoises, etc., Saigon.
" d'Anthropologie de Paris; Bulletins et Mémoires.
" d'Ethnographie, Bulletin, Paris.
Société Neuchateloise de Géographie, Bulletin, Neuchatel.
Sydney, Council of Education, Report.
University of Toronto.
United States Geological Survey.
" " Department of Agriculture.

Appendix D.

Statement of the Stock of Transactions Possessed by the Society.

Number in Stock.		Parts.	Price.
130	Vol. I.	single part (reprinted).	$1.50
124	Vol. II.	single part (reprinted).	2.00
173	Vol. III.	Part 1 (reprinted)	1.50
217	"	Part 2 (reprinted)	1.50
120	"	Appendix (reprinted)	1.00
219	Vol. IV.	single part –(reprinted)	1.00
217	Vol. V.	Part 1 (reprinted)	1.00
240	"	" 2 (reprinted)	1.00
223	Vol. VI.	Part 1 (reprinted)	1.00
262	"	" 2 (reprinted)	1.00
264	"	" 3 (reprinted)	1.00
253	Vol. VII.	Part 1 (reprinted)	1.00
258	"	" 2 (reprinted)	50

Number in Stock.		Parts.	Price.
275	Vol VII.	Part 3 (reprinted)	$1.00
180	"	" 4 (reprinted)	1.50
166	Vol. VIII.	Part 1	1.50
78	"	" 2	1.50
79	"	" 3	2.00
90	"	" 4	1.00
72	Vol. IX.	Part 1	1.50
68	"	" 2	1.50
115	"	" 3	1.00
86	Vol. X.	Part 1	2.00
109	"	" 2	1.50
254	"	Supplement.	4.00
106	Vol. XI.	Part 1	1.50
99	"	" 2	1.50
319	Vol. XII.	Part 1	1.00
134	"	" 2	1.00
111	"	" 3	1.00
70	"	" 4	2.00
69	Vol. XIII.	Part 1	1.00
138	"	" 2	1.00
83	Vol. XIV.	Part 1	1.50
122	"	" 2	2.00
112	Vol. XV.	Part 1	2.00
83	"	" 2	50
112	Vol. XVI.	Part 1	1.50
165	"	" 2	1.00
205	"	" 3	1.00
210	Vol. XVII.	Part 1	1.50
105	"	" 2	2.50
175	Vol. XVIII.	Part 1	1.50
252	"	" 2	1.50
277	Vol. XIX.	Part 1	2.50
291	"	" 2	3.00
256	"	" 3	1.50
149	Vol. XX.	Part 1	2.00
270	"	" 2	1.00
285	"	Supp. Pt. 1	2.00
269	"	" " 2	1.00
299	"	" " 3	4.00
243	"	" " 5	1.00

The following officers and councillors for the ensuing year were hen elected:—

PRESIDENT—B. H. Chamberlain, Esq.

VICE-PRESIDENTS—Rev. D. C. Greene, D. D.; James Troup, Esq.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY—J. H. Longford, Esq.

RECORDING SECRETARIES—Alexander Tison, Esq.; W. J. S. Shand, Esq.

TREASURER—Dr. J. N. Seymour.

LIBRARIAN—Rev. W. J. White.

COUNCILLORS.

Dr. E. Divers.	W. B. Mason, Esq.
M. N. Wyckoff, Esq.	R. Masujima, Esq.
Rev. W. I. Lawrance.	J. Milne, Esq.
Garrett Droppers, Esq.	A. B. Walford, Esq.
Rev. T. M. MacNair.	W. H. Stone, Esq.

This concluded the business of the meeting, which then adjourned.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

Honorary Members.

Alcock, K.C.B., Sir Rutherford, Athenæum Club, London, England.
Arnold, K.C.S.I., Sir Edwin, c/o Daily Telegraph Office, London, England.
Aston, C.M.G., W. G., Woodlands, Seaton, Devon, England.
Day, Prof. Geo. E., Yale College, New Haven, Conn., U. S. A.
Edkins, D.D., Rev. Joseph, Shanghai.
Franks, A. W., c/o Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, London, E. C., England.
Hannen, N. J., H. B. M. Consul General, Shanghai.
Hepburn, M.D., LL.D., J. C., 384 Williams Street, East Orange, New Jersey, U. S. A.
Norkenskjöld, Baron A., Stockholm.
Rein, Prof. J. J., Bonn-am-Rhein, Germany.
Satow, C.M.G., Ernest M., British Legation, Tangier.
Wade, K.C.B., Sir Thomas F., Cambridge, England.
Whitney, Prof. W. D., New Haven, Conn., U. S. A.

Life Members.

Amerman, D.D., Rev James L., Spring Valley, New York, U. S. A.
Anderson, F.R.C.S., W., 2 Harley Street, Cavendish Square, London.
Atkinson, B.SC., R.W., Cardiff, Wales.
Bisset, F.L.S., J.
Blanchet, Rev. C. T., Bolton, Lake George, New York.
Booth, Rev. E. S., 178 Bluff, Yokohama.

Brauns, Professor Dr. D., Halle University, Germany.
Brinkley, R.A., Capt. F., Nagatacho, Tōkyō.
Brown, Capt. A.R., Central Chambers, 109 Hope Street, Glasgow.
Carey, Rev. Otis, Karasumaru, Kyoto.
Carson, T. G., Bannfield, Coleraine, Ireland.
Center, Alex., Pacific Mail Office, San Francisco.
Clarke-Thornhill, T. B., Ruston Hall, Kettering, Northamptonshire.
Clement, E.W., 5461 Washington Ave., Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.
Conder, J., 13 Nishi Konyacho, Kyobashi, Tōkyō.
Cooper, LL.D., C. J., Hampton Lodge, Stourton near Stourbridge, Staffordshire, England.
Deas, F. W., 12 Magdala Place, Edinburgh.
Dillon, E., 13 Upper Phillimore Gardens, Kensington, London, S. W.
Divers, M.D., F.R.S., Edward, Imperial University, Tōkyō.
Dixon, F.R.S.E., J. M., 2706 Marcus Avenue, St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.
Dixon, M.A., Rev. William Gray, Warrnambooh, Victoria, Australia.
Du Bois, M.D., Francis, 27 Rue de la Lépiniére, Paris.
Eaves, Rev. Geo., Poste Restante, Denver, Colorado, U. S. A.
Eby, D.D., Rev. C. S., 16 Tatsuokacho, Hongō, Tōkyō.
Fearing, D., Newport, Rhode Island, U. S. A.
Flemmich, O. C., Alton House, Roehampton, England.
Flowers, Marcus, National Union Club, Albemarle Street, London, W.
Fraser, J. A., 216, Yokohama.
Giussani, C., 90-B, Yokohama.
Glover, T. B., 53 Koyenchi, Shiba, Tōkyō.
Gowland, W., c/o F. Dillon, Esq., 13 Upper Phillimore Gardens, Kensington, London, S. W.
Gribble, Henry, 134 Pearl Street, New York.
Hall, Frank, Elmira, Chemung Co., New York.
Hall, M.A., John Carey, H. B. M. Consul, Hakodate.
Hattori Ichizo, Educational Department, Tōkyō.
Hellyer, T. W., 210, Yokohama.
Holme, F.L.S., C., The Red House, Bixley Heath, Kent, England.
Hunt, H. J., 62 Kobe.
Keil, O., 61 Yokohama.
Kinch, Edward, Agricultural College, Cirencester, England.
Kirkwood, M., 43 Shinzaka Machi, Akasaka, Tōkyō.
Knott, D.S.C., F.R.S.E., Cargill G., Royal Society, Edinburgh.
Liberty, Lasenby, 13 Cornwall Terrace, Regents Park, London.
Longford, J. H., British Legation, Tōkyō.
Low, C. W., Powis Lodge, Vicarage Park, Plumstead, London.
Lowell, Percival, 40 Water Street, Boston. Mass., U. S. A.

Lyman, Benjamin Smith., State Geological Survey Office, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
Lyall, Sir J.,
Macdonald, M.D., Rev. D., 4 Tsukiji, Tôkyô.
Maclagan, Robert, Cadogan Place, Belgrave Square, London.
Macnab, A. J., 42 Imaicho, Azabu, Tôkyô.
Malan, Rev. C. S., Westcliff Hall, Bournemouth, England.
Marshall, D.D. T., 48 McCormick Block, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
Marshal, Prof., Queen's College, Kingston, Canada.
Milne, F.G.S., F.R.S., Professer John, 14 Kaga Yashiki, Tôkyô.
Morse, W. H., c/o Messrs. Smith, Baker & Co., No. 178, Yokohama.
Napier, H. W., Milton House, Bowling, Scotland.
Olcott, Colonel Henry S., Adgar, Madras, India.
O'Neill, John, Trafalgar House, Faversham, Kent.
Parker, E. H., H. B. M. Consul, Kiung Chow, China.
Piggott, F. T., 36 Eaton Terrace, London, S.W.
Putnam, Harrington, 45 William Street, New York.
Quin, J. J., H. B. M. Consul, Nagasaki.
Robertson, M.D., Argyll, 14 Charlotte Square, London.
Satow, F. A., 6 Queensborough Terrace, Hyde Park, London.
Stephenson, Dr. J. B., 76 Bartlett St., Roxbury, Boston, Mass., U.S.A
Stone, W. H, 3 Aoichô, Akasaka, Tôkyô.
Todd, Rev. C. J., Wentworth House, The Green, Richmond, Surrey.
Tomkinson, M., Franche Hall, near Kidderminster, England.
Trower, H. Seymour, 51 Montagu Square, London, W.
Vail, Rev. Milton C., Minami Machi, Aoyama, Tôkyô.
Walsh, T., 70 Kobe.
Warren, Very Rev. Archdeacon, 3 Concession, Osaka.
Whitney, M.D., Willis Norton, U.S. Legation, Tôkyô.
Wigmore, J. H., Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
Wilson, J. A., Hakodate.
Winstanley, A., 50 Yokohama.

Ordinary Members.

Andrews, Rev. Walter, Hakodate.
Arrivet, J. B., Koishikawa, Kanatomi-chô, Tôkyô
Baelz, M.D., E., 12 Kaga Yashiki, Hongô, Tôkyô.
Batchelor, Rev. J., c/o Rev. Walter Andrews, Hakodate.

Bickersteth, Right Reverend Bishop, 11 Sakae-chō, Shiba, Tōkyō.
Bigelow, Dr. W. S., Boston, Mass., U. S. A.
Brandram, Rev. J. B., Kumamoto.
Brown, Matthew, 111 Kobe.
Buckley, Dr., University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.
Burton, W. K., 9 Kaga Yashiki, Hongō, Tōkyō.
Cochran, D.D., Rev. G., 16 Toriizaka, Azabu, Tōkyō.
Cocking, S., 55 Yokohama.
Coudenhove, Count Henry, Austrian Legation, Tōkyō.
Cruickshank, W. J., 35 Yokohama.
Dautremer, J., Hankow, China
De Bunsen, M., British Legation, Tōkyō.
De Forest, D.D., Rev. J. H., Sendai.
Dietz, F., 70 Yokohama.
Droppers, Garrett, 71 Isarago, Takanawa, Tōkyō.
Duer, Y., 4 Mishima Bashi Dori, Shiba, Tōkyō.
Dumelin, A., 90-A Yokohama.
Enslie, J. J., British Consul, Kōbe.
Favre-Brandt, J., 145 Bluff, Yokohama.
Florenz, Dr. Karl, Imperial University, Tōkyō.
Francis, Rev. J.M., 25 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
Fraser, Hugh, British Legation, Tōkyō.
Gardiner, J. McD., 40 Tsukiji, Tōkyō
Gay, A. O., 2 Yokohama.
Goodrich, J. K., 43 West 105th Street, New York.
Greene, D.D., D. C., 24 Nakanochō, Ichigaya, Tōkyō.
Griffis, Rev. W. E., Ithaca, N. Y., U. S. A.
Griffiths, E. A., British Consulate, Kobe.
Groom, A. H., 35 Yokohama.
Gubbins, J. H., British Legation, Tōkyō.
Irwin, R. W., 5 Kiridōshi, Sakae-chō, Shiba, Tōkyō.
Isawa, S., 50 Dairokuten-chō, Koishikawa, Tōkyō.
James, F. S., 142 Yokohama.
Jamieson, G., H. B. M. Consulate General, Shanghai.
Jaudon, Peyton, 3 Aoi-chō, Akasaka, Tōkyō.
Kanō, J., Higher Normal School, Tōkyō
Kenny, W. J., British Consulate, Yokohama.
King, Rev. A. F., 11 Sakaecho, Shiba, Tōkyō.
Kirby, J. R., 8 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
Knox, D.D., G. W., Englewood, New Jersey, U. S. A.
Kobayashi, Beika, 12 Yokohama.

Lambert, E. B., Dōshisha, Kyōtō.
Lawrance, Rev. W. I., 37 Koyamacho, Mita, Tōkyō.
Lay, A. H., British Consulate, Kobe.
Layard, R. de B., British Consulate, Yokohama.
Lönholm, Dr. J., 8 Kaga Yashiki, Hongō, Tōkyō.
Lowder, J. F., 28 Yokohama.
MacCauley, Rev. Clay, Keiōgijuku, Mita, Tōkyō.
MacNair, Rev. T. M., Meiji-gakuin, Shirokane, Tōkyō.
Mason, W. B., 41 Kōenchi, Shiba, Tōkyō.
Masujima, R., 21 Hiyoshi-chō, Kyōbashi, Tōkyō.
Mayet, P.,
McKim, J., Right Rev. Bishop, 37 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
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Miller, Rev. E. Rothesay, c/o M. N. Wyckoff, Tōkyō.
Miyabe, Dr., Sapporo.
Münter, Capt., 3 Aoi-cho, Akasaka, Tōkyō,
Münzinger, Rev. K., 39 Kami Tomizaka, Tōkyō.
Norman, F., Imperial Naval College, Hiroshima.
Patton, J. L., 18 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
Perin, G. L., 15 Masago-cho, Hongō, Tōkyō.
Rentiers, J. B., British Consulate, Yokohama.
Rice, Rev. C. H., Ichigaya, Nakanocho, Ushigome, Tōkyō.
Riess, Dr. Ludwig, Tōkyō.
Ryde, Rev. F. L., Sakaecho, Shiba Tōkyō.
Scherer, Rev. J. A. B., Saga, Hizen.
Schurr, G. J. H., 16 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
Scriba, M.D., J., 13 Kaga Yashiki, Hongō, Tōkyō.
Seymour, B.A., M.D., J. N., 16 Hirakawa chō, Kojimachi, Tōkyō.
Shand, W. J. S., 4-B. Yokohama.
Shaw, Ven. Archdeacon, 14 Iigura, Rokuchōme, Tōkyō.
Smith, Rev. G. T., 152 Higashi-katamachi, Komagome, Hongō, Tōkyō.
Soper, Rev. Julius, Hakodate.
Spencer, Rev. J. O., Aoyama, Tōkyō.
Spinner, W., 12 Suzukichō, Surugadai, Tōkyō.
Swift, J. S., 85 Myogadani, Tōkyō.
Taft, G. W., Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
Takaki, Dr., 10 Nishi-konya-chō, Kyōbashi, Tōkyō.
Thompson, A. W., 18 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
Thomson, Rev. R. A., 37 Hill Kobe.
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Trevithick, F. H., Shimbashi Station, Tōkyō.

Troup, James, British Consulate, Yokohama (2).
Tsuda, Sen, Shimbori, Azabu, Tōkyō.
Tyng, Rev. T. S., 29 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
Van de Polder, L., Netherlands Legation, Tōkyō.
Van der Heyden, M.D., W., General Hospital, Yokohama.
Vassillief, T., Imperial Russian Legation, Tōkyō.
Walford, A. B., 10 Yokohama.
Walter, W. B., 1 Yokohama.
Weipert, Dr. H., German Legation, Tōkyō.
Wier, Rev. John, Eiwa Gakko, Aoyama, Tōkyō.
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Wileman, A. E., British Legation, Tōkyō.
Wood, Dr., Imperial University, Tōkyō.
Wyckoff, M. N., c/o Meiji-gakuin, Shirokane, Tōkyō.
Yatabe, B.SC., R., Fujimi-chō, Kōjimachi, Tōkyō.

THE

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

Revised October 12th, 1893.

THE

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OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

Revised October 12th, 1893.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

Revised October 12th, 1893.

NAME AND OBJECTS.

Art. I. The Name of the Society shall be THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

Art. II. The object of the Society shall be to collect and publish information on subjects relating to Japan and other Asiatic Countries.

Art. III. Communications on other subjects may, within the discretion of the Council, be received by the Society but shall not be published among the Papers forming the Transactions.

MEMBERSHIP.

Art. IV. The Society shall consist of Honorary and Ordinary Members.

Art. V. Honorary Members shall be admitted upon special grounds, to be determined in each case by the Council. They shall not be resident in Japan, and shall not pay an entrance fee or annual subscription.

Art VI. Ordinary Members shall pay, on their election, an entrance fee of Five Dollars and the subscription for the current year. Those resident in Japan shall pay an annual subscripition of Five Dollars. Those not resident in Japan shall pay an annual subscription of Three Dollars or a Life Composition of Sixteen Dollars gold or three guineas.

Any Member elected after 30th June shall not be required to pay the subscription for the year of his election unless he wishes to receive the Transactions of the past session of the Society.

Any person joining the Society can become a Life Member by the payment of Fifty Dollars; or any person already a member can become a Life Member by

the payment of Fifty Dollars, less Two Dollars and Fifty Cents for each year in which he has been an Ordinary Member.

Art. VII. The Annual Subscription shall be payable in advance, on the 1st of January in each year.

Any Member failing to pay his subscription for the current year by the 30th of June shall be reminded of his omission by the Treasurer. If his subscription still remains unpaid on the 31st of December of that year, he shall be considered to have resigned his Membership.

Art. VIII. Every Member shall be entitled to receive the Publications of the Society during the period of his Membership.

OFFICERS.

Art. IX. The Officers of the Society shall be :—

A President.
Two Vice-Presidents.
A Corresponding Secretary.
Two Recording Secretaries.
A Treasurer.
A Librarian.

COUNCIL.

Art. X. The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council composed of the Officers for the current year and ten ordinary Members.

MEETINGS.

Art. XI. General Meetings of the Society and Meetings of Council shall be held as the Council shall have appointed and announced.

Art. XII. The Annual Meeting of the Society shall be held in November, at which the Council shall present its Annual Report and the Treasurer's Statement of Accounts, duly audited by two Members nominated by the President.

XIII. Nine Members shall form a quorum at an Annual Meeting, and Five Members at a Council Meeting. At all Meetings of the Society and Council, in the absence

of the President and Vice-Presidents, a Chairman shall be elected by the Meeting. The Chairman shall not have a vote unless there is an equality of votes.

Art. XIV. Visitors (including representatives of the Press) may be admitted to the General Meetings by Members of the Society, but shall not be permitted to address the Meeting except by invitation of the Chairman.

ELECTIONS.

Art. XV. All Members of the Society shall be elected by the Council. They shall be proposed at one Meeting of Council and balloted for the next, one black ball in five to exclude; and their Election shall be announced at the General Meeting following.

Art. XVI. The Officers and other Members of Council shall be elected by ballot at the Annual Meeting, and shall hold office for one year.

Art. XVII. The Council shall fill up all Vacanies in its Membership which may occur between Annual Meetings.

PUBLICATION.

Art. XVIII. The published Transaction of the Society shall contain:—

(1) Such papers and notes read before the Society as the Council shall have selected, and an abstract of the discussion thereon;

(2) The Minutes of the General Meetings;

(3) And, at the end of each annual volume, the Reports and Account presented to the last Annual Meeting, the Constitution and By-Laws of the Society, and a List of Members.

Art. XIX. Twenty-five separate copies of each published paper shall be placed at the disposal of the author, and the same number shall be reserved by the Council to be disposed of as it sees fit.

Art. XX. The Council shall have power to distribute copies of the Transactions at its discretion.

Art. XXI. The Council shall have power to publish, in separate form, papers or documents which it considers of sufficient interest or importance.

Art. XXII. Papers accepted by the Council shall become the property of the Society and cannot be published anywhere without consent of the Council.

Acceptance of a paper for reading at a General Meeting of the Society does not bind the Society to its publication afterwards. But when the Council has decided not to publish any paper accepted for reading, that paper shall be restored to the author without any restriction as to its further use.

MAKING OF BY-LAWS.

Art XXIII The Council shall have power to make and amend By-Laws for its own and the Society's guidance, provided that these are not inconsistent with the Constitution ; and a General Meeting by a majority vote may suspend the operation of any By-Law.

AMENDMENTS.

Art. XXIV. None of the foregoing Articles of the Constitution can be amended except at a General Meeting by a vote of two-thirds of the Members, present, and only if due notice of the proposed Amendment shall have been given at a previous General Meeting.

BY-LAWS.

GENERAL MEETINGS.

Art. I. The Session of the Society shall extend over the nine months from October to June inclusive.

Art. II. Ordinarily the Session shall consist of nine monthly General Meetings; but it may include a less or greater number when the Council finds reason for such a change.

Art. III. The place and time of Meeting shall be fixed by the Council, preference being given, when the Meeting is held in Tōkyō, to 4 p.m. on the Second Wednesday of each month. The place of Meeting may be in Yokohama when the occasion is favourable.

Art. IV. Timely notice of every General Meeting shall be sent by post to the address of every Member resident in Tōkyō or Yokohama.

ORDER OF BUSINESS AT GENERAL MEETINGS.

Art. V. The Order of Business at General Meetings shall be:—

(1) Action on the Minutes of the last Meeting;

(2) Communications from the Council;

(3) Miscellaneous Business;

(4) The Reading and Discussion of papers.

The above order shall be observed except when the Chairman shall rule otherwise.

At Annual Meetings the Order of Business shall include, in addition to the foregoing matters:—

(5) The Reading of the Council's Annual Report and Treasurer's account, and submission of these for the action of the Meeting upon them;

(6) The Election of Officers and Council as directed by Article XVI. of the Constitution.

MEETINGS OF COUNCIL.

VI. The Council shall appoint its own Meetings, preference as to time being given to 4 p.m. on the First Wednesday of each month.

VII. Timely notice of every Council Meeting shall be sent by post to the address of every Member of Council, and shall contain a statement of any extraordinary business to be done.

ORDER OF BUSINESS AT COUNCIL MEETINGS.

VIII. The Order of Business at Council Meetings shall be:—

(1) Action upon the Minutes of the last Meeting;

(2) *Reports* of the Corresponding Secretary,
of the Publication Committee,
of the Treasurer,
of the Librarian,
and of Special Committees;

(3) The Election of Members;

(4) The Nomination of Candidates for Membership of the Society:

(5) Miscellaneous Business;

(6) Acceptance of papers to be read before the Society;

(7) Arrangement of the Business of the next General Meeting.

PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

IX. There shall be a Standing Committee entitled the Publication Committee and composed of the Secretaries, the Librarian, and any Members appointed by the Council. It shall ordinarily be presided over by the Corresponding Secretary.

It shall carry through the publication of the Transactions of the Society, and the re-issue of Parts out of print.

It shall report periodically to the Council and act under its authority.

It shall audit the accounts for printing the Transactions.

It shall not allow authors' manuscripts or printer's proofs of these to go out of its custody for other than the Society's purposes.

DUTIES OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

X. The Corresponding Secretary shall:—

1. Conduct the Correspondence of the Society;
2. Arrange for and issue notices of Council Meetings, and provide that all official business be brought duly and in order before each Meeting;
3. Attend every Council Meeting and General Meeting or give notice to the Recording Secretary that he will be absent;
4. Notify new Officers and Members of Council of their appointment and send them each a copy of the By-Laws;
5. Notify now Members of the Society of their election and send them copies of the Articles of Constitution and of the Library Catalogue;
6. Unite with the Recording Secretaries, Treasurer and Librarian in drafting the Annual Report of the Council and in preparing for publication all matter as defined in Article XVIII. of the Constitution.
7. Act as Chairman of the Publication Committee, and take first charge of authors' manuscripts and proofs struck off for use at Meetings.

RECORDING SECRETARIES.

XI. Of the Recording Secretaries, one shall reside in Tōkyō and one in Yokohama, each having ordinarily duties only in connection with Meetings of the Society or its Council held in the place where he resides.

DUTIES OF RECORDING SECRETARY.

XII The Recording Secretary shall :—

1. Keep Minutes of General and Council Meetings ;
2. Make arrangements for General Meetings as instructed by the Council, and notify Members resident in Tōkyō and Yokohama ;
3. Inform the Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer of the election of new Members.
4. Attend every General Meeting and Meeting of Council, or, in case of absence, depute the Corresponding Secretary or some other Member of Council to perform his duties, and forward to him the Minute Book ;
5. Act for the Corresponding Secretary in the latter's absence ;
6. Act on the Publication Committee ;
7. Assist in drafting the Annual Report of the Council and in preparing for publication the Minutes of General Meetings and the Constitution and By-laws of the Society ;
8. Furnish abstracts of Proceeding at General Meeting to newspapers and public prints as directed by the Council.

DUTIES OF TREASURER.

XIII. The Treasurer shall : —

1. Take charge of the Society's Funds in accordance with the instructions of the Council ;
2. Apply to the President to appoint Auditors, and present the Annual Balance sheet to the Council duly audited before the date of the Annual Meeting ;
3. Attend every Council Meeting and report when requested upon the money affairs of the Society, or in case of absence depute some Member of Council to act for him, furnishing him with such information and documents as may be necessary ;
4. Notify new Members of the amount of entrance fee and subscriptions then due ;

5. Collect subscriptions and notify Members of their unpaid subscriptions once in or about January and again in or about June; apply to Agents for the sale of the Society's Transactions in Japan and abroad for payment of sums owing to the Society;
6. Pay out all Monies for the Society under the direction of the Council, making no single payment in excess of Ten Dollars without special vote of the Council.
7. Inform the Librarian when a new Member has paid his entrance fee and first subscription;
8. Submit to the Council at its January Meeting the names of Members who have not paid their subscription for the past year; and, after action has been taken by the Council, furnish the Librarian with the names of any Members to whom the sending of the Transactions is to be suspended or stopped.
9. Prepare for publication the List of Members of the Society.

DUTIES OF LIBRARIAN.

XIV. The Librarian shall:—

1. Take charge of the Society's Library and stock of Transactions, keep its books and periodicals in order, catalogue all additions to the Library, and superintend the binding and preservation of the books;
2. Carry out the Regulations of the Council for the use and lending of the Society's books;
3. Send Copies of the Transactions to all Honorary Members, to all Ordinary Members not in arrears for dues according to the list furnished by the Treasurer, and to all Societies and Journals, the names of which are on the list of Exchanges;
4. Arrange with Bookksellers and others for the sale of the Transactions as directed by the Council, send the required numbers of each issue to the appointed agents, and keep a record of all such business;
5. Arrange, under direction of the Council, new Exchanges of the Transactions with Societies and Journals;
6. Draw up List of Exchanges of Journals and of additions to the Library for insertion in the Council's Annual Report;

DUTIES OF RECORDING SECRETARY.

XII The Recording Secretary shall :—

1. Keep Minutes of General and Council Meetings ;
2. Make arrangements for General Meetings as instructed by the Council, and notify Members resident in Tōkyō and Yokohama ;
3. Inform the Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer of the election of new Members.
4. Attend every General Meeting and Meeting of Council, or, in case of absence, depute the Corresponding Secretary or some other Member of Council to perform his duties, and forward to him the Minute Book ;
5. Act for the Corresponding Secretary in the latter's absence ;
6. Act on the Publication Committee ;
7. Assist in drafting the Annual Report of the Council and in preparing for publication the Minutes of General Meetings and the Constitution and By-laws of the Society ;
8. Furnish abstracts of Proceeding at General Meeting to newspapers and public prints as directed by the Council.

DUTIES OF TREASURER.

XIII. The Treasurer shall : —

1. Take charge of the Society's Funds in accordance with the instructions of the Council ;
2. Apply to the President to appoint Auditors, and present the Annual Balance sheet to the Council duly audited before the date of the Annual Meeting ;
3. Attend every Council Meeting and report when requested upon the money affairs of the Society, or in case of absence depute some Member of Council to act for him, furnishing him with such information and documents as may be necessary ;
4. Notify new Members of the amount of entrance fee and subscriptions then due ;

5. Collect subscriptions and notify Members of their unpaid subscriptions once in or about January and again in or about June; apply to Agents for the sale of the Society's Transactions in Japan and abroad for payment of sums owing to the Society;
6. Pay out all Monies for the Society under the direction of the Council, making no single payment in excess of Ten Dollars without special vote of the Council.
7. Inform the Librarian when a new Member has paid his entrance fee and first subscription;
8. Submit to the Council at its January Meeting the names of Members who have not paid their subscription for the past year; and, after action has been taken by the Council, furnish the Librarian with the names of any Members to whom the sending of the Transactions is to be suspended or stopped.
9. Prepare for publication the List of Members of the Society.

DUTIES OF LIBRARIAN.

XIV. The Librarian shall:—

1. Take charge of the Society's Library and stock of Transactions, keep its books and periodicals in order, catalogue all additions to the Library, and superintend the binding and preservation of the books;
2. Carry out the Regulations of the Council for the use and lending of the Society's books;
3. Send Copies of the Transactions to all Honorary Members, to all Ordinary Members not in arrears for dues according to the list furnished by the Treasurer, and to all Societies and Journals, the names of which are on the list of Exchanges;
4. Arrange with Bookksellers and others for the sale of the Transactions as directed by the Council, send the required numbers of each issue to the appointed agents, and keep a record of all such business;
5. Arrange, under direction of the Council, new Exchanges of the Transactions with Societies and Journals;
6. Draw up List of Exchanges of Journals and of additions to the Library for insertion in the Council's Annual Report;

7. Make additions to the Library as instructed by the Council;
8. Present to the Council at its November Meeting a statement of the stock of Transactions possessed by the Society;
9. Act on the Publication Committee;
10. Attend every Council Meeting and report on Library matters, or, if absent, send to the Corresponding Secretary a statement of any matter of immediate importance.

LIBRARY AND MEETING ROOM.

Art. XV. The Society's Rooms and Library shall be at No. 17 Tsukiji, Tōkyō, to which may be addressed all letters and parcels not sent to the private address of the Corresponding Secretary, Treasurer, or Librarian.

Art. XVI. The Library shall be open to Members for consultation during the day, the keys of the book cases being in the possession of the Librarian or other Member of Council resident in the neighbourhood; and books may be borrowed on applying to the Librarian.

SALE OF TRANSACTIONS.

Art. XVII. A Member may obtain at half-price for his own use copies of any Part of the Transactions.

Art. XVIII. The Transactions shall be on sale by Agents approved of by the Council and shall be supplied to these Agents at a discount price fixed by the Council.

Taken from Wooden Image of Date in Matsushima Temple

Curtis.

A SKETCH OF

THE LIFE OF DATE MASAMUNE

AND AN ACCOUNT OF

HIS EMBASSY TO ROME.

BY

C. MERIWETHER.

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The translations from Japanese were made by Mr. T. Oishi, Mr. T. Kambe, and Mr. J. Tadokoro. Special thanks are due to Mr. R. Ishikawa, a member of an old Samurai family of the Date fief, for activity and intelligence in seeking out sources of information.

The shortcomings of investigating through the aid of translations are apparent, and in spite of the greatest care, it is inevitable that mistakes of names, dates, and even statement of important facts should occur. Such errors are left to the charity of that very small number of English speaking persons acquainted with the Japanese language.

Tōkyō, August, 1892.

PART I.

LIFE OF DATE MASAMUNE.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY LIFE AND CONQUESTS.

The most authentic published account of the Date family gives the following as the true origin of the family :— "There lived a celebrated person called Taishokuwan Fujiwara no Kamatari, in Japan, many hundred years ago. One of his sons in the third generation was called Uona, and a descendant of the twelfth generation from Uona was called Fujiwara no Mitsutaka, and the younger brother of Mitsutaka was named Nakamura Hitachi-no Suke Tomomune. This Tomomune was the founder of the family." Probably this sententious statement, though made about an exceedingly dim and remote past, is as near the truth as the average of genealogies reaching to such a distance. The family chronicler would naturally have been tempted to give some special mark to the ancestor that was contemporary with Yoritomo, one of the great heroes of Japan in the twelfth century. It is related of

Tomomune that he was a follower of Yoritomo, and the family received a grant of territory from Yoritomo. In fact this ruling power had entrusted the conduct of a war to the head of the Date family, and for the rapid overthrow of a hostile force, Yoritomo bestowed as a mark of favor a valuable famous sword.

Of the successive heads of the family various characteristics are given. One of the most striking of these to an observer of the present race of Japanese is the extreme height of one of them in the 13th century. He reached the great altitude of six feet and two inches, and was also a strict devotee, making many images during his life and placing them at the foot of a sacred mountain.

All adherents also of the doctrine of heredity as ordinarily received could find some comfort in the transmission of the poetical faculty. This facility of versification is recounted of several, and, as we shall see later, Date Masamune himself was an adept in metrical expression. Of the ninth descendant from Tomomune, pleasant incidents are told of his success in invoking the muse—and very practical success at that.

On one occasion he was leading his men against the savages, and while pursuing them, his army was enveloped in a dense fog. They had to grope their way cautiously along, and they were thrown into great fear by loud noises which they took to be the rallying shouts of their foes hidden around them, and ready to fall on them. In the midst of the alarm, which was fast becoming a panic, the leader under the influence of a rhyming spell sat unmoved and quietly composed a couplet in which the fog on the mountains is declared to be the sea, and the sound of the wind like the beat of the waves. The flowing melody possibly calmed, while plain prose might have been unnoticed. Apprehensions were allayed, and the commander's astuteness was fully recognised when the mist was blown aside, and the yells of concealed hostiles were proved to be

the roaring of a cataract. Again during the following winter, when his band at one time refused to brave the cold blasts, and snow and ice, he invigorated them by an appeal in melodious numbers. His fame as a poetiser reached the ears of the Emperor at Kyoto, and his most effective productions were gathered and preserved in the collections of the imperial household.

By the end of the 14th century the family had risen to some position in the land, as they attracted the notice of the Shogun, who gave them both titles and presents.

The history is not so meager now when the story comes to Terumune, the sixteenth descendant, and father of the greatest link of the whole line, Date Masamune. It was an age of upheaval and disorder and "there were battles constantly." Terumune at first confined himself to his castle and cultivated literature and practised fencing. But he was roused from his scholarly seclusion and manly accomplishments by a treason hatched against him, and he was forced to take the field. His vassal Munetoki plotted to kill him, but a faithful retainer told Terumune of the danger, and advised him to lay a counter plot. "Your vassal Kagetsuna is faithful and powerful. If he finds out the plot he will check it. You must not do so, because this Munetoki is your vassal, and it would not be right for you to punish him, but you must turn the matter over to Kagetsuna. Let Kagetsuna's son marry Munetoki's daughter, and then Kagetsuna can learn from his own son all the details of the scheme." This was all done and the unsuspecting traitor received the spy into his family. But the young man's courage failed when he was threatened with death, and he pledged himself to work with his father-in-law though he disclosed all the case to his father, Kagetsuna. The end of it all was that Munetoki was forced to flee, while the unlucky spy and deserter was graciously allowed to kill himself.

BIRTH AND BOYHOOD.

The son of Terumune was at first called Tojiro Masamune, afterwards known as Date Masamune. He was born in his father's dominions on the third day of the 8th month of the 10th year of the era Eiroku (September 5, 1567). When he was only eleven years old, his father wanted him to assume the headship, but the little fellow timidly declined the honor as he was doubtful of his ability, but the father urged him to try. He did so, but his unusual modesty did not win the success it deserved, possibly because of his homely appearance. He had only one eye, and was near-sighted in that. He was a melancholic temperament and preferred to mope in his room rather than play with his childish companions. The people despised him as a fool, and even his mother wanted to depose him and substitute his younger brother. But keen-eyed Kagetsuna could see through this slowness and gloominess, and he stoutly held up for the lad, and predicted he would yet shine for his wit and sense, and add brightness to the name. Under his advice masters, patient and skilful, were placed over the boy, and he soon began to develop.

When older he went one day to see an image of Fudo[1] and expressed surprise that the god seemed so fierce. But the attendant priest explained that while it was ferocious of visage, it was gentle at heart. This impressed the lad, and he determined thenceforth to cultivate more suavity of manner.

MARRIAGE.

In the year seven of Tensho (1579) an alliance was arranged between Date and a daughter of Tamura Kiyoaki,

[1] A Buddhist image meaning immovable, typifying strength, power.

of the castle of Miharu,[2] though some of Date's vassals were opposed to this match because Tamura was an enemy of some of the friends of the Date family. But Terumune urged that Tamura was bold and vigorous, and the alliance would strengthen the house of Date, and this view in the end prevailed.

CONDUCT IN TIME OF DANGER.

In the year 9 of Tensho (1581) a great rebellion broke out in the Date fief. Terumune called all his captains for consultation in the early winter. Snow was lying deep, and all agreed very discreetly that the enemy was weak and small, and there was no need of such an early move. It was like a lion going against a cat, at any rate. So in the following year, first month, they assembled again and made song and merriment. There were one hundred generals and 43,700 troops.[3]

Young Date was anxious to go on the expedition but an old samurai, a valiant stickler for rules of ceremony, insisted that the high lord should remain at home in the castle and form all plans there, but should not go on the field. Terumune was convinced by this argument, and young Masamune was left behind when the cohorts marched away. But he resolved to do his part in another way, and with his own circle he sought the favor of the gods in the temple of Yanagawa Hachiman.[4] He offered a horse and a sword, and some gold and remained three days praying fervently for the success of his father. He was also thoughtful enough to propitiate the servants of the divinities by scattering gifts among them.

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[2] Tamura's daimiate is now known as Yamagata.

[3] This is very likely a wide exaggeration and is given to illustrate the comfortable margins annalists sometimes allow themselves.

[4] Hachiman was the god of war. The main temple in honor this god is near Kyoto.

When he returned to his home, one of the Generals asked for permission to retire from the war. The influence of heredity came in. Masamune, after the manner of his forefathers, answered in harmonious measures on a fan. He cuttingly said it was foolish for anyone to seek permission to withdraw in the face of the enemy, but he could do so if he chose, bearing in mind that he would ever afterwards receive only scant courtesy. Either the melodious verses or the veiled allusion induced the officer to drop the matter. Masamune received the warm commendations of his father.

Finally the war ended favorably, and to Terumune the fame of his deeds spread over the land and reached the ears of Ieyasu, who was afterwards the great Shogun, Ieyasu. Ieyasu sent a messenger to ask for a falcon, for he wrote, he had heard that falcons were both numerous and well-trained in Date's falconry. Terumune was only too happy to return a bird. After twelve months Ieyasu forwarded his thanks for the gift.

ACCESSION.

Terumune now formally abdicated in favor of his son, who came into active management on the 28th day of the 9th month of year 12 of Tenshō (Oct. 21, 1584)[5] when he was only eighteen years old. He was still diffident of his powers to watch over the large interests and addressed his father as follows :—"The world is in disorder and the strong man eats the weak, and the great man kills the small. I seriously doubt my ability to fill the place of so wise a man as yourself. The heads of neighboring provinces will *make* some pretext, since there is none in reality, and will rise up against me, and will despise me, and I do not have

[5] In Japanese style, both years are taken *inclusively* in calculating the length of time between two dates, as 1567-1584, (18 years.)

your wisdom to check them. I beg you not to lay aside you burden yet awhile, but wait until I am more experienced before putting this responsibility on me." The old warrior of course promised his services, and he was soon called upon for his counsel.

Shortly after Masamune took the reins he was drawn into conflict with Aidzu. Sadatsuna, formerly a vassal of Date, had deserted to the lord of Aidzu. But when he saw the rising fortunes of his old masters he desired to return to his first allegiance. Masamune generously welcomed him and made him head of a castle. But the fellow was probably only a spy, and with much humility declared he was not fit for such a high post, and after a time begged to be allowed to go for his family. Masamune understood the whole thing, and granted the privilege. Sadatsuna did not come again, and Masamune prepared for war. But crafty old Terumune advised him to be cautious in stirring up Aidzu, as the lord of that locality had many friends and all of them combined would be two much for Date alone. So Masamune concluded to send envoys to talk over the case. In the conference, one of Sadatsuna's representatives used some stinging words: "An apple," he said, "comes from the seed of an apple, and the son of a cat is also a cat, not a lion. The son of a weak man is also weak himself. Masamune is the son of Terumune. Terumune is known everywhere as a weak man. Masamune is also weak. For Masamune to come against us is as a small rat to rise against a large cat." It seems hardly necessary to say that the samurai blood of Masamune's messengers fairly boiled at this homely analogy. One of them drew his sword and swore to wash out the insult with blood, but his companions were more pacific, because more profound in their resentment. They retraced their steps and told all to Date. Neither father nor son was very wary now, but both were furious in their anger.

The chiefs were called into council, and after long deliberation it still seemed more discreet not to arouse the men of Aidzu.[6] A commission was despatched to Sadatsuna's lord, to represent to him that Sadatsuna was not only an offender against Masamune, but against society and the principles of justice, and no one should assist him. The truth of all this was admitted, and it was further promised that Sadatsuna should be left to save himself as best he could. But, as illustrating the spirit of the times, Masamune very wisely put no faith in these solemn pledges, but got ready to wage war on the whole combination around Sadatsuna. He was as good at underhanded work as his foes, and sent spies into the opposing camp to corrupt all they could. But the treachery on both sides probably neutralised itself, and Terumune's anxiety about the superior numbers of Aidzu was justified when Masamune was beaten back from the walls and the enemy sneered and said : " The army of Date is very weak, and they are only skilful in getting themselves defeated."

Masamune, possibly under the guidance of his long-headed old father, turned to intrigue and bribery and gradually filched away the strength of his foes. He sent letters, and was prodigal in his promises, offering castles and principalities, and even going so far as to tell one he might have anything he chose if he would only desert to Masamune. But finally these hidden weapons of deceit and corruption undermined the foundations of Sadatsuna, and he was driven from his castle and all his possessions came into the hands of Date.

THE DEATH OF TERUMUNE.

Terumune was a shrewd old fox, and was always quick to hail the rising sun. When Nobunaga was assassinated

[6] The locality still bears this name, and was one of the stanchest adherents of the Shogun at the war of the Restoration a quarter of a century ago.

in 10th of Tensho (1582), Terumune instantly gave in his adhesion to Hideyoshi. But soon after this Terumune himself met the fate of Nobunaga.

An adherent, Katayama Yoshitsugu, of some of Date's enemies wished to enter the service of Date, and with the most refreshing frankness couched his application in these words: "Formerly I served Ashima because he was powerful, and I was happy under his protection; but now he is ruined and Date is powerful, and I can be happy only under Date." [7]

Date was sceptical of the sincerity of this profession and, in spite of its compliment to himself, refused to admit the deserter, except on such terms as would place Hatakayama entirely within the grasp of himself. But the traitor after conferring with his own little band decided to go over to Masamune. All advised to forestall treachery by abducting either Masamune's father or Masamune's son, and all bound themselves to follow their leader to death, as it meant death anyhow, and they sealed their resolution with the merry cup.

Terumune interceded for Hatakayama, and treated him with great kindness. The hypocrite kept his plot concealed, and was invited to dine with father and son. On the following day with some attendants he went to give thanks to the old man. When he rose to go, Terumune went out with him. When the gate was opened, Hatakayama's men dashed in and occupied the castle. News was sent to Date, who came in haste. But his father cried out to him from within, that he knew his portion that day would be death, but he minded not that; he only begged that his taking off should be avenged. The attack began, and when the issue seemed against Hatakeyama, two of his soldiers struck the old man down, but all the rebels were killed.

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[7] Ashima was the lord of Aidzu, and of course lost prestige when his follower Sadatsuna had been worsted as related above.

EXTENSION OF TERRITORY

In the years 13, 14, and 15 of Tenshō (1585-1587) all of Masamune's energies and resources were put forth in extending his domain. It is a long and tedious account of intrigues and treachery and bribery; of speeches and letters and dialogues; of words pledged and words broken; of conferences and deliberations; of consultations and councils of war; of advances and retreats; of marchings and countermarchings; of sieges and sallies; of dead bodies and ghastly heads; of crushing defeats and overwhelming victories—all too detailed and lengthy for the limits of this paper, and besides of no interest to any one except a person of the most voracious appetite for antiquities. But out of all of this confused tangle of schemes and conflicts, the star of Masamune's fortune rises higher and clearer.[8] At the end of the period Masamune could look over the region generally known as Sendō as his, comprising Nihonmatsu and adjacent country, which had come under him partly through force and partly through peaceful submission. And also Shiomatsu and Miharu and Kubota and Koriyama.

A new castle was erected at Kubota, and at one time during this season of territorial expansion, Masamune was shut in this stronghold by a huge army that came up and almost covered all the plain around. He wanted to dart out and fall on them, but his lieutenants condemned that course as precipitate. They deemed it wiser to wait rather for the enemy to weaken themselves by assaulting the entrenchment. After their foes had failed in an attack, Masamune called a council of war. The flowing bowl freely circulated and the courage of all rose higher and

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[8] One or two grains of wheat might be threshed out of all the mass. In one place reference for the first time is made to the use of firearms and a consequent dismay fell on the enemy. In another place, it is stated that Masamune conferred a pension on the family of a dead warrior.

higher. But Masamune was a man of great penetration, and also of some humor. He probably was amused at some of the boasting speeches, and wanted to raise a laugh. So he called forth Shigenobu, who had vaunted himself the loudest, declaring "My strength and powers alone can drive away many men at one time." Masamune, with a smile, presented him a crab, perhaps as an intimation of his belief that Shigenobu's swiftness would be greatest in retreat. But Shigenobu haughtily refused it and declared that when he had a "big deed in his heart" he did not creep like a crab. He proved an exception to the western maxim "of big talkers, small doers," for he was as good as his brag, and went into the battle and perished nobly in the midst of the carnage.

The siege still continued, though in all the small engagements Masamune was successful. Finally the investing army sent an offer of peace, "for," they said, "it is now summer, and very hot, and anyhow this is a quarrel between relations, and we are tired and want to end it." As a matter of fact their provisions were nearly all exhausted and the leaders had despaired of triumphing after so many repulses. But Masamune, when he saw victory near by, was abrupt and said they spoke lies, and he didn't care to hear any more and drove them away. But his supporters strongly advocated a more moderate measure, and he relented, and tranquillity was restored.

Masamune's ambition seemed to feed on every fresh acquisition of land. He now began to direct his gaze far beyond his one limited locality, and to dream of climbing to the highest rank.. His name and success had come to the ears of Tokugawa Ieyasu, and this consummate judge of men had sent a letter of congratulation on the termination of the strife. He also made presents of crape in celebration of Masamune's safety, and addressed a short communication to Masamune's chief officers.

About this time, Tensho 16 (1588) Masamune got some information as to the state of affairs in the southern

part of the empire, from Sakon Shogen, possibly his spy there. This assistant also fowarded a book containing a description of that section. Possibly Masamune intended to make a visit to Kyoto, as such a visit is referred to by his correspondent. Masamune answered in fitting terms, and the usual presents were passed.

The following year Tokugawa sent another note of good wishes to Masamune.

But Masamune kept up his career of conquest in Northern Japan, even though he did fondly hope to bring under his sway the southern portion at some indefinite time. He was not a mere vulgar dealer in muscular power, if one may judge from a hint or two now and then accidentally allowed by the dry-as-dust chroniclers to creep in. After subduing a certain castle, he was so indulgent that he earned the love of the people, who, it is said, worshiped him as a god. He did not put any to death, and he very materially lessened the rate of taxation.

Masamune did not slacken in his efforts, and at last all the opposition was centralised under Ujikatsu and Moritsugu, and they two resolved to stand boldly for their own. They sent an embassy to Kyoto to plead for help from Ishida Mitsunari, a high and influential retainer around Hideyoshi. He bestowed words of comfort: You are faithful to the Taiko (Hideyoshi), who praises you; when he has finished punishing the Hōjō family he will come and destroy Masamune. Take heart and hold out till he comes." Ujikatsu was so much emboldened by these words that he became rash, and was decoyed into an ambush and he and all his cause overthrown.

Masamune had extended his dominions to Echigo on the west, to Miharu on the east and to the sea on the north, and had conquered seven divisions of Sendō as far south as Shirakawa. His chiefs gathered about him and pointed with commendable pride to the range of sway, and exhorted moderation, and cessation from further activity. But the

ambitious captain firmly answered, "No, I am not content to settle down in a castle. I must push my sceptre to still greater distance. I want to clear the wicked out of the Kuanto[9] land, and then at length I will rule over all the provinces of Japan. For the present I am not firmly settled at home, as my vassals are not yet cemented together, and now I will turn my attention to the castle of Mito, and gradually force my way on down south." What would have been the final limit of his aim, no one can say, but he now came in contact with a greater man than himself and his soaring pride was effectually baffled.

CHAPTER II.

DATE AND HIDEYOSHI.

Toyotomi Hideyoshi is generally considered the greatest man in Japanese history. Of the meanest and most insignificant person and obscurest extraction, he had fearful odds to fight against in a land where birth and family-connections count for so much. But he had all the self-confidence and audacity of genius, and never for one instant doubted the sacred spark within his bosom. He singled out Nobunaga, at that time the most powerful among the barons, and schemed and planned to enter his service. He succeeded, and was a most faithful adherent of his new-found master. When Nobunaga was killed, his right-hand man stepped into his place.

Japan at this time and for several previous centuries, was a bloody battlefield. From one end of the land to the other, a constant struggle was going on among the Daimyōs.

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[9] The provinces east of the Hakone mountains.

Many of them were so nearly matched in power and men and talent that a slight loss through defection or defeat would tempt the ambition of a neighbor, and local warfare would break out. One great family after another would rise to supreme control, but their rivals were always restive and would raise the shout of opposition at the first favorable moment. Besides, the local spirit of independence was strong, and it seemed to the ruler safest to let it exhaust itself in contests, so long as it did not threaten the general peace and stability. At last a genius arose to bring order out of chaos, to reduce all to one central authority, and to give the wearied land peace. The man who paved the way for this beneficent task was Hideyoshi.[10] After the death of Nobunaga, Hideyoshi actively set to work to overcome opposition. He succeeded in bringing under his influence all Japan, except the Hōjō family in central Japan, and Date Masamune in Northern Japan.

DATE AT ODAWARA.

When Hideyoshi called for the allegiance of the barons, all responded at once except the Hōjō and Date families. The Hōjō was an old historic family and had for many years been the leaders in Japan. With bitterness they saw an upstart like Hideyoshi climb to the highest point. The leader of the family, Hōjō Ujimasa, tried to induce Date to form an alliance with him to check Hideyoshi. Hideyoshi moved against the Hōjō forces and shut them up in the castle at Odawara.[11]

Date had sent no assistance to either side, though of course Hideyoshi had demanded aid from all the daimyos. But very strong and very numerous intimations came to Date that it would be well for him to give in his adhesion.

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[10] See Dening's "Life of Toyotomi Hideyoshi"

[11] For an account of the siege, see Dening's Hideyoshi, p 341 *et al.* Odawara was some forty miles southward from Tōkyō.

His emissaries around Hideyoshi conveyed their earnest advice to this effect, and Ieyasu indicated that he thought it would be well for Date to attend the Kuampaku (Hideyoshi) at Odawara. Above all, Hideyoshi very plainly laid down his desire in a letter he himself sent.[12] In his uncertainty Date of course had recourse to a council. His right-hand man, Date Norizane, stood up for disregard of Hideyoshi. He urged that Date had already affronted Hideyoshi by announcing his intention of moving against the Kuanto provinces. Nothing could be gained by going at this late hour, and it was much better to divide the realm with the Kuampaku than to go down and be scolded for their delay in coming. Others feared the power of Hideyoshi, and pointed out that even Ieyasu had submitted. But the other great lieutenant, Katakura Kagetsuna, was silent and in the midst of the discussion he rose and left. No decision was reached and the council broke up. That night Date sought out Katakura and asked his views in private. Katakura took a fan and struck, as if driving off flies, and then said: "Warriors assemble and disperse like summer flies. One stroke of a fan may scatter them, but they soon gather together again. Time only does what man cannot." However oracular this may sound to western ears, it probably conveyed a plain meaning to Date, as he very soon after that set out for Odawara.

But before starting he made his position safe at home by putting his little brother Kojiro to death. The family of Date's mother was jealous of his growing power and desired to check it. They worked on the old lady's family pride by representing that the Date family would now come to an end, as Date would suffer death at the hands of Hideyoshi. To save the family from extinction she had better kill Date Masamune, and elevate Kojiro in his stead.

[12] In this letter he said: "I do not enquire closely into the past of those who surrender to me. That is the law of heaven and I follow the same rule."

Her family and themselves would be rid of a rival. She agreed and invited Date to a dinner that had been liberally seasoned with poison. But the whole plot miscarried, as one of the other guests fell dead before Date had tasted of the food. To prevent any new schemes from being hatched Kojiro was killed.

He then set out on his pilgrimmage of humility, dressed in white, as he fully expected death. He was attended by a few only, and all of them were forced to stop at a small village some distance from Odawara for examination by agents of the Kuampaku. Date was questioned on two points: (*a*) Why had he not sent an ambassador with a card of allegiance as others had done? (*b*) Why had he made war on Aidzu? As to the first, Date answered that he was only an ignorant country rustic and was not acquainted with the ceremony of courts. As to the Aidzu matter, that was a struggle forced upon him, because some of his vassals, who had broken from him, had been helped by others, but in it all he had no intention of moving against Hideyoshi.

His examination seemed satisfactory, but he was ordered to make over all of the conquered land to the Kuampaku. This was a formality apparently, as it was all returned to him at once.

An interview was now arranged between the great heroes. Date dressed himself in a very peculiar way, with his hair tied up with cord generally used for binding presents sent as tokens of respect. After going through the ceremony of introduction he was about to retire, when Hideyoshi invited him to remain and give his opinion as to the proper method of reducing the castle of Odawara. Date laid aside his sword, and gave his views as to the best way of approach. Hideyoshi was much impressed by Date's military knowledge, and pronounced him an unusual man.[18]

[18] The characters in this incident are reversed in Dening's Hideyoshi, p. 347.

EXAMINATION AT KYŌTO.

Date returned to his fief in year 19 of Tenshō (1591) and some trouble broke out with a neighboring lord, Gamo. Both sides appealed to Hideyoshi, and Date did not wait for any summons this time, but set out and traveled in great haste, covering the distance to Kyōto in nine days. He went to the hall of examination prepared to commit hara-kiri (suicide) if the decision should be unfavorable to him. He himself carried his short sword in his dress, and a chosen friend had the long sword. An attendant sat outside with the slippers.

In the course of the proceedings, a paper was produced signed by Date, in which it appeared Date had tried to incite a rebellion against Gamo. Date made no answer but simply called for writing materials, and in view of all the court made an exact copy and handed both documents to Hideyoshi. Hideyoshi marveled at the perfection of the counterfeit. "Now," said Date, "that paper, I am convinced, was written by one of my scribes. The body of it is so well done, I could be deceived by it myself, but his acuteness failed when he came to my signature. See all documents relating to civil matters, I always use the sign of wagtail, but in military papers, the wagtail always has eyeholes. The bird in this paper does not have eyeholes,[14] so it is a forgery. The examination ended, and Date was entirely cleared, and was given authority to move against his enemies.

He besieged the castle immediately after his return and refused to give any quarter. When it fell he put all to

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[14] In old days the samurai had symbols for their signatures, and Date used the wagtail bird as his stamp, but he made it in two ways. Ordinarily he made a rough drawing of the bird, but when he desired to be especially careful he would put in the eyes of the wagtail in such a delicate way a forger would not notice the difference. By this difference he detected and proved the imitation.

the sword, and then boxed up in spirits 181 heads, and 130 ears and noses and sent them to Hideyoshi as a token of his success.

INVASION OF KOREA.

When Hideyoshi decided to add the Korean peninsula to his possessions, a levy was made on all the barons for help. Date in common with the others raised a strong body of fighting men and marched to Nagoya. Here he was forced to wait a long time in idleness. He passed the time in frolicking, and learning new steps in dancing. At last he wearied of such innocent pastimes and begged permission to set sail for Korea, as he was "dying with tediousness," and "longed for the atmosphere of foreign lands." Finally he reached the hostile shore, and his admirers report that he covered himself with glory. He did receive the special thanks and commendation of Hideyoshi. But the authority followed in this sketch gives nothing of special interest to any except those fond of wars and battles.

INTRIGUE AGAINST HIDEYOSHI.

Masamune had scarcely returned before he was charged with intriguing against Hideyoshi. The Kuampaku had adopted his nephew Hidetsugu as son and heir, but afterwards he changed his mind and desired to haye as successor Hideyori, the son of a favorite concubine. He showed this preference very plainly, in order to drive Hidetsugu to commit some act that would furnish a pretext for having him killed. Hidetsugu fell into the trap, and acted so violently towards Hideyori that he was beheaded.[15]

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[15] Dening's Hideyoshi gives a slightly different account, p. 370. It is there stated that Ishida Mitsunari, a man high in Hideyoshi's favor, wanted to succeed Hideyoshi, and to do this he had to put several rivals out of the way. In pursuing his object he falsely accused Hidetsuna of plotting a rebellion, and thus got him killed.

Date's name was bandied about in connection with the affair and he was ordered to come to Kyōto for explanation. It was demanded of him if he had plotted with Hidetsugu once when hunting. Had he ever accepted a present from him? He promptly replied he had never hunted with Hidetsugu, and as for the present, he had accepted some trifling things, but such incidents were so common as not to be worthy of attention. The shortness of the answers was likely to offend Hideyoshi, and so the officers, who seemed favorable to Date, softened down his replies considerably in their report. They represented Date as bathed in tears at his remissness in failing to get consent before accepting the presents. It was perhaps lucky for Date that this doctored report was made. As it was Hideyoshi ordered that he be imprisoned and deposed, and his son by a concubine be elevated in his place. But others interceded, and Date was finally released and the whole matter dropped.

About this time the entire town of Kyōto was in an uproar, because it was rumored that Date's men were going to burn the place. People forsook their houses and carried their valuables and furniture with them. But when Date heard of the alarms he came out and threw open his gates, and showed he was not plotting any evil, and thus the people were quieted.

Again, some enemy fastened a placard before the gate of Ieyasu, which bore the charge that Date was conspiring with Mogami, the daimio of Yamagata, to overthrow the Kuampaku and divide the empire between themselves. But this was too preposterous to excite anything but a smile from Hideyoshi.

But all these incidents, though of little weight when taken separately, when combined seemed to create a deep distrust in the mind of Hideyoshi, and finally in 4th year of Bunroku (1595) he compelled Date's leading retainers to take the oath of allegiance to him. They swore to be faithful to him, and to report the slightest sign of treachery

they might observe in Date's conduct. They bound themselves and their descendants to serve the Taiko (Hideyoshi) and his heirs for ever. If they violated any of these pledges they called down on themselves foul leprosy, the anger of heaven during seven generations, and eternal suffering. A copy of this "ironclad" oath was preserved by Hideyoshi and another put in Hideyoshi's coffin.

Though Date cleared himself of the charges made against him and thus saved his head, yet there probably was some fire where there was so much smoke. He very likely coquetted with possibilities, and was often ready to take a glance along the road his ambition wanted to travel. But so shrewd a man as he was, would not be caught napping. If he could have overthrown his master he would have been thoroughly in keeping with the spirit and custom of the times to do so. That he had the desire to do this can hardly be doubted, but he was strong enough himself to value and respect greater strength in another. The experience gained from all these accusations and examinations made him all the more cautious in venturing on the stormy sea. As he grew older, either he resolutely turned his ear against all tempting propositions or his enemies ceased to try to entrap him. At any rate his biography after this describes but few examinations for intrigue, and towards the end it relates how faithful Date was to the Tokugawa family, and how he was very active in heading off incipient plots.

CHAPTER III.

DATE AND THE TOKUGAWA.

On the death of Hideyoshi in the year 1598, the great organiser Ieyasu came into control of affairs, and the Shogunate remained in his family for nearly three centuries

without a break in their power. He was not a warrior, though he was successful in the few encounters he had, but he was emphatically what none before him had been, an administrator. He cleared the ground for moulding feudalism into the rigidity it preserved until it was all broken a third of a century ago. He was a keen diplomat and played on the fears and hopes of his barons. He kept them under either by bending them or breaking them. Above all he gave the land peace. After Sekigahara, in 1600, the last great battle on Japanese soil, the discordant elements quickly died away. The era of the unyielding castes came in, bringing with it the picturesque Samurai, and the intricate code, the punctilios of etiquette.

Date knew Ieyasu and had often passed presents with him. He saw who was likely to be the coming man in the island. He was already friendly with him, and it was easy enough to bow to the new monarch as soon as he ascended to the seat of power.

ALLIANCE WITH IEYASU.

Though one-eyed, Date could easily distinguish between the setting and the rising sun, and Ieyasu on his part probably saw how valuable such an ally in the north might be, especially as Date was perhaps next to Hideyoshi as a soldier. It was likely easy for Date to foresee that the reins would soon slip from Hideyori's hands. When both sides saw the advantages of an alliance, it was a simple thing to arrange a marriage between Date's daughter and Ieyasu's son, even though one of Hideyoshi's solemn injunctions had to be set at naught.

Among his last words Hideyoshi strictly forbade the secret contraction of political marriages among the daimios. The stern old warrior was hardly laid away before this sacred order was defied, and Date was one of the earliest to do so by the union of his daughter with Tadateru, the son of Ieyasu.

One of the bugyō (regents of Hideyoshi) complained to Ieyasu of this step, but did not get much satisfaction. Then he went to Date, who very innocently said he thought Ieyasu had given proper notice to the bugyō. Then the middle man who had conducted the negotiations was approached, and he felt hurt that anyone should think he would dare to go to the bugyō, as he was only an ordinary go-between in fixing the match, and he had supposed that either Ieyasu or Date had gotten the permission of the bugyō. Then there seemed nothing to do except to kill the middle-man, and so the bugyō threatened. But Ieyasu declared that if the regents should kill the mediator, he would kill the regents. Date of course saw which was the safer side, and he stood up with Ieyasu. The bugyō saw the danger looming up, and they set to work to mollify all parties, and even went so far as to bind themselves in writing never to oppose Ieyasu.

AID AT ŌSAKA.

Hideyori, the son of Hideyoshi, had never acquiesced in the assumption of control by Iyeyasu, and in 1615 the smouldering feud between them came to a white heat, and the last vestige of opposition to Ieyasu was wiped away by the death of Hideyori and the horrible massacre of thousands of his followers at the siege and sacking of Ōsaka. When Ieyasu saw the struggle was inevitable he called for troops from all the barons. Date was very prompt with his levy, and set out on his march southwards. Before marching to Edo (Tōkyō) he met a messenger from Hideyori asking for Date's efforts as a mediator with the Tokugawa. Date had a conference with the family in Edo, but the matter was not settled and Date continued on his way to Ōsaka. His men marched by different routes and assembled at Otsu.

From that place he led all his forces to the besieged town. He fixed his quarters near Ōsaka, and suddenly one night they were all set on fire and burned. Suspicion rested on several, but nothing definite could be established. Date was furious, and wanted to "kill some one," as he said, but dared not until he first had the permission of the Shogun. Another lodging was given him and a gentle emollient in the shape of a present of some guns from Ieyasu.

He was very active in the investment of the citadel and was successful in spying out the state of affairs within. He sent his emissaries in, and thus learned the plan of the fortifications. Through deserters and captives he arrived at a very accurate notion as to the strength of the defenders. He was very outspoken in advising the rejection of all overtures from Hideyori, as in his opinion the difference could only be fully settled by death, and this was the conclusion of the conflict.

FIDELITY TO THE TOKUGAWA.

In the second year of Genna (1616), just about a year after the destruction of his last foe at Ōsaka, Ieyasu fell ill, and feeling that his end was near, he sent for Date to come to him at Sumpu (Shizuoka). Date went at once and Ieyasu required a pledge of him to support his heir, Hidetada. Ieyasu, as a parting gift, presented to Date a valuable sword and a set of tea service made of gold and silver. These it may be readily supposed, Date preserved with most sacred care, and allowed a sight of them to none except to the most intimate and esteemed of his friends. On the death of Ieyasu, Date went into mourning and ordered all music to be hushed for fifteen days.[16]

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[16] This was likely a general custom of the period, and was not special to Date.

When Hidetada went to Kyōto for his investiture as Shogun, Date was the leader of the train that filed into the court.

A pleasing incident of Date's fidelity is related in connection with the death of Hidetada, the son of Ieyasu.[17] When Hidetada towards the end of his life began to reflect on what might happen after his death, he called the great barons to an assembly and addressed them somewhat as follows:—My father Ieyasu, with your help, removed all the disorder of this land. But now I am passing away and my son and heir is too young, and again, I fear, confusion will come, and the land he rent and torn. I had much rather give the authority to some of you than to have this happen. Now which shall it be—shall I give power to one of you, or shall all of you agree to support my son?"

No one said a word until, amid all the silence, Date rose and delivered his views. "Let us all bear in mind the benefits we have received from Ieyasu, and none of us will wish to disturb his descendant. But if any of you or all of you wish to overturn the present authority, then do so, but know beforehand that you must overpower me first. When you have pushed me aside, then you can fight the Shōgun."

All were surprised, because they knew how ambitious Date was, but all respected his loyalty and feared his strength. All with one voice said, "We are sure Date has spoken the truth, and if we hear of any one rising against the Shōgun, we will make it our duty to put such a one down. We are all under deep obligation to Ieyasu, and we will not act against his descendant."

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[17] In the biography followed it is stated that this incident is related by Otsuki Shuji.

CHAPTER IV.

HIS LATTER DAYS AND CHARACTER.

The later years of Date's life were passed in peace, perhaps less from his own choice than from respect for the iron hand of the Shōguns. He had been confirmed in possession of his territory first by Hideyoshi and then by the successive rulers from the Tokugawa family. While there were no further gains to hope for, yet there was no anxiety about possible losses. His domains were wide, and probably furnished scope for all his talents in improving and developing them. On the 4th day of 8th month of 11th year of Kwanei (Sept. 5, 1634) Iyemitsu confirmed Date in all his possessions, and the whole comprised 1,073 villages, yielding an income of 625,731 koku of rice.[18]

A life of peace was probably a dull life for him who had been so long accustomed to tread victorious battlefields. His spirit was still fresh and his ambition keen, but he lacked opportunity. His days were passed in following out intricate ceremonials, in feasting and entertaining, in enforced visits to Edo.

HIS DEATH.

It was on one of these visits that he met his last foe, death. In the 13th year of Kuamei (1636), in the spring he set out for Edo. He was failing in bodily vigor before he started and seemed to feel a presentiment of his fate. His

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[18] A koku equals five English bushels, and so the whole amount was 3,128,655 bushels. Roughly speaking a koku may be said at present to be worth about ten yen, or seven dollars (U. S. gold), so such revenue now would be about four million dollars (U. S. gold).

faithful vassals did not want him to risk the pain and fatigues of the long journey, but he was resolute in his desire to offer his respects to the Shogun. When he reached Edo the Shogun manifested special interest in his welfare and sent the court physician to attend him. But brave old Date demanded to know the nature of his disease, and was informed that it was only the weakness incident to old age. The Shogun Iyemitsu sent presents of quail and sparrows, and announced that he was going to visit the fearless old warrior. With the notions of the ceremony due to so august a personage such a visit was a severe ordeal for the sick man. Poor Date was wrapped in his robes and kept sitting a long weary time waiting for the noble guest. But Iyemitsu himself took the pulse of him and asked how he was. The failing baron answered, "I am now sick, and am sure to die, and I am grieved that I die in bed. I am a soldier and always have been, and my dream always was to die on horseback in the midst of the battle. But now it seems I cannot. *Shikatayanai*" (Cannot be helped). He then gave his parting advice to his master: "All is now peace, but no one knows how long it will be so. But men grow weak during the days of calm and order, and when confusions and uprisings suddenly come there are no brave soldiers to put down the enemy. Men must be kept from lapsing into weakness. No one can do this but you, and I will give instructions to my son to assist you. Please bear in mind all I say." Iyemitsu was affected to tears and went away with heavy heart.

As the days passed his strength failed, and he called his chief men around him and appointed those who were to die with him (*jiunshi*). He then had a grand feast prepared for all of them. A few weeks after he died, on 24th day of 5th month of 13th year of Kwanei (June 17, 1636), at the age of seventy years. Proper period of mourning was enjoined by the Shogun.

The next day his body was started for Sendai, and was temporarily buried a month later. The next year his final resting place was prepared, and his ashes now lie shrouded by a dark grove of cedar at the top of a small mountain on the right bank of the Hirose river, opposite the town of Sendai, a short distance below his old castle grounds.

PUBLIC WORKS.

After he was firmly established with Ieyasu, the greatest power in Japan, Date again began to take away territory from his neighbors. He either found a pretext or made some for besieging some of the neighboring castles and destroying them. All his conquests were confirmed by Ieyasu, who also made a formal grant of several provinces that Hideyoshi had granted Date.

But he had a mind beyond mere warfare. His ambition was insatiable, but he wanted to do more than merely overrun his neighbors. He constructed great public works, both temporal and religious, that would preserve his memory among a grateful people. He erected a castle, reared temples and dug canals and irrigation channels.

In the year five of Keicho (1600) he removed to Sendai with the permission of Ieyasu. Previously he had dwelt at Yonesawa and sometimes at Shirakawa. His new home, Sendai, had been known as Aomorisaki. Tradition relates that it had been bestowed by Minamoto Yoritomo on one of his vassals. Date built a strong castle on the right bank of the river Hirose, on a high bluff overlooking all the town and plain on the other bank. It was an impregnable position at that time.[19] He also removed

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[19] The castle of course does not stand now, having been torn down and razed even to the foundations many years ago, along with other castles in Japan. The high sloping walls of massive blocks of stone still remain, but the lofty point occupied by the citadel is

from Yanagewa, a village near by, the temple of Hachiman, and rebuilt it in Sendai.

But his greatest monument to religion was the famous temple at Matsushima, the village on the shore opposite the well-known Matsushima archipelago. The following interesting account of it is taken from one of the best authorities on Japanese life and history.[20]

"The name of Date Masamune has long been familiar to students of Japanese history as one of the great contemporaries of Ieyesu, but the materials which the researches of historians have unearthed tend to show that, while as a patron of learning and art he was no whit less active than the founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate, Date's appreciation of the superiority of certain foreign methods and appliances was much keener than that of his suzerain. He cultivated the friendship of foreign missionaries because he knew how many useful things they were able to teach him. At the same time he was on the most intimate terms with learned Buddhist priests, whose counsels on all subjects he highly valued. It must be borne in mind that in Date's days the leading Buddhists were deeply versed in the political questions of the time and were regular Richelieus in intrigue. There is no proof that Date Masamune actually renounced the Buddhist faith. His religious belief was no deeper than that of the mass of his educated contemporaries, or of his successors, for that matter, and hence he was doubtless unconscious of the inconsistency of expressing sympathy with a foreign creed while doing his utmost to promote the interests of the faith of his ancestors. One thing is certain, he rebuilt at great expense, with wood brought from the province of Kii, the Dzuganji, a fine old

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all overgrown with bush and weed. All the place is now the property of the military department, and extensive barracks have been erected there to shelter a large body of troops.

[20] From "Editorial Notes" in *Japan Daily Mail*, of Thursday, Dec. 17, 1891, Yokohama.

temple, erected in a delightfully picturesque spot at Matsushima, near Sendai. The varied tastes of the famous Sendai Baron are well illustrated by the objects still to be seen at the Dzuganji. For eight hundred years prior to Date's time a Buddhist temple had occupied the site chosen for the erection of the Dzuganji. In the outer court is still to be seen a cave where the famous Hojo Tokiyori spent a night during the three years (A.D. 1261-47) in which he traversed the country incognito in the garb of a mendicant friar, in order to examine the state of local government affairs throughout the various provinces of the empire. In the inner court of the temple stand two plum trees called *hachi-fusa ume*, or eight-clustered plum trees, one bearing white blossom, the other red, which, it is said, were brought over from Korea by Date himself and planted there. The temple is entered by a gate and a porch which are said to be an exact imitation of those of Keizanji in China erected in the Sung period. The carving which attracts the eye soon after entering the temple was the work of the famous Hidari no Jingoro, in the execution of which he used no tool but a knife. A brass *Kwanon* exhibited is reported to have been brought from India. The sad fact that Date Masamune's death was the signal for 20 of his faithful followers to die by their own hands, in order to accompany him to the land of shades, is commemorated by the 20 handsome tablets which stand near the shrine containing a well-executed wooden image of the renowned Sendai baron. Date had among his retainers and dependents famous carvers and painters, and examples of their skill are furnished in abundance in the various handsomely ornamented rooms of the temple. At the back of the temple Date prepared a room into which no one was allowed to enter. It was designed for the accommodation of the first emperor that should condescend to visit the temple. Date gave special direction before his death that, however long the priests might have to wait, they were under no circumstances to allow any one to occupy

the room until it had been honoured by an Imperial visit. In May, 1876, the present Emperor occupied the room, and was so pleased with the tokens of loyalty to the throne which the temple furnished that he contributed a thousand *yen* toward the better preservation of the building. Among the many interesting relics shown to visitors is a letter written by Masako, the wife of Yoritomo. Date was much given to versifying, and among the numerous lines penned by him still extant are the following, predicting the future prosperity of the temple, a prediction which, we fear, has been very inadequately fulfilled :—

Matsushima no
Matsu no yowai ni
Kono tera no
Suye sakaye naru
Toshi wa furu tomo.

'Like the long-lived pine tree, this temple shall witness the lapse of ages and see prosperity in its latter days.' Date Masamune was a man of fine physique, and never failed to impress those who saw him for the first time. His dress too was invariably of a character to attract attention even in a crowd. This peculiarity of his has added a word to the Japanese language. The term *date* is now used to express the idea of showiness, both natural and artificial, though more often the latter."

Date in a limited way was a forerunner of the present enlightened system of internal improvements. He opened many irrigation ditches, leading the water along the sides of the banks, and coaxing it up higher above the stream and then sending it in long tunnels under hills, and finally conducting it calmly across the plains. About thirty miles north of Sendai is a large shallow lake, with a bottom very regular and level. He planned to drain off this liquid mass, and use the ground for cultivation of rice. He began the

the work, and dug several canals, but before he could make a sufficient number of them he died, and the lake still remains.

He dug another canal to be used as a means of transportation. The following is a meagre account of it, as almost no records about it could be found.[21]

"In middle life Date established his Court at Sendai, a town on the Hirose River, about six or eight miles from the Pacific, at the nearest point. This stream is scarcely more than a mountain torrent, leaping and raging from the steep hills in winter, and fretfully tumbling over a pebbly bottom in summer. When swollen by melted snow, it is too angry to bear burdens, and when reduced by summer's heat, it is too weak. As Date wanted to make Sendai the chief city in his feudality he found it necessary to harness some natural power to assist man in his weary transportation of heavy loads over the rough ungraded roads of the time. The easiest and most manageable ally was water. The ocean was only five or six miles away and a wide plain extended to the beat of the surf. Material, when once brought by water to a neighbouring point on the Pacific, could be easily carried over the level road to Sendai. At this neighbouring point he determined to found a harbour, at the town now known as Kamo. Here a small river, the Nanakita-gawa, offers its mouth to form a sheltered inlet for boats. Outside, the heavy breakers come rolling and heaving from the Pacific, and the outlook seaward was too rough for boats in common use at that period. The coast goes on northward without any serious bend for five or six miles, until just above the pretty fishing village of Shobuta, the big indentation of Matsushima Archipelago is reached, and here the angry surge in remote ages triumphantly made its way inland and ate out the soft strata, leaving all the fantastic 808 islands. Slowly the waters have nibbled and gnawed until

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[21] *Japan Daily Mail*, June 18, 1892.

there is a long arm of placid liquid stretching out to Shiogama, and thence a jagged coast line stretches northward by the village of Matsushima, by the foot of Mount Tomiyama, by Nobiru, on to Ishinomaki. In all this broad bay, the force of the waves was broken by the numerous islands, and navigation was comparatively safe almost as far upward as Ishinomaki. Fishing was secure and profitable. Hamlets nestled in the valleys and retired nooks along the coast. Rice was cultivated in small patches that could be watered by the streams trickling down. All the sharp points and steep hills in the country around were covered with timber. To get this tribute of man and nature to Sendai without encountering the fury of the ocean surges, was the aim of Date. For boats to double the headland north of Shobuta and then face the unchecked wrath of the Pacific on the passage down the coast to Kamo, was to invite destruction, especially during the several unseasonable months. To avoid this danger, and to furnish sure and easy transportation from the wide bay above Kamo, Date decided to cut a canal of six or seven miles in length from Oshiro near Shiogama to Kamo. He also intended to lengthen the canal down to the mouth of the Abukuma river, but this he did not do, and it is not absolutely certain that even the first part was done successfully. There are several arguments that point to the construction of such a work. First there is the general tradition in the locality that he dug this waterway. There is secondly the name. It was first known as *Kiki bori*, or "drawing wood canal," the presumption being that he mainly used it to float down timber for his building operations in Sendai. The present colloquial title for it is *Teisambori*, Date's canal, *teisam* being Date's posthumous appellation. But the strongest evidence is the fact of the clear trace of a canal when the engineers surveyed the route a few years since. But observation would show that the old waterway could hardly have been of much service except when it was flooded by high

tide, as it was not deep enough. At any rate, its usefulness did not continue, and it was filled with crumbling earth and choked with weeds and grass, and all the plans and labour were in vain so far as helping posterity."

ADMINISTRATIVE ABILITY.

In these later years of his life, when he was at peace whether he wanted to be so or not, his active spirit could not be content to sit housed in his castle. He could hunt, but this was not enough, he was solicitous of the welfare of his subjects. He could have trusted to the reports of deputies, but he preferred to see with his own eyes, and so he set out on a tour of inspection of his whole dependency, ostensibly on a hunting expedition, but in reality to observe the life of his vassals. He did not go in great state, but often lodged in the commonest huts so that he might have the better means to observe. He was very kind and bestowed help on all he found in need. To the poor he gave food, to the distressed he gave money, to the sick medicine. All were touched by such unusual graciousness on the part of a superior and the common folk worshiped him as a god. He made a thorough enquiry into the affairs of all localities, and was two months going the rounds.

In one branch of public service he gazed far into the future. He called his head men around him one day and spoke of the peace in the land, and said there was no war, no battle to kill off men, and in consequence population would grow faster and faster, and more and more products would be needed. Especially would there be a demand for timber, and provision would have to be made in advance for a supply of this material. It was their duty to look out for the good of those to come after, and he wanted to establish a system of forestry.

His chiefs agreed, and suggested that the men to take charge of this new industry should be chosen from among the retainers by ballot. Date was willing and the vote was taken, but the men selected did not suit him. Another election was held and again he was dissatisfied with the choice. Another trial was made with the same result, and finally out of weariness Date closed the ballot box and appointed men to his own liking. His justification for thus abruptly crushing representative institution in the embryo was that the popular decision had lighted on incapable men.

Notwithstanding this misfortune he did not lose interest in forestry, and he set in force a regular system of tree cultivation. Seeds were brought from a distance and a nursery was started in every village. The people were supplied with the young shoots at first without price but afterwards a small sum was charged. Every householder was required to plant and care for the young trees. Officers were chosen to see that this was done. No tree could be cut down without the permission of the authorities, and for every tree cut down, another had to be planted in its stead. The office for the general oversight of the whole system was called "Sanrin Kwanri," mountain-forest-officers.

HIS POETRY.

As has been stated, Date's poetical faculty may be considered as an inheritance, as so many of his ancestors were accustomed to versify. Date Masamune seems to have been peculiarly felicitous in the use of metre as a vehicle of expression. It is certain that he was apt and quick, whether in the heat of battle, or at the banqueting board in a trial of skill. He was equally ready in pouring forth lamentation at the death of a great man, or rapidly turning off a few measures in a poetical contest.

When he heard of the illness of the Shogun Hidetada he sent a hymn to cheer and animate him.

I. Tada-naraun
Kimi ga kokochi mo,
Kyo yori ya
Aratamarinau:
Aratama no toshi.

"Your health which is not as usual will become *new* from to day with the coming of the *new* year." (The point lies in the pun on the Japanese word for *new*.)

It was in the early part of the year that this hopeful sonnet was sent, but in spite of its cheerful reference to the revivifying influence of the new year the unfortunate Shogun slowly sank under his malady, and finally desired to have an interview with the great baron from the north. Date was taken to the sick man's bedside and was earnestly besought to be a father to the young heir to the high post. Date cordially promised not only for himself but for his descendants as well. He pledged himself to strike down any treachery he might see. Hidetada died composed from his anxiety. When the news reached Date he again broke forth into song:—

II. Sari tomo to
O mō ni somanu
Namida kana.
Yume ni mo kayoe,
Shide no omokage;

"The tears flow in great quantity though I try not to weep. I wish to see the shadow of his dying face in my dreams."

Date was afterwards presented with a fine sword by the new Shogun, but whether for his poetry or his promises can hardly be said.

On one of his visits to Kyōto he was invited to an imperial poetical party. During the course of the entertain-

ment the "bamboo" was given as the subject of composition and Date instantly struck off the following:

III. Kuretake no
Yoyo ni yowai wo
Chigiretsutsu,
Kimi ya chitose no
Aki wo Kasanen.

"The age of the Emperor is destined to be as long as that of the bamboo. He will live to see a thousand autumns."

After making all preparations for death, Date as the closing work of life composed his death ode.

IV. Kumori naki
Kokoro no tsuki wo
Sakidatete
Ukiyo no yami wo
Terashite zo yuku.

"With the cloudless moon of my mind before me I go to the other world lighting the darkness of this world." (That is, this world is dark, and he has only his mind as a torch to guide him to the other world.)

PART II.

DATE'S EMBASSY TO EUROPE.

Just eight years before the middle of the 16th century the first intercourse between Europeans and Japanese took place on a sandy beach near Tanegashima, when a Chinese junk with the Portuguese navigator Mendez Pinto on board touched the shore. When asked why he had come, Pinto answered he had come for trade.[22] The spirit of trade has nearly always been the first pioneer into new regions, and it is always followed, and sometimes preceded, by the spirit of religion. Just the year before the half century ended, Francis Xavier in 1549 set foot on the soil of Nippon and began that successful propagandising that is one of the marvels of mission-history. These two factors, one commercial and the other spiritual, brought Japan into contact with the western world, and the mistakes of one or the other, or both, closed Japan to the world. Portugal came first and Spain, England, and Holland soon followed. The international relations were not put on the formal footing they now occupy, but the actual conditions were not very different from those of the present. One or two ports, chiefly Nagasaki and Hirado, were opened to foreign vessels. The restrictions were much more severe and the surveillance much more strict.

[22] Nitobe's *U. S. and Japan*, p. 8.

Just as now, there was then a keen desire to appropriate whatever seemed best fitted to Japan. Foreigners were used to teach western methods and appliances. The Englishman Will Adams was kept at the Shogun's court to instruct the natives in navigation and shipbuilding. The Spanish Governor of the Philippines was asked to send experienced miners to dig silver. The Dutch introduced European medicines and explained surgical methods. Along with these arts of healing the Japanese also adopted new arts of killing. Their first firearms came from the Portuguese, and a manufactory was at once set up and the missiles of destruction were rapidly prepared.[23] Tobacco, the potato and other agricultural staples were brought over to be modified in their characteristics, and to flourish widely in their new home.

RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE.

But the most striking feature of this western irruption was the rapid course of Christianity among this conservative race. Various special reasons are given, such as the low state of the native faith, the open countenance of Hideyoshi, who despised the Buddhist priesthood, the peculiar fitness of the early evangelists for the task—but the explanation of this quick growth of alien doctrines will always remain a matter of difficulty. The beginnings were made by a mere handful of laborers, but the increase was almost phenomenal. In one cycle of a Jewish jubilee from the start, there were nearly two million professors of Christianity in the island.[24] They embraced all classes, and even some of daimiō rank were numbered among them. Hideyoshi was accounted in sympathy with this transplanted faith.

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[23] Nitobe's *U. S. and Japan* p. 8.

[24] Nitobe's *U. S. and Japan*, p. 14.

SPIRIT OF THE TIMES.

With foreign merchants in the open ports, with priests traversing the entire length and breadth of the land, climbing every mountain, penetrating to every fastness, visiting every hamlet, sailing to every island, observing, recording, studying all things, it was only natural that the inquisitive mind of the Japanese should long to know something in return of these active people. Their life and speech, their account of their home land, would fire these children of the orient to journey thither. Merchants were tempted by the alluring prospect of gain to steer their barks to Mexico and to the Philippine islands. Adventurous spirits ventured to Siam and even as far as Hindostan.[25] The fever spread from the common people until it reached and affected the feudal lords. Daimiōs began to cast their eyes southward and speculate about those realms from which the large craft came slowly sailing. Curiosity at first had to be content with what could be gathered from travelers, from merchants, from sailors and from priests. Whatever communication was to be addressed to another land, it had to go through this tortuous channel. Even negotiations on affairs of state had to be entrusted to these unofficial agents. Such a method was confused and unsatisfactory, and lacked the stamp of authority. It seemed more dignified and authoritative to send duly accredited representatives, either Japanese or foreign, or both. Owing to ignorance of a foreign language no Japanese could go without using a foreigner, usually a priest, as interpreter, while some foreigners were appointed as envoys without any Japanese accompanying them.

EARLY EMBASSIES.

What was the object of these journeys to the far-distant countries, whether chiefly for gain or religion, was perhaps

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[25] Nitobe's *U. S. and Japan*, p. 10.

a question that the Japanese lords themselves did not attempt to answer in a decided way. Whether there was a definite purpose in these embassies, perhaps no one can now say, and it is likely that the barons who sent them did not know. It may have been at first largely a liberal spirit of investigation that carried them over the wide seas, with perhaps some ulterior but vague notion ot gain to themselves.

So far as known, the first of these formal missions was sent out in 1585 by the two southern lords of Arima and Omura. The party consisted of four persons of rank, under the auspices of the Jesuits. They were absent eight years, and were everywhere through Europe received with the greatest honor and ceremony, and after passing through Spain on to Rome returned with some seventeen missionaries. Nothing positive or decided seems to have come of the matter, except possibly an increase of zeal among the fathers and followers of the church.

Twenty-five years later, in 1610, the Shogun Ieyasu, after concluding a treaty with the governor of the Philippines, resolved to send a messenger to the king of Spain.[26] The Spanish governor of the Philippines, who had just concluded the treaty, was asked to name a priest as messenger from Japan to Spain. The governor Vivero named Sotelo, but afterward appointed Father Alonzo Munoz, who like Sotelo was a member of the Franciscan order.[27] But the Japanese desired Vivero to be at the head of the envoy, and consequently to him were intrusted all the presents and dispatches. They set sail for Mexico in a

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[26] Page's Vol. I, p. 189, says it was the emperor who made the treaty.

[27] This Sotelo afterwards went with Date's embassy in 1613, and in his speech before the king of Spain he said he had been named to go on the mission in 1610, but had to decline on account of ill health. Page's Vol. I, pp. 330–331.

boat built by Will Adams, according to European model.[28] The embassy returned at the end of 1615 composed of three Franciscans, bearing a letter from the king of Spain. By this time the persecutions were raging hotly in Japan, they met with but cold treatment, and soon after left without accomplishing anything.[29]

DATE MASAMUNE'S EMBASSY.

From his rank as daimiō, from his connection with Ieyasu through marriage, and from his frequent visits to Edo (Tōkyō), Date must have had full knowledge of all these missions to foreign lands. He of course must have often met Will Adams, and all other foreigners who were in high favor with the Shogun. It is also stated in *Kinjo Hion* that he met and communicated with a large shipwrecked party that were detained in Edo (Tōkyō) for a year or more. The conversations with all these probably gave him sufficiently vivid accounts and glowing pictures of foreign lands either to excite his curiosity or tempt his ambition. The triumphal procession from city to city that the southern embassy made in Europe would naturally stir up his jealousy. But we can only conjecture what he had in mind. Some seem inclined to believe that he was influenced by Father Sotelo.[30] But it is more probable that the main inspiration came from the Japanese side.

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[28] Sotelo perhaps went as far as Mexico with the suite, as he returned from that country to Japan the following year. See Page's Vol. I, p. 202.

[29] There were other messages sent by the Shogun, but this is given as a fair type of them, and as connected with Sotelo, Date's embassador.

[30] Berchet in his *Japanese Embassies* seems inclined to hold the view that Date was persuaded to this step by Sotelo.

But having once decided on this move, the trouble was to get suitable men as head. Although persecutions had already begun, it was necessary to choose some one of the "hated sect" as interpreter. A proper man was right at hand.

LUIS SOTELO.

Many of the Franciscans then in Japan were Spaniards, perhaps the most of them, and they appeared to pay special attention to the diplomatic side of their duties. As seen above, they had charge of the embassy sent out in 1610, and now another member of the order, Sotelo, was chosen by Date, voluntarily joining those who devote themselves so much to their faith that they hardly have time or desire to learn any record of themselves, Sotelo has left but meagre materials for even the barest notice of his life, or at least the materials, if any, are hardly accessible. He was born in the sixteenth century of a noble family in Seville and entered the Franciscan order at a tender age. He first came to Japan in 1606 in company with other *religieux*. Four years afterwards he served as agent for Vivero in making the arrangement with Ieyasu. As has been said, he was appointed on the mission of 1610 but did not go. He lived it Edo (Tōkyō) several years and there began his work by erecting a small church and a shelter for lepers. Here in 1613 he was seized and threatened with death but was saved by Date.[81]

AS HEAD OF THE EMBASSY ON THE JAPANESE SIDE, DATE CHOSE ONE OF HIS RETAINERS, HASEKURA ROKUEMON.

The materials for Hasekura's life are if anything still scantier than those for Sotelo's life. His family chronicle traces his ancestry back to the time of Yoritomo with

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[81] Page's Vol. I, p. 240.

as much evidence for this claim as genealogies usually have. What is much more certain is that he was high in favor with Date, and went with his master on the Korean expedition, and served so faithfully that he received warm words of commendation from Date, and also a large income.

ORIGIN OF THE EMBASSY.

The duality of embassadors, Japanese and foreign, suggests a double influence in originating the mission. The Jesuits hating to see their rivals so prominent, at one time even went so far as to say there never had been any such embassy, but that the whole story was a fabrication of the Franciscans to offset the brilliant journey of the envoys from southern Japan under the leadership of the Jesuits.[82] The documents found in European archives, and the relics and certificate discovered in Japan and the contemporary sources of information, entirely dispose of this charge. Yet the Franciscans were moved somewhat by ambition, as Sotelo seems to have made the first step by proposing such a venture to Date. In the Japanese authority *Kinjo Hion*, it is said that Sotelo wrote to Date, but the letter is not preserved. Date's answer is stated in substance, and he expresses his entire willingness, and promises to make all provision for men and means.[83] Soon after this Date saved Sotelo from martyrdom in Tōkyō, possibly for this very purpose, and the priest with a friend went to Sendai, and there in conference with Date the final arragements were made. Where the desire appears equally strong on both sides it is impossible to say which was the first mover, Japanese or foreigner.

There is another view that makes Date only a secondary actor in the scheme. It is quite likely that Ieyasu may

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[82] See Berchet's *Japanese Embassies*, Chap. VI.

[83] Sotelo may not have sent any letter, but may have made use of a messenger.

have been the real leader on the native side, and he may have used Date as a figurehead. He himself had already sent his embassy in 1610 and no news had come of it. His envoy then had been a priest unaccompanied by any Japanese. It would have been only natural with his pride, and with his commanding place in Japan, to desire to send one of his subjects as representative. At any rate he showed great interest in the preparations and sent some of the officials of his own court to supervise the preparations. He also appointed Sotelo his envoy to the king of Spain, and sent presents of armor and screens and other things to that monarch.[84] It is said that Sotelo went as head of the embassy through the authority of this office as envoy, and Hasekura went as vice envoy. But Hasekura was generally looked on as head, especially at the European courts.

THE VESSEL.

After choosing envoys, means had to be provided for carrying them over the waters. The ordinary junk would seem unsafe for so long a voyage, and it would be too expensive, even if possible, to buy or charter a foreign boat. Under the supervision of Will Adams a vessel could be constructed, and this may have been done. But it is pretty well established that the expedition set sail from some port in Date's realm. The most plausible theory seems to be the view advanced in *Kinjo Hion*, that Japanese carpenters trained under Will Adams, either repaired a foreign vessel wrecked on the coast near Sendai, or built one after the model of such a wreck. Mukai Shogen, who seems to have been a kind of "Secretary of the Navy" for Japan[85] had general charge of the work, and brought a number of assistants from Tōkyō with him. They seem to have formed a small colony at a place known as Tsukinoura, about 40 miles from Sendai,

[84] In his audience with Philip III of Spain Sotelo declared he represented the "emperor" of Japan. Page's Vol. I, p. 331.

[85] Page's Vol. I, p. 342.

and not far from what is now called Oginohama. At the present day it is said that some peculiarity in the names of those living there indicates that the place of their nativity was elsewhere. Tradition also relates that the ancestor of some of them settled there about two hundred years ago. It seems clear that the embassy started from some small village near Sendai, and such a place would not have been chosen unless for exceptional reasons.

A strong confirmation of the opinion that a foreign vessel was utilized is found in the letter of the Bishop of Japan to the Jesuit-General.[36] He states that a vessel was wrecked on the coast of Japan, and the captain vainly tried to get it repaired, and finally was forced to sell it for 90 crowns, and then got some Japanese to build another boat. In this boat Sotelo sailed, along with many others, as ambassador. If this is correct it enables us to understand several points. We can see why so many persons went on board, as *Kinjo Hion* puts the number at 180, of whom about 60 were connected with the mission. Then the difficulty of navigating across the wide Pacific is removed, as the captain and crew of the lost vessel would of course take passage in this one and steer it to New Spain. There were also many Japanese merchants bound to Mexico with wares for sale.[37]

SKETCH OF THE JOURNEY.

The boat set sail from Tsukinoura on the 15th day of 9th month of year 18 of Keicho (Oct. 21, 1613) and reached Luzon the following month, and in

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[36] See Appendix II, No. 7.

[37] Berchet, in *Japanese Embassies*, says a model of this boat was displayed at an exhibition in Kyōto during the Meiji era. The original boat, according to *Kinjo Hion*, was of the following dimensions: length, 18 ken (about 108 feet); breadth, 5½ ken (33 feet); depth, 14 ken (84 feet).

January of the following year they landed at Acapulco. They remained in Mexico for several months, and nearly all the Japanese members of the suite were baptised except Hasekura. It was thought best to put oft his baptism until they reached Europe. They finally reached Spain and were received with the warmest welcome by the city of Seville. The following translated from an Italian author gives an interesting account of their reception in Europe.[88]

"Here we find the first document of this Embassy, in which Date Masamune, after having exposed the purpose of his mission, and warmly recommended his envoys, requests the city of Seville to send him several pilots to instruct him to navigate between the Indies and Spain, as he intended to yearly send his vessels to Europe and thus show his good will and resolution by frequent and direct intercourse between Japan and the old continent. This document bears the date of 14th day of the 9th month of the 18th year of Keicho and corresponds to 26th October, 1613." [89]

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[88] *Japanese Embassies*, by Guglielmo Berchet, Chap. VI.

[89] See Appendix II, No 2. The editor of *Kinjo Hion* says that this date is wrong and that it should be 4th day of 9th month of Keicho, or Oct. 6, 1613. Page's has the same date as the Italian author above, Berchet, who likely followed Page's. But the letter published in the *Japan Mail*, Appendix No. — has Sept. 4, 1613. Date's letter to the Pope, Page's vol. II, p. 135, is dated 4th day of 9th month, or Oct. 6, 1613. The facsimile of Date's Latin letter to the Pope gives 4th day of 9th month. That date we can rely on, and it is reasonable to suppose that all the letters had same date. (Copy of Date's Latin letter in Appendix II, No. 1). So it is safe to say *Kinjo Hion* is right in his criticism of the date above, and the correct date of Seville letter should be 4th day of 9th month, or Oct. 6, 1613. The editor of *Japan Mail* probably followed the custom of to-day and considered "9th month" as meaning the same as "September." This is entirely safe since the adoption of the European calendar, in 1873, but before that time "month" meant "lunar month," and a *numbered month* then does not mean the same as a numbered month now.

Shortly afterwards the envoys were received in solemn audience by the king of Spain.[40] Hasekura spoke first and declared it was the desire of Date to see all his subjects converted, as well as himself, but he asked the aid of the king in sending missionaries and in making a treaty with him. The monarch answered graciously, but as to the alliance he requested more time for deliberation.

Then Sotelo spoke about an alliance between Japan and Spain, and stated how he had exerted his influence with the Shogun to oppose the Dutch efforts for a treaty. He then handed the Shogun's letter to the king and the conference ended

Several days after Hasekura was baptised, the ceremony being witnessed by the king's chaplain, and some members of the nobility. Hasekura received the name of Philip Francis. They then went on to Italy.

OUR ITALIAN AUTHORITY CONTINUES HIS INTERESTING ACCOUNT.

Having accomplished their mission in Spain and crossed that peninsula, they took passage on some feluccas and arrived at Genoa on the 12th October, 1615. The Document, Appendix II, No. 8, taken from the archives of Genoa and kindly handed to me by the Chevalier Belgrano, relates the reception afforded them by that city and the facilities granted them by the Senate in order to enable them to reach with the greatest possible promptitude and complete exoneration of custom-duties the eternal city, together with the numerous gifts they brought along from Japan for his Holiness the Pope. In this document we read for the first time a personal description of our ambassadors. One of them, says the document, was of Japanese nationality and was

[40] Translation of the dispatch of Hasekura in Appendix III, No. 1. It will be noticed that the dispatch is in the name of Hasekura.

called Don Filippo Fasecura; (sic) the other a Spaniard of Sevilla, Luigi Sotelo by name, a Franciscan priest of the order of the "Osservanza." They have with them a train of 28 persons, for the most part Japanese, and these all are with the exception of one, of low stature, olive coloured; they have small eyes, little beard, and greatly resemble each other. Fasecura was dressed in long black-velvet tunic, over which he wore another, shorter one, of black silk; his stockings were of yellow silk, made almost like gloves, that is, with the big toe separated from the rest; and with leathern soles, and he also wore a black felt hat. The ambassador and his companions had their hair close shaved on the top of their head and on the rest of the head it was long and tied up on the back like a tail. He carried a most beautiful scimitar and also a sword. The other gentlemen wore similar tunics but less rich. They all ate with little chop-sticks. Father Sotelo wore the habit of the order and also acted as interpreter.

From Genoa the ambassadors went direct to Roma, bringing a letter of their prince to Pope Paul V. dated Sendai, 6th October, 1613 (Appendix II, No. 1). For this letter Date Masamune says that, although on account of many difficulties he had not embraced Christianity yet, he apreciated nevertheless its salutary influence, and desired that his subjects might follow its doctrines. To this end he requested His Holiness would send him a number of Franciscan monks, whom he would protect in any possible way; and also begged His Holiness to send him an efficient Prelate to direct religious matters in his States, promising to defray all expenses for his decorous maintenance. He says he has sent his envoys Hasekura and Sotelo to kiss His Holiness' feet and begs the Pope to assist him likewise in establishing friendly connexions with the Christian States of Europe, but more especially with the king of Spain and with those kings whose states or colonies lay on the way between Japan and Italy, so as to enable him to establish easy

communications. He offers the Pope anything he should desire in Japan, and meanwhile he sends him a few presents and begs he would implore for him the protection of God.

From the State archives in Venice I also took by the kind condescension of the Director five despatches of the Venetian ambassador to Rome, Simone Contarini (Appendix II, Nos. 9–13), from which it evidently appears how this Embassy was given by the Vatican a far less brilliant and far less honourable reception than the first one, owing to the influential opposition of the Jesuits, and how of the three requests made to His Holiness only one of them, and this also very incompletely, was granted. In fact Hasekura asked His Holiness to receive under his protection Date Masamune as a sovereign prince, but the Pope's answer was to the effect that on such an important subject he wanted first to consult with the king of Spain. The second request was that the Pope should appoint a catholic bishop for Japan, which was never done; and the third that he thould send a number of monks to propagate the Christian faith; but the Pope replied that he would twrite to that effect to his nuncio in Spain and see wha could be done. His Holiness however presented the Japanese envoy with a thousand gold ducats and with many religious objects, some of them very valuable. The Municipality of Rome alone treated this embassy exactly as they had treated the previous one, and Hasekura like his predecessors was solemnly invested in Campidoglio (Capital) with the dignity of a Roman patrician and senator.[41]

From Rome the Japanese Embassy wanted to go to Venice, not only for the purpose (as father Sotelo said in one of his letters to the Senate), of admiring the beauty of the city and the glory of its virtues, but also in order to pay

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[41] The copy of the diploma relative to his ceremony is in Appendix III, No. 1.

homage to the majesty of the Senate and to request some sign of liberality for the young church of Japan.

Other valuable documents were found in the state archives of Venice; the letters which Hasekura and father Sotelo, wrote on 6th January, 1615, to the Doge of Venice (Appendix II, No. 18). In these letters the two envoys say that they anxiously desired to see Venice, but not being able to do so for want of time and the inclemency of the season, they beg to send in their name one of their suite, father Gregorio Mattia, who was a Venetian by birth, requesting this mission might be given a kindly reception in consideration of the good propositions and affection of Date Masamune, king of Oshu, for the Senate of the Republic. They affirm that Venice was well known and esteemed by the Japanese people for its glory and virtue. They sent the Senate a small Japanese table as a present.

Father Mattia was received with much honor by the Republic; his expenses were defrayed by the Senate, who also presented him with a gold chain and a medal of Saint Marcs (Appendix II, No. 14) and gave him likewise a crucifix and two silver lamps (Appendix II, No. 15) for the daimiō of Öshu and gave order to Carlo Albano, Venetian Consul at Genoa, to call upon Hasekura when the latter should pass through that city on his return to Spain and to thank him for the mission and do him honor in the name of the Republic.

The reception extended to father Gregorio Mattia and the presents of the Republic, were gratefully acknowledged by the Japanese envoys, which is proved by another document (Appendix II, No. 17) now extant in the State archives of Venice, and in which the warmest thanks are conveyed to the Senate, and the original also bears the signatures of Hasekura and of father Sotelo.

In this letter the envoys say that the receptions and the gifts were the more appreciated because extended in their absence; that their sovereign would learn of these occur-

rences as a happy beginning to strengthen his sincere and eternal friendship and the mutual relations of the two states, more espcially so as "a direct way of communication would soon be opened between Japan and Europe," and finally they say that father Gregorio, tired of travelling, will return to his native country and they recommend him to the Republic.

This letter was written at Genoa, where, as it appears from another document taken from those archives (Appendix II, No. 16), the ambassadors remained during a few days previous to their returning to Spain to embark for their country, following the same way they had come by.

RETURN OF THE EMBASSY.

The envoys soon started on their return to Japan. Nothing of importance seems to have occurred, or at least there are no records accessible that give more than the bare statement of their return. They must have been delayed at some place, as they discharged the purpose of their mission at Rome in the latter part of 1615, and turned their faces homewards a few months after, and yet Hasekura does not arrive at Sendai until Aug. 1620. It is likely that they loitered in the sunny climes of southern Europe and Mexico, and were perhaps delayed by waiting for boats and favorable weather. Sotelo is chronicled as being at Manila in 1618, and it is possible that Hasekura was there at the same time. But whether the two envoys separated here, or before reaching this point, they did not go to Japan together. In the year 2 of Genwa (1616) Date dispatched another messenger to learn the fate of his former ones, but nothing came of this step.

Persecution was raging in Japan, and the famous decree of wholesale expulsion was issued, January 1614, just a few months after the departure of the mission. Hasekura of course learned of all this during his wanderings, and perhaps

voluntarily remained at Manila until he could receive assurance of safety if he should again set foot on Japanese soil. Finally in the midsummer of 1620 his guns were heard firing off the coast opposite Sendai and [42] the travelers came in with their number reduced from sixty to twelve.

FATE OF SOTELO.

With regard to Sotelo's final destiny there is no uncertainty. Our Italian author describes his end as follows:—

Refusing to obey the Council of Indies, who wanted to send him back to Mexico, and desiring to assume the functions of a Pontifical Legate in Japan, father Sotelo secretly left Manila, and, disguised as a merchant, repaired to Nagasaki on board a Chinese vessel. But betrayed by the captain he was given up to the Japanese authorities, together with father Lodovico Bava, another member of the embassy, and both were condemned to death and burnt alive in Omura (Shimabara) on the 25th August, 1624.

Dragged with ropes round their necks to the funeral pile, father Sotelo, father Bava and three other monks were tied to five poles fixed upon a huge pile of wood. They were all dressed in the habit of the order, and according to documentary evidence still extant they all mounted the fatal steps, their countenance very pale, but calm and resigned to their fate. They all had a crucifix in hand.

Father Sotelo, when requested by the commissioner to give his name and that of his four companions for the purpose of establishing their identity, took advantage of the occasion to express in Japanese, a language he was thoroughly

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[42] In *Kinjo Hion* it is stated this was the signal agreed on when he left. He had been absent so long that for several days the people along shore did not answer as no one understood. When a reply was sent the vessel came in.

conversant with, a few words of peace and of faith; but the commissioner wrathfully had him and the others secured to the poles; father Sotelo was purposely very loosely tied, so as to be enabled by the intensity of the pain to perform to their cruel satisfaction unbecoming contortions, and the fire was kept back as much as possible so that his sufferings might last longer, and one of the last to expire was poor father Sotelo.

The church after his beatification raised him to the honour of the altars as one of the Japanese saints. Thus was rendered the last but the most solemn tribute of gratitude to the memory of an enterprising monk, whom both zeal of religion and an instinctive foresight of the highest interests of civilisation and commerce had flung from the happy shores of his native Spain to those so distant and so fatal of the empire of the rising sun.[43]

FATE OF HASEKURA.

The history of Hasekura's last days is not at all so clear, but testimony, both Japanese and foreign, is about unanimous that he abjured Christianity after his return. Indeed it is openly stated that he never was a Christian, but only professed Christianity for diplomatic reasons, as otherwise he would not be received by crowned heads in

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[43] Sotelo had never reached Sendai again, as he met his fate down south. When seized he told the judge that he was Date's embassador and that he had come to deliver the dispatches sent by the foreign monarchs. He was patiently heard, but Sotelo himself never delivered them. If ever delivered they are not extant, or at least not accessible. After Hasekura reached Sendai in 1620, Date wrote to the Shogun and said Sotelo had asked permission to return to Japan to bring some dispatches from European potentates. Date seemed indifferent in the matter and said he would notify Sotelo whatever the Shogun decided, but the Shogun's answer is not known.

Europe.[44] He came back when Date was making diabolical efforts to stamp out Christianity in his principalty, if not of his own will, at least at the desire and command of the Shogun. He was displeased at Hasekura's accepting another faith and it is said that then Hasekura apostatised.

There are many conflicting statements about Hasekura's latter end. One is that he was killed for being a Christian;[45] another, that he was not killed, but allowed to commit *hara-kiri*. Another, that he was not a Christian himself, but allowed his wife and children to be so, and consequently all of them were killed; another, that he was not a Christian himself but allowed his servant to be so and so both were killed; still another passes over into the miraculous, and says he was to be crucified, but when he mounted the platform he was caught up by an invisible power and carried away, and never seen afterwards; another, that he became a lunatic and fled to the forests; another, that he was examined by order of the Shogun and found to be a Buddhist and not a Christian, and had never at heart been a Christian, but had used Christianity as a cloak, and in consequence of this investigation he was not disturbed afterwards.

This last seems the most reasonable with regard to all the contradictory information. The other views perhaps grew out of efforts to explain why the family lost their rank. Hasekura held high position and received large grants, but after a few generations his descendants were reduced to almost the lowest grade of the Samurai caste.[46] It would be family pride, exceptional among almost any people, that would not seek to put the cause of such misfor-

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[44] Appendix III, No. 2. There are no contemporary documents relating to him except his letter from Luzon and his death certificate, at least not known if there are.

[45] Prof. Nitobe takes this view, *U. S. and Japan* p. 15.

[46] Even now under the changed conditions they have not been able to advance in any degree towards their former place.

tune on some one else, or as far back as possible. It would be easy, and it would appeal to the imagination to attribute the loss to Hasekura's firm adherence to his convictions, and this would indirectly throw the blame on another. If Hasekura's grandson is to be trusted[47] the family suffered because one of Hasekura's sons became a follower of the western church, and as a result all the family was degraded and disgraced.[48]

OBJECT OF THE EMBASSY.

Whether Date or Ieyasu was the mainspring in this enterprise does not affect the more important enquiry as to the object of the Japanese in sending this embassy. Japan at her own desire had been in a state of isolation up to the latter part of 16th century. Then for a period of fifty years the barriers had been partly removed here and there. Afterward the old spirit of exclusiveness returned in stronger force, and outsiders were rigidly shut out. At no time during this brief period had there been shown any cordial desire to have the stranger. Japan became so sensitive about foreign influences as to begin an active and heartless crusade against her own citizens who had become Christians. In the midst of this movement, and just half a year before the feeling against Christianity reaches its culmination in the order for wholesale expulsion, Date starts this expedition bearing presents, and letters freighted with expressions of friendship

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[47] See Appendix III, No. 2.

[48] The priests believed that Hasekura denied the Christian teachings, and thus saved his life. But he died shortly after a natural death. Page's, vol. I, p. 443. Tradition affirms that he died a Buddhist and was buried in Sendai. There is a peculiar grave stone there marked "banri Ichijo no Tetsu"—"ten thousand-mile—iron—line." but it cannot be established that this refers to Hasekura.

and good will to the very heads of that "hated sect." Judging him by western standards we should confidently expect to find some clear definite statement of his motives, or rather a defence for doing what appeared to be in exact opposition to the whole course of life in his country. His reasons, if ever formally stated, are not to be obtained at present, and so each one is left to his own individual opinion.

There are three general views which may be summarised[49] as follows, and argument can be readily urged for each one. First, he was as he said, sincerely desirous of becoming a Christian, and of seeing all his subjects Christians, and he sent his envoys to seek the protection of the Pope. This is a view perhaps widely accepted by the priests at the time, and Date's friendship for them, and his protection of Sotelo when Sotelo was about to be killed in Tōkyō, and above all the strong assertions in his letters, all give support to this view. But it will be seen[50] that the Jesuit Bishop did not believe that Date was moved entirely by a religious aim.

The second view is that Date was prompted by ambition and sent his vassal as a spy to observe European politics.[51] Japan was closed to him as a battlefield and he wanted to try his strength on foreign soil. All the early part of his life had been passed in bloody struggles, and inaction chafed his spirit. The powerful repressive hand of Ieyasu prevented further strife in Japan, and the conflict with Korea was ended. Date's samurai lay around in idleness and hungered

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[49] Given in substance by Mr. Okaka Masayuki, of the Historical Bureau, in the Proceedings of the Historical Society, during the course of the year 1891.

[50] Appendix II, No. 7.

[51] Professor Nitobe accepts this view. *U. S. and Japan*, p. 15. It is also the official statement presented to the Shogun. See Murray's Hand-book of Japan. p. 82.

for the clash of swords and the shouts of combatants. His jealousy was also aroused by the expedition of a southern baron to the Loochoo islands and he inwardly burned to do something in emulation.

It may excite a smile at his ignorant presumption in seeking to attack lands so distant, and so much more powerful than himself, but we must remember he could only judge by what he knew. He had seen his own arms triumphant in all northern Japan, and the only foreign country he knew of, Korea, had been overrun and subjugated by Japanese soldiers. The few foreigners that had come to the empire, had come humbly begging for permission to trade and had been content with whatever privileges that were granted them. They were rebuffed, insulted, thrown into jail, roughly restricted to a few ports, and even sent out of the land, and yet their country had done nothing. They were all divided into two great classes, merchants and priests, one in the Japanese eyes meanly submitted to everything for the sake of religion, and the other for the sake of trade. Neither motive could have moved a haughty samurai to anything but contempt. From either class of representatives in Japan, Date could have reasonably inferred that all Europe was a cringing, cowardly people.

As a corollary to this view, it is argued, probably through a mixture of blind admiration for Date and hatred of Christianity, that Date's desire was not so much to seize territory as to destroy Christianity. The priests had come to Japan and had taught principles of love and equality for all. Such doctrines if fully accepted meant the overthrow of the caste system. The feeling against this new faith was already very bitter, and Date as a farseeing man wanted to dig up the deadly tree by its roots. But this contention, it must be confessed, makes out Date to be rather chimerical in his projects and not at all the practical man such a soldier would logically be.

There is a poem ascribed to Date that contains sentiments agreeable to this idea of a religious crusade:

Jahō kuni wo mayowashite tonayete oyedzu, Bankoku wo seisento hosshite imada kōwonasazu, Tonan no hōyoku nan no toki ka furuwan, Hisashiku matsu fuyō banri no kaze.

"The bad religion charms the people, and does not cease. We wish to overcome the barbarous nations, but we have not yet succeeded. Oh! when will the south-subduing wings be spread? I have long waited for the ten thousand ri (mile) gale."

The third view, which is accepted, and placed on a more liberal basis by a modern scholar,[52] puts Date in a much more favorable light. According to their view he wanted to introduce into Japan through the missionaries and merchants, all the suitable methods and appliances of western civilisation, and thus develope the land. In a word he wanted to do then what Japan did not undertake to do until over two centuries afterwards. He was a prophet far ahead of his age. In his letters he distinctly states he wants commerce, and the jealous Jesuit bishop gives him credit for that. As he asked for additional members of the Franciscan order, it is presumed he wanted them to teach the Japanese, and train them after European models. Of the three views, this is the most flattering to Date's memory and it is supported by about as much evidence as either of the other two.

RESULTS OF THE EMBASSY.

As to the results of this seven years of wandering by sea and land, the matter can be disposed of very briefly. So far as an outsider can judge, and so far as the records show, it is only an interesting historical epiode. It likely did not swerve Japan one hair's breadth from her policy of

[52] Mr Okada, in Proceedings of Historical Society for year 1891.

isolation. As far as influencing the course of Christianity, if it did anything, it helped its downfall, as Hasekura cast aside his profession of the faith, and declared that Christianity in Europe was only a show. Since foreigners have settled in Sendai in the last twenty years, they have found scarcely a vestige of foreign impress in either the life or language of the people. Even the names of martyrs and places of torture have all gone into oblivion. The relics themselves brought from Rome were all unknown save to a few officers of the Date house, and when they were first exposed to inspection in 1876, they were the amazement of the common people.

Our Italian author calmly sums up the whole matter of both embassies:

Thus remained without any consequence the two Japanese Embassies that were sent to Europe by princes of the South and North, during that short period when Japan was open to foreigners, towards the end of the XVI and the beginning of the XVII centuries.

APPENDIX I.

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE RELICS.

The embassy carried many presents to Europe, and brought back a goodly number in return. They were probably kept concealed for fear of exciting anger at that time of persecution. It is very likely that some of the objects have been lost and it is certain that some have passed out of the possession of the family,[53] there were some 19 volumes of Japanese preserved in the collection at the beginning of this century when *Kinjo Hion* was first compiled. These are no longer to be found.[54] On the occa-

[53] The oil painting of the pope is now in the hands of a merchant, Fujisaki Saburosuke, on Nichome Omachi, in Sendai. How it left the control of the original owner, no one knows. The present owner very courteously showed it to the author. It is said that some one offered it for sale in Yokohama several years since, but wanted an exorbitant price for it, and found no buyer.

[54] It is supposed these were prepared by Hasekura, and contained his account of the journey and his views on Christianity. As the latter subject was treated it placed condemnation on all, and no one dared read them and they were possibly destroyed. The editor of *Kinjo Hion* sagely remarks that as there was no written list of the objects from the start no one can say how many have slipped away, and in a fatherly way he advises all who wish to keep a number of objects for any lenght of time to be sure to put among them an exact list of all of them.

sion of the emperor's northern visit in 1876, they were all exhibited to the public. They were kept in Sendai several years and then deposited in the Ueno Museum in Tōkyō until 1891. Then the family again claimed them in order to show to the Russian Prince at the time of his unfortunate trip to Japan. They are now in the family *yashiki* at Shinagawa, Tōkyō.[55] Our Italian author has a short description of these objects, beginning with the Latin diploma given Hasekura. Mr. T. R. H. McClatchie, of the English Legation, thus describes it: "This document is written on parchment, a small part of which was torn and is now lost, together with the seal and the signatures. The writing is all around trimmed in by most elegant ornaments, in the centre of which, on the superior part, there is a miniature representing various oriental nations subjected to the supremacy of Rome. To the right of this miniature are painted Romulus and Remus sucking the she-wolf, on the left a scutcheon bearing the letters S. P. Q. R. On the corners on the right of the superior and inferior part of the ornament are drawn three coat-of-arms with trophies, scutcheons, helmets, and mantles, which must undoubtedly be the coat-of-arms of the three guardians of the 'benign city' mentioned in the diploma. On the superior corner to the left there is a most curious coat-of-arms without helmet or mantle, although a little crown is placed above the scutcheon blazoned in black and silver. Now, as it was customary at that epoch to place in the Italian diplomas the scutcheon of the person for whom the diploma was made, just on the superior corner on the left side of the ornament, there is no doubt that this was meant to represent the coat-of-arms of Hasekura Rokuyemon. It is surmounted by two arrows placed cross-way, and has the form of one of the two figures which are used in Japan to represent the 'manshij,'

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[55] With the great kindness of Count Date the author was allowed to see the relics in the summer of 1892.

and the two arrows represent some Japanese device. Now, can Hasekura have had these two devices combined as his own private coat-of-arms, or did the Italian artist wish to give to the Hasekura's coat-of-arms a European form, for the sake of symmetry only? This question is now to be investigated in Sendai and I could not express any opinion on the subject, not having inspected the document, but simply read the translation which I present." (Appendix III, No. 1.)

"Beside the Hasekura's Diploma, other valuable souvenirs of Hasekura's sojourn in Rome were lately discovered in Japan and collected by Mr. Hirai, secretary to the Daijōkwan (Historical Bureau) in Tōkyō. The principal of these in importance is the portrait (half the natural size), of Hasekura himself, painted on canvass four feet by three in size. The canvass is rather torn on the edges and the paint cracked here and there, but the work could be completely restored. Hasekura is represented in a kneeling posture, his hands crossed upon his breast, before a crucifix standing upon a table. The state of the colouring does not at first sight permit to discover whether Hasekura is dressed in the Japanese or the European style, but his costume appears to be mixed, because some details of his dress are not Japanese, while his belt and sword are most decidedly so. On one finger he wears a European ring, but his hair is cut and dressed in the old Japanese style and he wears short mustaches over his lips. His features are regular and symmetrical, and the expression of his face, although very serious, is pleasant.

"Another small painting on copper, representing the Holy Virgin with the Babe, and the Eternal Father above, and many angels and saints around them, was found together with the portrait. They also found two bronze crucifixes very rusty and decayed, one of which seems to be a most remarkable specimen of art; and a large number of rosaries, medals, fragments in silver with devout inscriptions, suits

of clothes for priests and laymen, and a variety of horse trappings, viz : saddles, curbs, stirrups, etc., all of which evidently manufactured in Europe in the sixteenth century." There are also several short swords, and a flagellating cord, and embroidered cloth, and some painting on silk.

APPENDIX II.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE EMBASSY.

DATE'S LETTER (IN LATIN) TO THE POPE.

Magni et universalis sanctissimique totius orbis Patris Domini Papal Pauli V pedes cum profunda summiss et reverentia osculando Idate Masamune in imperio Japonico Rex voxu suppliciter dicimus.

Cum venisset Pater frater Ludovicus Sotelo ordinis sancti Francisci religiosus ad meum regnum et in es christianam legem praedicâsset meque invisisset ab eoque eam audivi et mysteria multa quae deritu sunt et coremonias. Christianam appernit quae sane in corde recondens et persecutans cognoscens vera esse et salubria susciperem profitende, nisi me aliqua negotia deturbarent et inexcusabiles causæ detinerent. Si tamen pro nunc ego non valeam cupio saltem meas gentes subditos populos christianos fieri. Hoc ut feliciter eveniat, ad me mitas quaeso, Beatissime Pater, Religiosos ordinis sancti Francisci, qui de observantia nuncupantur : hos enim praecipue diligo et obsecio. Tua vero Altitudo ipsis ample concedere non horreat omnes licentios, favores et qualcumque alia media necessaria. Ego autem jam terrano hanc ingressos adjuvare non desistans, sed in monasteriis aedificandis, et, in aliis rebus, quibus potero beneficiis inserviam. Similiterque expostulo ut in meo regno disponas, gubernes instituas omnia eaque ad

propagandam sanctam dei legem utilia fore tibi placuerint, praecipue ut in eo instituas et creeo quemdam magnum proclatum instanter supplico cujus observantia et sollicitudine omnes qui in eo inhabitant, quampridie christianos fieri non dubito. De ipsius antem expensis et reditibus ne quaeso anxius sis : quia ut copiose fiat nostrae sollicitudinis et curae proprium esse volumus.

Cujus rei causa ad te mitto praefatum Fratrem Ludovicum, Sotelo, legatum meum, a quo possis de corde meo quae tibi visa fuerint *sciscitari*, optime namque novit quae in ea praedeta in eo sunt et haec ut effectum habeant, ipsi legato roganter misso benevolas aures concedat et honorem praebeat, Tuæ Beatitudo Cui etiam comitabitur quidam nobilis eques domus meæ qui Hasekura Rokuyemon nominatuo, qui similiter Legatus meus existit, ut ambo mei viceo agentes obsequii et obedientiæ causa ad sanctissimam usque romanam curiam prœvenientes tuos beatissimos pedes pro me osculentur. Et si forte praedictus Pater Frater Ludovicus Sotelo in via fuerit vita functus, quilibet alius ab ipso designatus, similiter ut Legatus a te admittaturi tanquam si ipse viveret.

Cognovi praeterea quod meum a Novæ Hispaniae Regnis quœ potestati aditioni potentissimi Regis Hispaniae Philippi subsunt, non multum distat qua propter cum desideris communicandi cum ipso et cum illis christianorum regnis ejus amicitiam coopto quod equidem sic fore confido, si Tua Auctoritas interveniat. Precibus humiliter peto ut hoc Altitudo incipiat et ad finem usque perducat, maxime quia necessaria via religiosis a te in hoc regnum missio est. Prae omnibus pro me orabis omnipotentem deum ut ad ejus amicitiam valeam pervenire. Si autem in hoc regno, aliqua videris tuo obsequio et voluntati gratiosa, jubeat Altitudo Tua quoniam ut voluntati respondeamus totis viribus adimplebimus—Nunc autem licet exigua sint dona, quia tamen ex longinqua regione adveniunt, cum reverentia et timore pauca ex Japone Tibi offero. In omnibus aliis nos remittimus ad praedictum Patrem Sotelo et

equitem Rokuyemon, et ea quae exparte nostra tractaverint et rata fecerint, ipsa rata esse volumus. Ex civitate et curia nostra Sendai, anno decimo octavo aetatis Keicho, quarto die lunae nonœ, id est, anno salutis millesimo sexcentesimo tertio decimo, pridie nonas Octobris. Matsudaira Mutsu-no Kami Idate Masamune.[56]

[*Translation of the above.*]

"I, Date Massamune, King of Oshu in the empire of Japan, while kissing, with the most profound submission and reverence the feet of His Holiness Paul the Great, the universal and holy father of the world, say as a supplicant:

"Father Luigi Sotelo, a monk of the order of Saint Francis, having come to my kingdom and here preached the Catholic faith to my subjects, has called upon me. I have thus by his means been enabled to get a good insight of your religion, as he exposed to me the numerous mysteries connected with Christian rites and ceremonies.

"I have impressed these doctrines upon my heart, for I found them to be true and salutary and would not have hesitated to openly profess them, if certain arguments had not hindered, and invincible motives had not forcibly kept me from so doing.

"But if I am personally prevented for the moment, I desire that at least my subjects may now become Christians. With this end in view, I beg Your Holiness will send me

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[56] The above letter was copied from a fac-simile in the possession of the Date family made from the original in Italy by the Japanese embassy a few years ago. It will be noticed that the signature is "Idate" instead of simple "Date" as now. The explanation is obscure. It is said that was the family custom at the time; and again, that it was a wrong pronunciation that misled Sotelo, and still again, that it was a special mark of honor to the person addressed. It is urged in confirmation of this last that when Date sent his poetical productions to the emperor he always signed himself "Idate" to show his reverence, and so he used the same in sending a communication to the Pope.

some monks of the order of Saint Francis, called of the "Osservanza" whom I pledge my word to harbour and to protect, being assured that they will be venerated by my subjects. I also beg Your Holiness to condescend in giving them privileges, favours and anything that might concur to their success as to me, from the very moment they shall set foot on my territory, I shall consider myself duty bound to protect them, to assist them in erecting their convents and grant all privileges that are in my power.

"I, moreover, beg Your Holiness will kindly dispose of, govern and establish within my dominions anything Your Holiness might think useful for the propagation of the holy laws of God, and especially designate and appoint a great prelate through whose zeal and under whose direction, all the inhabitants might be converted without delay to the Christian religion. As to the expenses of the prelate and the competency to be assigned to him, Your Holiness need not mind as I shall abundantly provide for him, wishing to assume the entire responsibility of this step.

"To this effect I sent to you as an ambassador Father Luigi Sotelo, from whom you will get a better knowledge of my disposition on the subject, and therefore I beg Your Holiness will please kindly listen to all he has to say and treat him with due honour.

"This monk is accompanied by an illustrious gentleman who belongs to my house, called Hasekura Rokuyemon, whom I have also appointed as ambassador, so that they both may repair to the holy city for the purpose of bringing to Your Holiness my homage and submission. And if it happened that Father Sotelo should die on the voyage, it is my desire that any other person designated by him be admitted to your presence with the same power as ambassador.

"I have also learnt that my kingdom is not very far from the kingdoms of New Spain, which forms part of the dominions of the most powerful Filippo, King of Spain.

And for this reason being very anxious to enter into relation with him and with his Christian States, I ardently desire his friendship, and I have no doubt to obtain this end if you help me with the weight of your authority; I humbly entreat Your Holiness therefore to assist me in my efforts to carry out my undertaking, more especially as those kingdoms are on the route which the monks you will send to me must necessarily follow to come to Japan.

"Above all I entreat you to pray the almighty God so that I may be acceptable to His divine majesty. Were there anything in our country which should be useful or agreeable to you, please let us know and we shall do everything in our power to satisfy your desire. For the present I simply beg Your Holiness will accept a few modest gifts which I send you with the greatest reverence and respect. For all the rest we thoroughly rely on our ambassadors and shall ratify any thing they may conclude in our name.

"From our city and court of Sendai, the XVIII year of the Keicho era, on the IVth day of the IXth month, that is the 6th October, 1613.

"Massundayra, Mussu-no-Kami, Date Massamune." [57]

DOCUMENT NO. 2.

"Date Massamune, prince of Ōshu, to the city of Sevilla.

"To the most famous amongst the nations of the world and to the very illustrious city of Sevilla.

"By the special providence of God, Father Luidi Sotelo having come to our realms, we have known the excellent truths of the divine faith and of the religion which we deem to be holy and good and the true and certain path to salvation. We have therefore long desired to assume the obligation to observe it and to receive the legitimate title of a Christian by means of the holy baptism, but not being

[57] This translation is translated from the Italian of Berchet.

able to do so at present on account of very important preoccupations, we desire that all our subjects of whatsoever rank and station may embrace the law of God and of the Christians; which we hope to see realized by the efforts and zeal of Father Sotelo and of a gentleman of our family called Hassekura Rokuyemon, both chosen by me to officiate as ambassadors to the supreme chief of the Christians, to Him whose people call Pope, and whom they adore as the vicar of Christ on this earth.

"Knowing most particularly the greatness and richness of your illustrious republic, the native country of Father Sotelo, we have conceived for your Lordships a great and particular affection, since the holy man who procured us the foundation of the doctrine and of the laws of God derives, as a precious branch, from the noble stem of Sevilla.

"We beg you to receive our message in the same spirit as we have already received you into our friendship, now and for ever, and be pleased to trust us and send us some valid testimony of it, which we shall for ever keep in our royal archives; and in this we anticipate you by forwarding herewith a token of our sympathy; namely, a sword and a poniard, which are the most valuable scutcheons of our Royal person. And the best token of your appreciation shall be for us to receive, help and protect our Envoyes so that they may be enabled to reach before the presence of the great and powerful king of Spain and to prostrate themselves at the feet of the Sovereign Pontiff, great monarch of the Christian republic, and in order that the latter, according to our just desire, and with all that clemency and benevolence we are hoping for, may allow us, by means of the holy faith we desire to embrace, to submit our crown and all our subjects to the holy church, and to acknowledge him to be spiritually above all other princes as a lieutenant of God.

"For a long time we have heard of a large number of vessels from your country trading in the Indian and southern ocean, guided by pilots well instructed in the art

of navigation and also well acquainted with the different seas; and being anxious to know whether we could open direct communications between these and the Spanish seas, and which ports should be put into and what are the intermediate climates, we would be very happy to see those pilots out here so that they might impart unto us the fruits of their experience and wisdom and in order that this navigation being possible, we may order our vessels to accomplish it every year, which would afford us more frequent opportunity to manifest our good will to you.

"Father Sotelo will beside add verbally all what we have omitted for brevity sake. Please have confidence in him and let him know at the same time in what way we could be useful to you, our constant desire being to serve your Lordship.

"Given at our court at Sendai the 9th month of the 18th year of the Keicho era, which correspond to the 22nd October 1613.

"DATE MASAMUNE MATSUDAYRA MUTSUNO KAMI."[58]

No. 3.

FROM MASAMUNE TO PHILIPP III, KING OF SPAIN.

"4th day of 9th month of 18th year Keicho.

(Oct. 6, 1613).

"DEAR SIR:

"I write you with greatest reverence. I heard you are the king who rules a large kingdom. I was told by batelen Sotelo of your great power, and I thought of communicating to you. Last year *Bisoby* of Novispania sent *General Bastian Itisugai* to our Emperor as a messanger. The messenger came to my province and told me that Novispania is not very distant from my country across the sea. And

[58] Translated from the Italian of Berchet. The original Latin is not accessible.

now I send you Father Sotelo as a messenger. Some time ago the Japanese Emperor thought of sending Sotelo to Europe as a messenger, but Sotelo got sick suddenly and the matter was stopped, and another batelen was sent in the place of Sotelo. But now Sotelo is quite well, and I send him this time.

"I heard from Sotelo something about Christianity, and strongly believe that it is a very good religion. But there is a great obstacle to my becoming a Christian. I wish, however, to make all my vassals Christians, and, in order to do this, I wish you to send some batelens who belong to the order of Saint Francis. I will treat them kindly.

"In order to make communication with you in future I got ships made, and sent them to Novispania. Please send the batelens in these ships. I shall send ships there every year. If you protect my ships in Novispania, I shall be very much obliged to you. Please listen to my people in the ships, and help them, as far as you can. Arrange matters for them, so that they can freely stop at suitable places and give them passports.

"When your ships come here to my country I shall treat them in the same way. When these ships which go from Luzon to Novispania stop here, I shall treat them very liberally. In the case of mending ships, I will supply the tools necessary, and in making new ships I will give wood.

"I propose, in the other paper, the articles for our agreement. Sotelo will tell you in detail. If Sotelo dies on the way, one whom Sotelo would choose will take his place and tell you everything. I have besides sent you a Samurai. I give you five Japanese utensils as a small present. Hear from the batelen about the small things.

"Yours truly,

"DATE MASAMUNE."

Articles of agreement between Masamune and the king of Spain. Appended to the above.

1. I have no objection to my people becoming Christians. Send me therefore some batelens who belong to the order of Saint Francis. I will treat them kindly.

2. Send batelens every year. I have sent this time some ships to Novispania. I send you some Japanese things. Please be sure to send me some thiings of your own next time for my use.

3. *When my ships come back, you can send in them people or anything for nothing.* If my ships are broken there, please give my men things necessary to mend them.

4. When ships from Luzon to Novispania pass our country I will protect the people. If ships are broken I will supply tools to mend them and other things. In the case that ships are rebuilt I will equally take care.

5. When you (your people) want to make ships in my country I will supply wood, iron, carpenters and other things necessary, according as the circumstances require.

6. When ships come here from your country I will allow them to trade freely, and treat the people kindly.

7. When people of Namban come to live here, I will give them houses and other things. In case some of them do anything wrong, I will refer the matter to their own headman, and look to him to deal out justice to the wrongdoer.

8. If the English and Dutch, who are your enemies, come here, we will not respect them. Sotelo will tell you in detail about this.

9. Having once agreed to these articles, our agreement should be perpetual.[59]

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[59] This letter is taken from *Hanso Seiseki*. (1) *Batelen* is perhaps Japanese spelling for *Padre*.

(2) *Novispania* is *Nova Hispania*. (3) *Namban* is literally *southern country*, as the foreign ship usually came from the south when approaching Japan, and so *Namban* meant all European lands.

No. 4.

A LETTER FROM DATE MASAMUNE TO THE KING OF SPAIN.

The precise number of letters sent by Date Masamune to European potentates is not known. Already some five or six have been made public, and now, through the researches of Mr. Okada Masayuki in Sendai, a hitherto unpublished epistle has been brought to light. By this it appears that, like the normal Japanese, Date Masamune valued the secondary benefits of Christianity at a higher price than its primary. The following is a free translation of the document, the original of which may be found in Proceedings of the Historical Society:—

"Sept. 4th, 1613, A.D.

"To His Majesty PHILIP III., King of Spain.

"With profound respect I venture to address your Majesty. Last year I was made acquainted with your Majesty's great power by the Rev. Mr. Louis Loter, and was very desirous of communicating with you when a messenger from the Governor of Mexico, General Bastian Hisugai, reached our country. From him I heard that your august country was nearer Japan than Mexico (!) and hence decided to send a letter to you by Mr. Loter. This priest was to have been sent to you last year by the Bakufu, but his illness necessitated the substitution of another messenger. Mr. Loter having recovered, I now send him to you. I have heard through him of the way of the true God and hold it in high regard; but there are obstacles in the way of the Christian faith being accepted by the whole nation. I, for my part, however, will promote the propagation of the faith among the people under my jurisdiction. In order to effect this, please send priests of the Franciscan sect; I will attend to their wants. In order to facilitate the coming

of these priests, I am now fitting out a ship to send to Mexico; please allow the priests to come in this vessel. I intend to send a ship to Mexico once a year and beg that you will see that those who have charge of the ship are treated kindly and that their wants are supplied. I also beg that you will give orders to the authorities in all places beneath your rule that our ships be treated with consideration, and that you will furnish us with passports to all parts of your dominion, specially to Mexico, Luzon, Macao, and the Malabar Coast. In return for this, any ships belonging to you that may call here shall be supplied with all that they need. The particulars in which we can assist each other's vessels are specified in a separate document. Any information not given in this letter, the bearer, Mr. Loter, will supply. If Mr. Loter should die on the voyage, other priests will communicate with you. I also send you one of my retainers. I forward at the same time five kinds of utensils."

The items of the agreement as given in an appendix to the letter are as follow :

"(1) We agree to join the Christian Church, and hence wish Franciscan priests to be sent to us.

(2) We promise to send a ship to Mexico every year to convey priests to Japan. In these ships we will forward to you our native implements, and do you in return send us yours. I myself intend to use such implements as you send.

(3) We engage to supply your ships with men and other things considered necessary.

(4) We will pay special attention to any of your ships that may call here on their way from Mexico to Luzon.

(5) If you should wish to build ships in this country, we will supply you with all the necessary material.

(6) We undertake to assist the trade carried on by ships coming to this country.

(7) If any of your nationals come here, we will furnish them with houses. If any dispute arise between them, we will defer the matter to the decision of their own nationals. We hear that you are at enmity with England and Holland. These countries we shall not honour.

"The above has been decided on after conference with my retainers, by me, Date Masamune." [60]

No 5.

THE LETTER OF MASAMUNE TO GENERAL KOMISALIO, A MEMBER OF THE ORDER OF SAINT FRANCIS IN NOVISPANIA.

"4th day of 9th month of 18th year of Keicho.
(Oct. 4, 1613).

"DEAR SIR:

"Christianity was introduced to our country some time ago, but I did not know anything about it before. I have learned from Sotelo what it really is, and found it is a very good doctrine. I am sorry that I am hindered from becoming a Christian by an obstacle. I have no objection to my vassals becoming Christians.

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[60] The above is from *The Japan Daily Mail*, Yokohama, Thursday, November 19, 1891. By *Loter* is of course meant *Sotelo*. Anyone will be at once struck by the great similarity between this and the preceding letter. Making allowance for difference of phraseology in the translation, the meaning is almost the same. As seen above this is an original document, yet it very closely resembles in meaning the preceding letter, which was published in 1875, six years before this one came out. The date of the two letters is the same. This one is dated Sept. 4, 1613, but the original Japanese is 4th day of 9th month of 18th year of Keicho, and this in the western calendar becomes Oct. 6, 1613. It seems a little singular that Date should have written two letters of same meaning, same date, and addressed to same person, but no one could enter with confidence upon a discussion of the evidence except one acquainted with written Japanese. Perhaps this letter No 4, is an exact copy of the original, while the preceding one, taken from *Hanso Seiseki*, may not have been so exact.

I send to the King of further Namban and Roman Pope Sotelo and three Samurai, one of whom has to go to further Namban with a letter. I wish you to protect him so that he can safely travel to further Namban. These two will come back from your country. It will be very long before Sotelo comes back to me. I wish therefore you would send me some batelen belonging to Saint Francis order in *Horobentia* of *St. Ewanzeria*. I heard you are of head priests. Please introduce my messenger to Bizoley. Give them also your letter of introduction to other batelens, kings, and Pope. And give passports to one who has to go to further Namban, and also to the others who come back from you. When batelens come to my country, I will establish churches for them. Consult further with Bizoley to make navigation easier. I give you three Japanese tools as a small present. Sotelo will tell you in detail.

"Yours truly,

"DATE MASAMUNE."[61]

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[61] This letter is taken from *Hanso Seiseki*. *Batelen* means *padre*. In *Hanso Seiseki* are ten letters sent by Date to the different persons in the western world. All are same date except last two, which were written in 1616 when Date sent another messenger to learn about first one. He then sent two letters, one to the head of the San Franciscan order and the other to *Bisolay* of Novispania (governor of Mexico?). In substance these two are the same and contain enquiries about Sotelo, and expressions of friendship.

The other eight letters are same date (Oct. 6, 1613) and in substance are practically the same. The originals of all of them, except perhaps the first, were found in the possession of Mr. Ishimoto, a member of an old Samurai family living a few miles from Sendai, but corresponding copies have come to light in Europe and America for only two (perhaps three) out of the entire ten—for the one to the pope, and the one to the city of Seville. It seems very likely that Date must have sent a despatch to the King of Spain,

No. 6.

LETTER OF HASEKURA TO THE KING OF SPAIN.

"I understand that a man who has the good luck to have been born in a memorable epoch and who wants to civilize his own country is always brave and joyful in his heart.

"Wishing to civilize myself first, I came to these shores from a very distant country, and having to-day at last succeeded in obtaining a presentation to His Majesty, I have been enabled to see the light that shines upon a

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and in Page's history (p. 330) it is said that Hasekura presented his despatch, but in Page's appendix (p. 132) the letter is not stated as coming from Date but from Hasekura.

The ten letters are addressed to the following persons, but the greatest allowance must be made for the spelling in changing from Japanese to English:

1st to *Sekiyashita*. In *Hanso Seiseki* this is said to be a copy from the original preserved in Rome (?), but it is so faded that parts of the letter and even the name above could not be made out. The body of the letter is also said to be very poor in style, and the presumption is raised that perhaps it was not written by a Japanese but by a catholic priest.

2nd letter to King of Spain.

3rd to the Pope.

4th to Head of San Franciscans.

5th to General Komisalio of the *Intens* (Indies ?) of Spain:

6th to Bisolay of Novispania.

7th to General Komisalio of the San Franciscans in Novispania.

8th to the Governor of Horrohenshia in Santoewanjerio.

9th to Bisolay of Novispania (written in 1616).

10th to the Head of San Fanciscans (written in 1616). Of these, the letter to the Pope (No. 3), that to the King of Spain (No. 2) and that to Komisalio (No. 5) are given in this Appendix. It seemed unecessary to give all as they are so nearly alike in substance.

very large part of our world. The joy and contentment for which make me entirely forget all I suffered during my long voyage on sea and land.

"I come from a country called Japan, governed by our Emperor and known to the world as one of the most distant.

"Two are the causes which led my prince to send me to these countries :

"I. Knowing the true light of the holy catholic religion, which pacifies the hearts of men and teaches how to govern the States, my prince decided to send me to the Pope of Rome and ask Him to give me special instructions for the benefit of the Christian missionaries now in Japan who are displaying the greatest enthusiasm in the great work of diffusing the faith. And such is the desire not only of my prince but of all his subjects likewise, as we all are anxious to embrace the Christian faith.

"Knowing the generous dispositions of Your Majesty, my prince sent me here to urge the contraction of a treaty of perpetual friendship.

"Now I am very happy to have arrived in this country and to have been honoured with an audience by Your Majesty.

"I humbly beg that Your Majesty may, in consideration of all the hardships I underwent, extend to me your protection by assisting at the ceremony of my christening ; for I hesitated so long to be baptized, solely for the purpose of showing my countrymen that baptism is really a very serious affair."

II.

The answer of King Philip the Third.

"I am very glad to hear that our holy religion has extended to your distant country.

"I have always heard that the Japanese people are among the most intelligent in the whole world.

"Now I quite perceive it; and think that the idea of sending am ambassador to us to obtain a true knowledge of the holy religion, has been a splendid conception. I am greatly pleased with it and I shall give all possible assistance so that you may be enabled to accomplish your mission and satisfy the desire of your prince.

"As to the treaty of friendship and alliance, I accept it with great pleasure, and in a few days we shall decide about it.

"And with reference to the ceremony of your Christening, I shall be most happy to assist personally at it and shall give orders so that everything be properly carried out." [62]

No. 7.

DOCUMENTS RELATIVE TO THE EMBASSY OF DATE MASAMUNE.

Letter from the Bishop of Japan to the Jesuits' General.

"Last year you were informed that the commerce between Japan and New Spain lately established through the exertions of a few Franciscan monks had been completely destroyed, owing to the sinking at Varangava in the Kingdom of Quanto of a small vessel which carried a small number of Japanese to New Spain, as ambassadors without necessity.

"What happened afterwards is that the captain having, in spite of all exertions, utterly failed in obtaining the money for the necessary repairs, was obliged to sell it to a Japanese for a sum of 90 crowns. After which the

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[62] This and the following documents (Nos. 6 to 19 both inclusive) are from Berchet. Those in Latin Nos. 17, 18 and 19, are not translated into English, as the substance of them is stated in the body of the work.

master of the vessel made arrangements with some Japanese merchants to have a new ship built, so that they might be enabled to continue their voyage; and the said ship being now ready for sea, the Rev. gentleman who had been sent here as a general of our order has taken his passage in it, together with a few Spanish passengers, among whom there is a Franciscan monk called Louis Sotelo, who, it is said, is sent as ambassador to Rome by a Japanese gentleman named Masamune, a subject of the King of Japan but lord of several provinces, with the ostensible object of requesting both His Majesty and His Holiness to send over here missionaries to preach the gospel in his dominions, but who, as a matter of fact, only does it on the expectation of great material advantages by the arrival of the Spanish ships to his ports; should the request of the said ambassador be granted, great inconvenience may be expected not only for these Christians but for the Franciscan monks likewise for having taken a principal part in this transaction. This is the reason why the father Jesuits out here did all they could during these last months to prevent not only the Embassy but also the voyage of father Sotelo to New Spain, and worked hard but unsuccessfully to have him into their hands and send him to Magniglia (Manila ?). I am told now that, as the superiors could not prevent his going to New Spain, they have informed the Commissioner General to Mexico of the little foundation of the Embassy and of the dangers which may issue if successful, as the lord of Tenza (Tenshi ?) and the prince his son do not wish the Franciscan monks to build churches in *Quanto*; nay, that the former has already written to the viceroy of New Spain that it is not religion but commerce he wants. And we fear therefore, and with good cause, that should any further mission of Franciscan monks or any other mission land here, it might greatly exasperate the King against them and Masamune, whose real object in wanting the mission in his estates will

then become too manifest ; and as the King is already very distrustful of the Spaniards for reasons we have explained to you before, he may be led to suspect there exists some ominous alliance between them and Masamune, and give vent to his indignation by causing the total ruin of the latter, whose estates are entirely dependent on the King's good-will, who may deprive him of them as well as of his life whenever he should think it convenient do to so. I wrote to His Majesty about everything deserving prudence and reflection with regard to this embassy, and now I do the same to you, so that, if needful, you may inform His Holiness lest through lack of reliable information on the real import of this Embassy, they may send over here an expedition that might endanger the interests of the church and the authority of the Pope.

" 5th, October, 1613."

(Manuscript joined to the Despatch, 31st October, 1615, sent from Rome by the Venetian ambassador Simone Contarini.)

No. 8.

VISIT AND COMPLIMENT PAID TO TWO AMBASSADORS OF THE KING OF OSHU IN THE ISLAND OF JAPAN ON THEIR ARRIVAL AT GENOA ON THE 12TH OCTOBER, 1615.

The Senate having heard that two ambassadors from one of the reigning sovereigns of Japan had just arrived from Spain and were lodged at the monastery of the "Annonciata del guastato" resolved to send them a delegation of four gentlemen to welcome them in the name of the Senate and greet them with the title of "Illustrissimi." One of the ambassadors was a Japanese called Don Filippo Faxecura, the other one a Spainard of Sevilla called Luigi Sotelo, a Franciscan monk of the order of the "Osservanza," and both were going to Rome with a suite of twenty-eight gentlemen, mostly Japanese, to make act of obedience, in

the name of their sovereign, to His Holiness the Pope, having previously written from Savona to the Senate of Genoa requesting permission to land.

The deputation chosen by the Senate was composed of Oratio Lercars; G. B. Baliano; Nicolo Inorena; Paroli and Francesco Serra, who, having assembled as usual on "San Luca" square and being accompanied by a vice chancellor, two target guards and twenty German soldiers in cape and sword, repaired to the said monastery of the Annonciata, where they were met by Father Sotelo, near the entrance of the dormitory, who accompanied them to the door of their apartments. The Japanese ambassador received them a few steps from the door and having entered and being accomodated with seats, Signor Oratio, as the eldest of the Deputation, addressed them in a few chosen words. After which gifts were exchanged. The interpreter of the Deputation, Doctor Scipione Amati, translated into Spanish all what the deputies had said, which Father Sotelo immediately expressed in a low voice in Japanese to the other ambassador and the latter replied, and Father Sotelo interpreted for him in Spanish, thanking those gentlemen for the courtesies, honors and compliments done to them and added that he would give information of everything to his sovereign, by whom he had been particularly instructed to call upon the noble Senate of Genoa, well remembering the honors and compliments paid thirty years before to other Japanese Ambassadors who happened to pass through Genoa, and said he would also give his sovereign a written account of everything *notable* in the city of Genoa, and after a few more compliments he begged the commission would obtain from the Senate the concession of the three following requests, namely: To be excused for having been anticipated by their Lordships in paying the due compliments. That as they were carrying in the name of their king, presents to His Holiness the Pope, consisting of sacerdotal ornaments, alter vases and other

beautiful things peculiar to their country, they begged that everything should be let pass free of the usual custom duties, and their boxes should not be opened, just as had been done wherever they had passed. And finally that the Senate should recommend the interests of the Embassy to the Genoese Cardinals on account of their being identical with those of His Holiness and the catholic faith.

The commissioners replied that they would submit their requests to the Senate, whereupon they retired and were accompanied by the Japanese ambassador a few steps further than the place where he had received them ; that is, as far as the corner of the dormitory, and by Father Sotelo and the rest of the Embassy to the very end of it.

On the afternoon the Ambassadors went to the Palace to return their visit to the commissioners, who were then assembled in the Senate. They were received on the top of the stair by two secretaries and conducted into the Senate hall and seated on the throne beside his "Serenity" the Doge, upon two velvet chairs. The Japanese sat on the right and the Spaniard on the left. The former having taken off his hat and greeted the assembly, addressed them in Japanese, but in such a low voice that they could scarcely hear the sound of it, and constantly keeping his face turned towards the Spaniard, who translated it afterwards into Spanish in a most accomplished manner, showing himself to be a very able and prudent man. His "Serenity" the Doge answered him in complimentary terms and always addressed him with the same title of "Illustrissimo."

They took leave by bowing to the assembled Senators, who returned the salute by removing their caps, and bending their heads, without however rising from their seats.

The two Secretaries accompanied them down stairs, and having got on a litter they were taken on board a a galley of Don Carlo Doria, which was ready to start for Civista Vecchia.

In ascending and descending the stairs of the Senate they were accompanied by a guard of German halberdiers.

The Senate ordered the Custom authorities to let pass free of duty the baggage of the Embassy; they were not instructed however not to open them.

All those Japanese, except one, were of low stature, of a yellowish, almost olive tint, small eyes, with little or no beard; in their features they resemble each other very much. The dress of the Ambassador consisted of a gown which almost reached his feet but not very large, made of black velvet, and above it another, a much shorter one, with short large sleeves, made of black silk; yellow silk stockings; leather shoes resembling a glove, that is with the big toe incased separately from the rest, and a black felt hat on his head. The other Japanese were dressed the same but not so richly and without the long (?) gown. The ambassador and his suite wore their hair close-shaved on the top of the head, but so long on the temples that they turned them up on the back and tied them with a piece of silk string after the manner of a turned up tail. The ambassador also wore to his belt a kind of scymitar about two inches long, which the Japanese call "Katana."

His followers also wore a weapon of the same form and quality, but wore moreover, either in their hand or on one side, another but much longer one which they also call "Katana."

His courtiers made use in eating of two small chopsticks, two-thirds of an foot long, abont as thick as our writing pen-holder, with which they very dexterously can bring to their mouth whatsoever they are eating.

The other Ambassador, that is, Father Sotelo, was dressed as a Franciscan monk belonging to the order of the "Osservanti dell annunziata del Guastato."

No 9.

A DESPATCH FROM THE VENETIAN AMBASSADOR AT ROME.

"The Japanese ambassador, conducted by Franciscan monks, has reached here and is lodged in the tower of Aracoeli; his expenses, amounting to 30 crowns a day, are defrayed by the Pope, who has also appointed officers of the Palace to wait on him. Last Thursday he made his public entrance in Rome and, except the cardinals' mules and hats which are always sent to welcome the other royal ambassadors, the reception was a very brilliant one. The ambassadors of France and Spain sent representatives to do him homage and I thought it convenient to do the same; he was very pleased, and told my secretary he did not know he would have met at this court the ambassadors of such a powerful state, and added that as soon as he is ready with the Palace he should call upon me.

"He is a man of rather low size; stout and of a dark colour; with an almost square face; he is clean shaved but wears tresses on his head; he is about 46 years of age; he has with him a retinue of 27 persons, looking uncommonly like their master; it took him two years to accomplish the voyage from his country; he is a Christian, having been baptized. I have heard he has brought several presents to His Catholic Majesty and also to His Holiness the Pope. They say that he has made a request to be provided with 200 monks to instruct his sovereign and the people in our religion; and shows a great devotion to the Pope. A Spanish Franciscan monk who has come with him, acts as interpreter.

"What appears to be very singular in this occurrence is the dislike, not to say the vexation, shown by the Rev. Father Jesuits at the arrival of this personage into Christian countries, and they say that he is not an ambassador of the Emperor of Japan but of one of his subjects called Masamune.

"For the better information of your Lordships I enclose hereby a letter written by the Jesuits in Japan, who maintain this to be only a masquerade and also that the Franciscan monks in Japan were at all times the staunch companions of Masamune's debauch.

"Rome, 31st October, 1615.

"SIMON CONTARINI, AMB."

No. 10.

DESPATCH FROM THE VENETIAN AMBASSADOR AT ROME.

"The Pope received last Tuesday the Japanese Envoy in solemn audience in one of the halls built by Clement VIII. He wore the stole only, beside his usual dress and was surrounded by all those cardinals who felt inclined to attend.

"A Franciscan monk made a very able exposition of the Embassy, and said that his king wanted a prelate to instruct him and also a number of Missionaries; that his king, being next in power and dignity to the Emperor, he would endeavour to supplant him, and then he would not only declare himself an obedient Christian to the church of Rome but would compel afterwards all other princes in his country to do the same. Most of the people here in Rome think there are other interests at the bottom of this affair. The ambassador is now visiting the cardinals and sent me word that he should wait upon me immediately he has done with them. He has with him one of our subjects, a man from Liesena, who has been in those countries for over 20 years and who says he wants to see his people. If I have been rightly informed, it appears as if the ambassador wanted to visit the republic.

"Rome, 7th November, 1615.

"SIMON CONTARINI, AMB."

No. 11.

DESPATCH FROM THE VENETIAN AMBASSADOR AT ROME.

"MOST ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE:

"This Japanese ambassador, together with a barefooted Franciscan monk from Sevilla, a colleague of the embassy, has called upon me, accompanied by the Pope's Officers in attendance and a number of his people. His expressions as interpreted by the monk were indeed highly flattering for the republic and for myself. I answered him praising his king, his person and the Christian purpose that has brought him here, and told him Your Highness would be very pleased to hear of the good dispositions of his prince in embracing our holy faith and, as we were surrounded by all sorts of people, I added that such an important and worthy object would receive a particular help by the piety, zeal and infinite devotion of our present Pontiff, who would certainly not fail to beg from God all sorts of blessings for his King and Kingdom. And as they mentioned the favors they had received from His Majesty the King of Spain, I said also of the latter what I thought would have pleased those around me. The monk related to me many things about those countries, but did not mention that he intended visiting Venice as he did to others; according to all appearances they left me quite satisfied.

"Rome, 21st November, 1615.

"SIMON CONTARINI, AMB."

No. 12.

XLV.

DESPATCH FROM THE VENETIAN AMBASSADOR AT ROME.

"MOST ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE:

"I returned the visit of the Japanese ambassador. He told me that, owing to pressure of time, not wishing to lose the opportunity of embarking during this year for his

country, and as he must speedily set out for Spain, he should not be able to go to Venice to present his homages to Your Highness on the occasion of your accession to power, over which he expressed his satisfaction in the most flattering terms. He told me that he should however send one of his gentlemen and a couple of secretaries to pay his respects to you. He also said that his king is thoroughly informed of the beauties and wonders of Venice, of which he sometimes speaks with great honour and satisfaction.

"If the interpreter is sincere, he shows in his discourses to possess much ability and prudence.

"Rome, 26th December, 1615.

"SIMON CONTARINI, AMB."

No. 13.

DESPATCH FROM THE VENETIAN AMBASSADOR AT ROME.

"The Japanese ambassador has departed; he begged me a few days ago for a letter of introduction to Your Highness for two of his followers, one a Japanese and the other from Liesena, a subject of the Republic, who has lived for twenty years in those countries. He told me they had several requests to make, one for building a church in Japan, another to establish, to your eternal glory, a hospital for poor Christians, and the most modest of the three, namely, to provide them with some chalices and sacred books. But having reminded him of his immediate departure and the impossibility of those things ever reaching Japan if they could not be got ready at once, the monk informed me two days afterwards that he had changed his mind on the subject and that he would not send anybody to Venice, being sure that I would let you know of his affection and the attachment of his king for you and the Republic, and now we are rid of this embarassment too. I understand that the ambassador

has not been quite satisfied with the result of his mission to the Pope, because out of three requests one only seems to have been granted, and that also to a certain extent only. The ambassador had begged His Holiness to receive under His protection Date Masamune as a sovereign prince who was on the way to ascend the throne of the Mikado, but to this the Pope answered that he would consult with the king of Spain on the subject before deciding. From this we discover two things: one, that he does not want to grant the request, because it is quite to be expected that the king of Spain will be more inclined to make that kingdom a dependency of his own crown rather than the Pope's; the other, that he is afraid to offend the catholic king with a resolution that would be quite proper for him to take. The second request was that the Pope should appoint a catholic bishop for Japan, which was not done; and the third that he should send a number of monks to propagate the Christian faith, and the Pope replied that he would write to that effect to His Nuncio in Spain and see what could be done. His Holiness, however, presented the Japanese envoy with one thousand gold ducats and with many religious objects, some of them very valuable.

"Rome, 9th January, 1616.

"SIMON CONTARINI, AMB."

No. 14.

DELIBERATION OF THE VENETIAN SENATE.

1615 (1616) 23rd January in Pregadi.

The ambassador of Masamune, King of Vōshu in Japan, having at his departure for his country sent to this city Don Gregorio Mattia, a gentleman of his suite, provided with letters for the Senate and with a little table of Indian manufacture destined as a present to the Senate, the latter in order to express its gratitude and also to do honor to

the said Don Gregorio Mattia, has resolved to present the latter with a gold chain and medal bearing the impression of Saint Marco, worth a 100 ducats of 7 lire each, +152−1−2.

Approved in Counsel on the same day, with the addition of 10 ducats more.

No. 15.

DELIBERATION OF THE VENETIAN SENATE.

1615 (1616) 29th January in Pregadi.

Having considered the request made by the Japanese Ambassador that some donations should be sent to the catholic churches in those countries, we have resolved to spend 150 ducats in purchasing a silver cross, or a chalice and patin or anything of the kind, to be placed in one of the catholic churches of Japan +158–7–7.

Approved in Counsel on the 20th January.

No. 16.

Visit and compliment paid to the two illustrious Amdassadors of the King of Oshiu in the island of Japan on their return to Genoa.

The Senate having heard that the two Japanese envoys of the King of Oshiu, who had returned from Rome on their way home and were lodged at the convent of "Le Nontiata del Guastato," gave instructions that they should again be called upon by four gentlemen of the Senate and addressed again as "Illustrissimi." The four deputies, led by Magnifico Stefano Carmagusla, went to the Convent and met the Ambassadors in the new apartments just above the gate of the "Stanze."

As they took leave they were accompanied out of the gate through the "Loggia."

The Japanese Ambassador, being indisposed, did not return the visit for some time; but when he and Father Sotelo called upon His Highness they were received with honor and addressed as "Illustrissimi;" they sat opposite to His Highness, and when they left they were accompanied two or three steps out of the Hall.

No. 17.

LETTER OF THE JAPANESE EMBASSY TO THE DOGE OF VENICE.

"SERENISSIME DUX:

"Cum e remotissimis Japonum regionibus nomine Regis Voxij ad hanc sanctissimam Romanae Ecclesiae sedem abedientiam prestitrui venissemus, Serenissimam Rempublicam visendi maiorem imodum exoptavimus, non solum aldificios fama et virtutum gloria, verum etiam Senatsu magnificentia et tot illustrium virorum claritate. Verum itineris importunitate et hiemis rigore nunc ad Hispaniarum Regiam reversuri tam cptatum iter Liguriam versus commutavimus. Ne autem nostrae voluntatis ae Idatis Massamunis regis Voxij erga Rempublicam benevolentiae testimonium transiret occultum, Gregoris Matthiam huins Serenissimi Senatus subditum huinsmodi officia exhibituram mittendum indicavimus, tamquam nostrae legationis comitem et ex Japonis Imperio egressum, cui aures humaniter prestare dignetur, nostrique intuitu benevoli excipiat cumque alique beneficiorum genere complectatur. Quaeomnia ut nobis grata ita Serenissimae Reipublicae largitas clarius emicabit, ac in Japonio Imperio virtutum et gloriae laude exornata vehementius in Principum illorum animis insidebit. Ex Japonio delatum munus Altitudini vestrae Senenissimae exiguum licet offerre decrevi, ut huius Serenissimi Senatus etiam largitas ubique gentium

comendata Japonicis quoque regnis innotescat Serenitatem ergo vestram Deusque maximus quam diutissime tueatur incolumen, ac Seremissimae Reipublicae terminos quam latissime proferat. Romae sexta die Januarii 1616.

" Altitudinis vestrae Serenissimae seriai humillimi.

" Don Filippo Franc. Haxecura.

" Ludovicus Sotelo."

No. 18.

LETTER OF FATHER SOTELO TO THE DOGE OF VENICE.

" Serenissime Dux :

" Cum Japonicis partibus diu permansissem, animam gentilium conversioni addictus, Rex Voxij Idates Masamunes in imperio Japonico potentissimo ad hanc sanctissimam sedem apostolicam legatum desiguavit, nominavit, constituit legationis munere perfunctus hanc serenissimam Rempublicam visendi studiosus, officiis omnibus consulendum putavi, ut propensae voluntatis argumentum altitudini vestrae innotescont. Quam Gregorium Matthiam domus nostrae praefectum Serenissimi Senatus subditum mitto, ut meo nomine Altitudinem vestram Serenissimam incolumem dicat, ac Japonium reversurus aliquo liberalitatis munere novam illarum partium succrescentem Ecclesiam adiuvet ; nec non dictum Gregorium in omnibus uti nostrae legationis utilem comitem benevoli tractare, ac beneficiorum aliquo genere complecti dignetur. Quod mihi ac novae illi Ecclesiae vehementer acceptum ac Serenissimae Reipublicae egregium testimonium accedet, si quod diutissime videndum putavi, illud idem leberalitatis doni videatur ad impletum. Haec ut legationis etiam ad futura, ita jucundissima perpetuo vivent, omnibus Christi

fidelibus relatura, maximan huius serenissimae Senatus admirationem indicabunt. Vale Princeps Seremissime meque humilem servum inter benevola numerato.

"Romae die 6 Januarii 1616. Altitudini vestrae Serenissimae.

"FR. LUDVICUS SOTELO."

LETTER OF THE JAPANESE EMBASSY TO THE VENETIAN SENATE.

"S. C. R. SENATUS:

"Benignitas, amplitudu et magnificentia Venetorum ubique Terrarum cognita, extrenue apud nosenit in regressu Gregori Matthiae nuntiantis nobis laetitiam et humanitatem maximam qua honorifice fuit exceptus et a Serenissimo Senatus exanditus, expeditus ac remuneratus, tradidit etiam praeclara ac pulcherrima numera, Sanctam Crucem et lampadam; argentea dona sed aurea celebrandaque liberalitatis ac benevolentia Voluntas; eo potius aestimanda quo non ad presentes, sed ad absentes nuntios est exhibita, impeditos tamero, ac non parum dolentes caruisse Serenitatis Vestrae ex longissima Japonis regione tam desiderata, verumtamen quod tempus aculis videre non licuit in praeclaris donis charitatis et amicitae plenis mentis intuitu perpicimus ac maximo cordis affectu congratulamur; gratias simili agentes pro litteris ac mandato exhibito Illustrit ssimo Domino Carolo Albano Consuli hic existenti, utinviserenos quod fideliter et exacte exequntus nos maximopere honoravit, ditavit que haec inquam Regis nostri Idate Massamuni auribus intimata, quam gratissima ac ex specialibus litteris tuis recognita fore atque ad veram et perpetuam amicitiam ac communicationem contraendam cum Serenissimo ac nobilissimo Senatu sive Republica praeclarum initium esse putamus; maxime si (divinis auspiciis) ut intendimus recta via ex Japonia in Europam apriatur; interim eamdem amicitiam Seremitatis vestrae, ut gratissimum refferemus Regi ac Deum

nostrum Eccelesia illa pro conservatione, felicitate et angumento Serenitatis vestrae deprecabitur, ut debet, donec haec felicia exordia indesideratum effectum convertantur; predictus Gregorius fatigatus ex prolixo itinere, et peregridatione regreditum in patriam subditus tam magni, ac Serenissimi Senatus, ac alias benemeritus gratissimum erit, cum ipse multum a nobis diligatur si quam munifice a vestra Serenitate, ut moris est honoretur et amplectatur, quam Deus etc. Germae die XXIIII Februarii, Anno M. D. C. XVI.

" Serenitatis vestrae ac Excellentissimi Senatus.

" Don Filixe Francisco.
" Fasi Cura Recoiendono.

" Fr. Luis Sotelo."

APPENDIX III.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO HASEKURA.

No. 1.

HASEKURA'S CERTIFICATE OF ROMAN CITIZENSHIP.

"Quod Ludoviens Rentius vincentius Mentus de Papazurris Jacobus vellius almae urbis

"CONSERVATORES

"De illust^mo et excell^mo Philippo Francisco Faxecura Rocuyemon Romana civitate donando ad senatum retulere S. P. Q. R. de ea re ita fieri censuit:—

"Quod in urbe romana antiquissimis etiam illis regum temporibus usitatum est, sequentibus deinde annis respub, consuevit, ne nostra quidem aetas omisit, hesteros nempe viros, virtute, seu nobilitate insignes ad hanc almam urbem ex orbe universo confluentes, S. P. Q. R. non solum benigniter, verum etiam munificenter amplexus, illos magnitudine romani nominis desuper nativam propriamque nobilitatem cohonestando civitate romana donavit: ut vir virtute nobilitateque praestantes inter romanos cives adsciti magno reipub. nostrae usui atque ornamento fuissent, vel esse aliquando possent. Nos igitur antiquissimi morio, nostrumque majorum exempli authoritate permoti, non omittendum putavimus inter cives, patritiosque romanos adseire illust^mum

et excell^mum Philippum Franciscum Faxecura Rocuyemon ex civitate seu curia Sandai regni Voxu in Jappone ortum: cum ipse ex tam lingonquis et remotissimis regionibus ad hanc almam urbem venerit orator ad sanctissimum dominum nostrum Paulum Quintum Burghesium Romanum Pontificem maximum pro serenissimo Idate Masamune rege Voxu in imperio Japponico ut Romanum pontificem catholicae et universalis ecclesiae pastorem, totius orbis. parentem et Jesu Christi Filii Dei Omnipotentis vicarium ea qua decet revere ntia venerando ad accipiendam dicti regis ac regni tutelam, paternamque curam hostaretur. Ea propter S. P. Q. R. ut cum ipso strictissimo amoris nexu colligetur, praefatum illustrissimum et excellentissimum Philippum Franciscum Faxecura Rocuyemon amplissimo munere Romanae civitatis decorandum et in senator ordinem merito co-optandum censuit. Quam voluntatem ac sententiam singulari omnium consensu ac laetitia comprobatam per scribas ejusdem saeri senatus in publicas litteras ad alterram memoriam referri eidem S. P. Q. R. ita placuit, ut beneficium, honoremque non magis dare quam accipere videatur. Anno ab urbe condita MMCCCLXVI. et ab orbe redempto MDCXVXII Kal. Decembris."[63]

While the following is not a literal translation it is a sufficiently accurate rendering of the above Latin and possesses a historical interest of its own.[64]

"Whereas Ldovicus Rentius, Vincentius Mutus de Papaz urris and Jacobus Vellius, guardians of the Benign City,

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[63] This is copied from a photograph of the original document.

[64] This translation was prepared at the instance of the Date family in 1891 in order to show the Crown Prince of Russia, when his visit to Japan was shortened by the attempt made upon his life at Otsu by the fanatical Japanese policeman. The Prince was to go to the house of Date at Shinagawa, Tokyo, and view all the interesting relics brought from Rome. All of these objects had previously been stored in the Ueno Museum (Hakubutsu-Kwan) Tokyo, but were withdrawn by the family to be exhibited to the Russian Prince.

have made a report to the Senate regarding the presentation of the citizenship of Rome to the most illustrious and excellent Philip Francis Faxecura Rocuyemon, and the people of Rome have decreed in this matter as follows. That is to say :—

"The custom observed in the most ancient city of Rome, even in the period of the kings and afterwards practised in the following years of the Republic, our own time also has not neglected, and the Senate and People of Rome have received not only with kindness but with munificence even men of yesterday eminent by their virtue or nobleness who have assembled in this Benign City from the entire world, and bestowing on them, in addition to their native and inborn nobleness, the greatness of the Roman name, have conferred on them the Roman citizenship, so that men who excelled in virtue and nobleness being enrolled among Roman citizens were or might thereafter be of great advantage and ornament to our Republic. We therefore, infiuenced by the authority of the example of our ancestors and of this most ancient custom, deem that we ought not to neglect to enlist among the citizens and patricians of Rome the most illustrious and excellent Philip Francis Faxecura Rokuyemom, born in the state or court of Sendai in the Kingdom of Voxu (Oshiu) in Japan : since he has an Envoy to our most Holy Lord. Paul the Fifth (Barghese), Pontifix Maximus (Pope) of Rome from the most serene King of Voxu in the Empire of Japan, in order to persuade with all due reverence the Roman Pontifix, Pastor of the Catholic and Universal Church, and Vicar of Jesus Christ the Son of Almighty God, to receive under his paternal care and protection the said King and Kingdom. For the above reasons the Senate and people of Rome, to the end that they may be united to him with the closest bonds of love, have decreed to adorn the aforesaid most illustrious and excellent Philip Francis Faxecura Rokuyemon with the most ample gift of Roman citizenship, and to elect him, as he deserves, into the Senatorial Order. Now this will and judgment having been approved with the

singular unanimity and rejoicing of all, it has pleased the same Senate and people of Rome that it should be handed down to eternal memory by the scribes of the said holy Senate in a public document, so that it may appear not more to give than to receive benefit and honor.

"In the year 2366 from the foundation of the city, and the year 1615 from the redemption of the world. On the 12th day before the Kalends of December."

No 2.

A LETTER FROM ROKUEMON'S GRANDSON TO THE LORD OF SENDAI.

"3rd day of 2nd month of 5th year of Empō
(Feb. 24, 1677.)

"MY DEAR LORD:

I am your hereditary vassal. During the age of Bunchi when Yoritomo marched to Ōshū, Munemura and his son overthrew Sato's camp at Ishinazaka. My ancestor under Munemura killed Kawabe, Iga, and others. For this, he was given Hasekura and Yamaguchi, two places in Date gori, and since then his family name has been Hasekura. His descendants have been all vassals of the lord of Sendai. I do not know how many generations there were from my first ancestor to Rokuemon, or how much allowance they received from their masters. Rokuemon, my grandfather, was given sixty Kan (1 kan=present 1 cho=2.5 acres of land) and 243 mon (thousands of a kan). Lord Masamune sent him to Namban in the 18th year of Keicho (1613). Rokuemon was not Christian, but he was compelled to become a believer, because otherwise he could not see the king and get the answer to the letter of Masamune. Eight years after, when he had finished his business, he came back in the 6th year of Genna (1620). He died in July of the 8th year of Genna (1622). His

son, Hasekura Kanzaburo, succeeded Rokuemon, getting the same amount from the lord, and called himself Rokuemon. While Gizan sama (son of Masamune, afterward 2nd lord of Sendai) lived yet as an inheritance the young Rokuemon served for him. During the reign of the 2nd lord, some one in Yedo (present Tōkyō) told the government that the young Rokuemon was a Christian. The Government sent a man to catch him. But the fact (that Rokuemon was not believer) was explained, and therefore he was not punished. Gonshirō, brother of the young Rokuemon, became a believer, and escaped to other district. On this account Rokuemon (the younger) was sentenced to commit suicide on the first day of 3d month of 17th year of Kan-ei, (April 11, 1640) and his allowance taken away. I, the son of the young Rokuemon, was four years old at that time, was rescued from being killed. I had to live with Baba, a brother of my mother. By the request of all my relations I was allowed and became free on the 23rd day of 4th month of 7th year of Kambun. (June 4, 1667). I was given a salary of 5 kan and 167 mon on the 3d day of 6th month of year the 8th of Kambun (July 1, 1668).

"Your most faithful servant,

"HASEKURA MATABEI."

No. 3

DEATH OF HASEKURA ROKUEMON, WHO WAS SUSPECTED OF BEING A CHRISTIAN.

"29th, 5th year of Kyōhō (1720).

"DEAR SIR,

"Hasekura Rokuemon served for Gizan Sama, the second lord of Sendai (son of Masamune), as a member of the O-Oban-Gumi. Some one in Tōkyō appealed to the Tokugawa government that Rokuemon knew where Bateren

were. The government ordered the lord to examine Rokuemon in 16th year of Kan-ei (1639). A meeting was held to consult on this matter. It was found that Hasekura was a native of Sendai, he was a member of Kōmyōji, a Buddhist temple on Kitayama, and that he had never been a Christian and consequently had not known where Bateren had been. But a servant of Hasekura, Tarazaemon, was a believer and communicated with other Christians. Hasekura did not know this, and was blamed for allowing it, and so was killed on 1st day of 3d month of 17th year of Kwanei (April 11, 1640) and buried in the ground of Kōmyōji. He was forty-two years old. This is what is judged of Hasekura as one who was suspected of being a Christian, and there is no mistake.

"Your most faithful servant,

"HASEKURA SABUROBEI."

"Sakamoto Hikoshiro, Esq.

"Miyagi Yoemon, Esq."[65]

BRIEF BIBLIOGRAPHY.[66]

In the preparation of this paper two sources of authority were made use of, Japanese and European. In composing the first part, Date's life, the material was gathered almost entirely from the Japanese language, through the aid of translations. Also in the second, translation from Italian is freely used. But nearly everything in the second part came originally from European sources. For the whole paper help was mainly derived from the following :—

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[65] By Hasekura above is very likely meant the son of the ambassador to Europe. Hasekura the ambassador is stated by Page's and Japanese authorities to have died shortly after his return from Europe in 1620. It will be seen the preceding letter distinctly says it was the younger Hasekura that was killed in 1640.

[66] The illustrations are from Photographs by Mr. Endo of Sendai.

1st. *Sendai Hanso Seiseki*, "The History of Sendai Han (country). This is a work in five volumes, and, according to the best authorities on Japanese history, contains the fullest and most accurate available information on Date Masamune. It was published in 17th year of Meiji, about eight years ago, and was compiled from all accessible documents. Only a fraction of it is included in this short sketch of Date. The chronicles of the Date family number nearly a thousand volumes in mass and there is other material in the library at Mito, and in the Historical Bureau in Tōkyō. Perhaps some day all of these accumulated documents will be given to the public, but a vast mass of the details will hardly interest any one except the descendants of those who took part in the events narrated.

2nd. *O nan Ken Shiko*, "Notes on sending embassy to the southern country."

In 1876, the present emperor made a tour of northern Japan, and at an exhibition in Sendai the relics brought from Rome were shown to the public. The Emperor was much interested in them and desired that an account of them should be written. So Mr. K. Hirai of the Historical Bureau was delegated to compose a brief history of the embassy. He expressed his regret that such slight material could found in Japanese. He based his narrative largely on European sources with some help from the Date family chronicles. It is a small work, hardly more than what would be called a pamphlet in English, but popular and interesting. It gives something of a historical setting, but is closely confined to the immediate incident itself. The chief European authorities he followed seem to be Page's, Charlevoix and Crasset. All three have been translated into Japanese; at least the first and last have been.

3rd. *Kinjo Hion*, or Account of Embassy to Southern Country.

This was written in early part of present century, by Mr. Gentaku Otsuki. It remained in MSS. form only until a few years ago, when it was edited and published with notes by Mr. Fumihiko Mago. The additions by the editor form about half of the entire work, and are based largely on European sources of information. The original part was drawn up without such aid and in the editor's view was intended to give an account of the matter, so to speak, from an inside standpoint. The author was the head of the Samurai school of the Date daimiate, and was given all facilities for compiling his work. The family was of decided literary taste and this school remained under the charge of different members until feudalism was abolished. A member of the family is now Director of the Sendai High School, and is also author of a large standard dictionary of the Japanese language.

4th. The principal European sources are originally the letters and annals of the Catholic priests. These sources are chiefly accessible in the works of Charlevoix, Crasset and Page's, the last being chiefly consulted as combining very largely the information in the other two. There is also a short account of Hasekura's diploma, with a French translation, in *Annales de la Propagation de la foi* for 1876-77, a periodical published at Lyons, France. A French priest made his way to Sendai in 1876, and there saw the diploma and other objects. T. R. H. McClatchie also wrote an account of this diploma in the *Tokyo Times*, Jan. 6, 1877.

5th. Liberal use has been made of William Berchet's *Japanese Embassies to Italy* (in Italian), who seems to have followed Page's in part, but he gives documents drawn from Italian archives that throw some side lights on this episode. There are many references in Page's to works in the Italian language, but Berchet alone was almost too full for the limits of this paper.

6th. Hints, facts and suggestions were gleaned from such works as Griffis, Rein, Transactions of Asiatic Society, etc. Jacques-Auguste de Thou's *Historia sui tempori's* contains a short account of the embassy from southern Japan, but it was written before Date sent his embassy. There is a French translation in the Imperial University Library. Professor Inazo Nitobe's *United States and Japan*, written by one of the best and most accomplished of the younger race of Japanese scholars, gives a very clear and condensed account of the spread of Christianity in Japan. It seems a marvel that such logical method, such lucidity of arrangement, such good English, could come from one whose native language, even down to the present day, is filled with histories written in the driest of annalistic styles.

Professor B. H. Chamberlain's *Things Japanese* in the way of giving references to European authorities on Japan was found to be almost invaluable. It is too limited to go into details, but it can in nearly every instance point the seeker to the authority.

But it is only vexation to know the authority and not be able to get it. For those who desire to consult European books on Japan there is a sad lack of library facilities in Japan. The authorities are scattered through half a dozen European languages, and it is safe to say there is no accessible library in Japan that has more than a fraction of the authorities in even one language. If one may hazard prediction it may be said that no Japanese library will make a specialty of gathering such works. The mission schools must expend their strength in other directions, so there seems no agency left except the Asiatic Society. By making a systematic effort, with some additional expenditure of funds, a large number of these important authorities can be obtained, and in no way can the Society more fully earn the deep gratitude of all students on Japan than by doing this.

ESOTERIC SHINTŌ.

By Percival Lowell, Esq.

[*Read Feb. 15th, 1893.*]

I.

Ontaké in Shinshiu is one of the great sacred peaks of Japan. High as it is, it rises from amid such a mass of mountains that, so far as most foreigners go, it remains invisible and unvisited. Yet upon it every summer faith tells a rosary of ten thousand pilgrims. In August, 1891, I chanced to climb it, and in doing so came unexpectedly upon certain esoteric phenomena which turned out to be as unknown as they were peculiar. Subsequent study proved them to be very widespread, although all looked to the mountain as their holy of holies, and to be convincingly of Shintō, and therefore of purely Japanese origin. They thus possess a twofold importance. For they open a suggestively new vista into psychic phenomena generally, and at the same time they give a glimpse into the past relations of Shintō and Buddhism which amounts to a revelation of the former, by disclosing most unexpectedly how much of what we have fully believed to be Buddhist has been simply baptized bodily by it out of the older faith.

Of Shintō non-esoteric a word or two here will suffice. Shintō, as is well known, is a combination by the Japanese of the worship of nature and of their own ancestors. But the character of the combination is ethnologically instructive. For a lack of psychic development has made of

these seemingly diverse elements a homegeneous whole. Both, of course, are aboriginal instincts. Next to the fear of natural phenomena, in point of primitiveness, comes the fear of one's father ; as children and savages show. But races, like individuals, tend to outgrow it as they develop. Now the suggestive thing about the Japanese people is that this passing phase of religion has been perpetuated. The Japanese have stayed boys. Filial respect continued, and, by very virtue of not becoming less, became more, till it filled not only the whole sphere of morals but expanded into the sphere of cosmogony. To the Japanese eye the universe itself took on the paternal look. Parental awe which these people understood lent explanation to natural dread which they did not. Quite simply to their minds the thunder and the wind, the sunshine and the shower were the work not only of anthropomorphic beings but of beings ancestrally related to themselves. In short Shintō, their explanation of things in general, is nothing else than the patriarchal principle projected without perspective into the past, dilating with distance into deity.

That their dead should thus still live on to them is paralleled by the way in which the dead live on in the thought of the young generally. For the idea of personal immortality is not due to the logic of teleology but to the instant inference of unreasoning childhood. The dead do survive in the memories of the living, and it is the natural deduction to clothe this subjective idea with objective existence ; a deduction which finds distant analogy in the seeming reality of dreams.

Shintō is thus an adoration of family wraiths or of supposed family wraiths, imaginaries of the first and second order in the analysis of the universe. Buddhism with its ultimate Nirvana is in a sense the antithesis of this. For while simple Shintō regards the truly dead as living, philosophic Buddhism regards the truly living as dead.

Dealing with disembodied spirits in so immaterial a way Shintō has seemed to foreign students little better than the ghost of a belief, far too insubstantial a body of faith to hold a heart. To ticket its gods and pigeon-hole its folk-lore has appeared to be the end of study of its cult.

Nor is its outward aspect less skeleton-like. With a deal barn of a building for temple, a deal set of plain paraphernalia and, if one may be permitted the expression, a deal of nothing else, its appearance certainly leaves something to be desired. For in all save good puritan souls the religious idea craves sensuous setting. Feeling is the fuel of faith which sights sounds and odors fan into flame. Sense may not be essential to religion but incense is.

Shintō is rich in but one thing—gods. It has as much to worship as it has little to worship with, which is perhaps in keeping with the law of life. It has more gods than its devotees know what to do with. From the goddess of the sun to the gods of particular spots and feelings, few things in heaven or under it stand unrepresented in its catholic pantheon. Popular parlance puts the number at eight myriad; but in Japanese popular parlance "eight" and "myriad" are neither of them mathematical terms but confessions of arithmetical incompetency, expressions rigorously rendered by the phrase: ever so many. Nobody pretends to count the gods. Indeed it would be pious labor lost; for the roll is being constantly increased by promotions from the ranks. Any one at death may become a god, and it is of the entailed responsibilities of greatness that the very exalted must do so.

Of course no mere finite man can worship so infinite a number of deities, though time be to him of Oriental limitlessness. Each makes his choice of intimates and clubs the rest in a single general petition from time to time to prevent accidents. His first choice is made for him by his parents; at baptism, so to speak. For each Japanese has his god-father; not a man who stands to him in that

relation for divine purposes, but a god who does so chiefly for mundane ones. Shortly after birth the babe is presented at the temple and put under the protection of some special deity. The god's preference is not consulted in the affair; he becomes god-father on notification as a matter of course.

Next in importance to the god-father is the god-patron. For every branch of human industry is specially superintended by some god. Man may deem it beneath him to be in business but the gods do not. Each has his trade and spends much time looking after his apprentices. Furthermore each pleasure has a deity with whom its votary is perforce on peculiarly intimate terms. By the help of these various guardians the man is able without inconvenience to remain a life-long boy.

For the rest they are very easy going divinities indeed. They inculcate absolutely no morals whatever. "Obey the Mikado"—the gods' representative, and otherwise "follow your own heart" is the sum of their commands; as parental an injunction as could well be framed. So is the Japanese attitude toward them filiarly familiar, an attitude which to more teleologic faiths seems shocking irreverence but which appears perfectly natural to them.

It will at once be seen how aboriginal all this is. Childish conceptions embalmed in an exquisite etiquette: so Shintō might have been ticketed.

II.

But the mythologic mummy showed no evidence of soul. By the soul as opposed to the mere body of belief I mean that informing spirit vouchsafed by direct communion between god and man which all faiths proclaim of themselves and pooh-pooh of all the others. It was this soul that suddenly revealed itself upon Ontaké. By way of

general introduction to the subject I cannot perhaps do more simply than give my own. It was duly dramatic and my connection with the company I met there continued semi-theatrical to the end of the acquaintance.

We were plodding, a companion and I, up the last stretches of the pilgrim path to the summit of the mountain. We had reached the eighth station (for the paths up all high sacred mountains in Japan are divided into ten parts or stations pointed by rest houses) and were tarrying a moment in the grotto-like hut there, counting our heartbeats and wondering how much more of the mountain there might be to come—for thick clouds had cloaked all view on the ascent—when three young men, clad in full pilgrim white, entered the shanty from below and, deaf to the hut-keepers blandishments to stop, passed out again at the upper end; the hut having been astutely contrived to inclose the path, that not even the most ascetic might avoid temptation. The devout look of the trio struck our fancy; so, leaving a few coppers for our tea and cakes amid profuse acknowledgments from the hut-keeper, we passed out after them. We had not climbed above a couple of rods when we came upon our young puritans already at prayer before a shrine cut into the face of the cliff, in the open space in front of which two or there rude benches sat apparently aimlessly about. The three young men had laid aside their hats, mats and staves and showed white fillets binding their shocks of jet-black hair. We stopped on general principles of curiosity, for we had no inkling of what was about to happen. They were simply the most pious young men we had yet met and they interested us.

The prayer, which seemed an ordinary one, soon came to an end, upon which we expected to see the trio pack up and be off again. But instead of this one of them, drawing from his sleeve a *gohei*-wand and certain other implements of religion, seated himself upon one of the benches facing the

shrine and lapsed instantly into a sort of incantation. At the same time a second sat down on a bench facing the first, clasped his hands before his breast and closed his eyes. The third took post reverently near by.

The pantomimic prayer of the one facing the shrine was the most attractively uncouth thing I have ever seen. Intoning continuously certain formulæ, the man bent himself body and soul into tying his fingers into mystic knots, no sooner tied than resolved into others, accompanying each act with a guttural grunt suggestive of intense exertion. The thing certainly looked potent enough to compel wonders.

The strange action of the first was only matched by the strange inaction of the second. The man did not move a muscle; if anything he grew momentarily more statuesque. At last the exorcist paused in his performance and taking the *gohei* wand from beside him on the bench placed it between the other's palms. Then he resumed his incantation, the motionless one as motionless as ever, when suddenly the hands holding the wand began to twitch convulsively; the twitching rapidly increased to a spasmodic throe which momentarily grew more violent till at last the man was in the full fury of a seemingly superhuman paroxism. You had said the wand shook him, not he it. His convulsions were like those with which the soul takes leave of the body. Then the throe subsided as it had come, leaving a permanent tremor behind. The appearance of the man was unmistakeable. He had gone completely out of himself. We stood unwitting witnesses to a trance.

At the first sign of possession the exorcist had ceased incanting and now mutely watched the trance deepen. When the paroxismal throes had settled into a steady quiver—much as a top does when it goes off to sleep—he leant forward, put a hand on either side the possessed's knees, and in words archaically reverent asked the name of the god who had thus deigned to descend.

At first there was no reply. Then in a voice, strangely unnatural without being exactly artificial, the entranced spoke : "I am Hakkai."

The petitioner bent his head before the divine presence as the god spoke and then, raising his look a little, respectfully preferred what requests he had to make. These were not questions to task the divine intelligence ; the probable state of the weather on the honorable peak, the general outcome of the pilgrimage and the health of those at home. The god made replies of which brevity was the sole wit.

When the man had come to the end of his questionings or else deemed it discreet to desist from further monopolizing of the god's time, he offered a short benediction, and leaning forward touched the man on the breast and then on the back with increasing insistency, until he fairly thumped him. Under this ungodly treatment the man eventually opened his eyes like one awaking from profound sleep. Then the others set to and kneeded his arms, body and legs, cramped in catalepsy, back to a normal state.

No sooner was the ex-god himself again that the trio changed places ; the petitioner moved into the seat of the entranced, the looker-on took the place of the petitioner and the entranced retired to the post of looker-on. Then the whole performance began again from the beginning and went through the same details to a similar possession, a similar interview and a similar awakening.

At the close of the second trance the three once more revolved cyclically and went through the whole thing for the third time. This rotation in office so religiously observed was not the least of the affair's oddities.

When the cycle stood complete, the three friends offered up a concluding prayer and then, donning their outside accoutrements, started on upward.

We met at the summit, and fearing that we might not meet again, we snatched the occasion to beg the unheard of favor of a repetition of the trance for the sake of a photograph ; which I mention not for the request but for the instantaniety with which it was granted. The god apparently had no objection to having his picture taken. To be incarnated in a photograph is nothing to one who can be incarnated in a man.

Our fear of parting with our young god-friends proved quite groundless. For on returning to the summit hut after a climb round the crater rim, the first thing to catch our eyes amid its dim religious gloom was the sight of the pious trio once more in the full throes of possession. There were plenty of other pilgrims seated round the cauldron fire, as well as some native meteorologists in an annex who had been exiled there for a month by a paternal government to study the atmospheric conditions of this island in the clouds. Up to the time we met them the weather had been dishearteningly same, consisting of uninterrupted fog, they informed us pathetically. The communicants however paid no attention to them nor to any of the other pilgrims, nor did the rest of the company pay the slightest heed to the communicants ; all of which spoke volumes for the commonplaceness of the occurrence.

We again thought we had seen our last of the god and again were we pleasurably disappointed. For we were by no means done with him yet.

At half past five the next morning we had hardly finished a shivery preprandial peep at the sunrise before the three indefatigables were up and communing again by way of breakfast, and an hour later we came upon them before the tiptop shrine, hard at it for the fifth time. And all this between four o'clock one afternoon and half past six the next morning. The cycle of three was not always completed, one of the communicants being much

that is bad and some harmless, that is good. Though in the case of certain animals or even of some inanimate things that have got a bad name or an unmeritedly good one, as the case may be, the reason of the imputed virtue or vice is as difficult to fathom as the cause of the gender in French nouns. Clearly, original sin in this system of ethics is no monopoly of man.

By inevitable analogy the gods themselves are divided into the sheep and the goats. But by a merciful dispensation of some inexplicable cause, the good gods are more potent than the bad, a saving clause common to all religions. This would seem to work through what is called *tamashii*. *Tamashii* is pure soul, whatever that may be. Inasmuch as it permeates and protects the *shinki*, but though mingling with it does not become it, it may perhaps be called a force. Is it the unattributed, imperishable, universal force. Men and gods possess it in varying degrees but only the supreme deity is nothing else.

Now a certain evolutionary process is continually going on by which the bad *shinki* become good and the good, better. It is a process of natural purification. As the *shinki* clarifies, it more and more approaches *tamashii*, until at the end it, or whatever takes its place, is *tamashii*.

The degree of purity determines the amount of possible possession. As bad has affinity for bad and good for good, bad men will be possessed by bad spirits—which accounts for possession by foxes. Or in other words when a man is bewitched it is his own fault.

Possession is primarily the entrance into a body of another's *shinki*, but in cases of superlatively good people *tamashii* descends with it to reinforce it. Possession may be partial, complete or suspended; that is the alien may cohabit with the native *shinki*, whose seat is in the head, or it may drive it out for the time being or it may drive it down into the lower parts of the man, the chest or abdomen. The

spirit that dispossesses is naturally always more powerful than the one to whom the body belongs, but by the above merciful dispensation of providence the good dispossessors are stronger than the bad.

If this account of the divine nature be found a trifle disjointed and unsatisfactory, the gods are responsible, not I, errors and omissions on my part excepted. For I have it all from one whose authority was nothing short of the god's own words vouchsafed to him in trance. So that my knowledge of the matter is but second-hand divine, much nearer the source of inspiration than I can ever hope, in reason, to come again.

The act of god-possession is known as *kami-oroshi*, *kami-utsushi* or *kami-utsuri*—that is "the causing the god to come down," "the causing the god to transform" or "god-transformation." The two first names thus view the thing from the human standpoint, the last from the divine. But this is merely a matter of the temporary point of view, the three expressions and many others, such as *nori-utsuri*, "to change vehicles," being used indifferently according to the speaker's preference.

This change of vehicle on the part of the *shinki* may take place between any two things in nature, theoretically at least. Nor does such change differ in kind. But for the sake of psychology and not of religion we may consider it under the two aspects of god-possession of things and god-possession of people. The one makes the miracles; the other the incarnations.

The miracles may still further be divided into the subjective-objective and the objective ones, to express the shares in them that persons and things respectively play. The latter are merely the result of undivined physical laws. The former of course bring in the psychic element. As these form in the novitiate the stepping stones to the purely personal possessions it will be well to begin with them.

IV.

The simplest of the important ones is the *Kugadachi* or Ordeal by Boiling Water.

The word *kugadachi* is archaic Japanese. In Hepburn's dictionary a dagger stabs it obsolete. Further than this the departed is given no character, its meaning being epitaphed solely in *kana*.

It, or something like it, is mentioned in the Kojiki as practiced in prehistoric times. In those direct days it was a touchstone to actual guilt; in these more teleologic ones it is a test of theoretic guilelessness.

The arrangements for the rite are primitively picturesque. A huge iron pot, as it might be some witches' cauldron, is set in the garden or court, and about it is built a magic, not circle, but square. Four cut bamboos, tufted at their tops, are stuck into the ground some eight feet apart. From frond to frond are hung hempen ropes. Facing one side of the square is placed a deal table, on which are set three small deal boxes open on the sides, sacrificial stands to three *gohei*. In front of the middle box is laid a saucer of salt. Behind all this bamboo fronds rise into a background of plumes.

The wood which I have here and elsewhere translated "deal" on account of its appearance, which is simple to a degree, is the *hinoki* or "sun-wood," the *thuya obtusa*, or arbor vitae. Its name sun-wood is thought by some to be due to its having furnished the prehistoric two sticks whose rubbing first brought fire within the reach of man.

Spring water is then brought in and poured into the cauldron. On the occasion when I was shown the miracle I was at this point graciously permitted to put my little finger into the water. I quite fail now to see why I desired to do so, but I am very glad I did. My request turned out a most discreet indiscretion, productive of spiritual significance in the sequel.

A fire was then kindled beneath and we, seculars and regulars, stood round about outside the square waiting for the water to boil.

When at last the steam had began to rise, the officiating accolyte emerged from a bathhouse, where he had been purifying himself, clad in a single white robe, theoretically white that is, practically a postdiluvian grey, as the rite subsequently sufficiently explained.

As soon as he had entered the mystic square he clapped his hands. This in Japan is the invariable method of calling the god's attention, as also of summoning household servants. It is a touching instance of the familiar terms on which the Japanese stand with their gods, that they should thus indifferently summon diviuities and domestics.

He then started to circumambulate the kettle through a whole series of rites, each made up of a wearisomely similar basis of speech and action. Now it is all very well to preach against vain repetitions, but with anthropomorphic gods, as with ordinary mortals, it simply has to be done if one would really succeed in one's request. Those who believe in a man-like god while thinking that they do not and then introduce the Lord's Prayer seven times in the ordinary morning service, practice better than they preach. The Shintōists realize the principle and thoroughly act on it, too thoroughly to suit one who looks impatiently through the ceremony to its accomplished end. Like all good works its real effect is on the worker.

Pantomine and prayer were the double strand on which the more particular beads of rosary were told; uncouth finger twistings and monotonic formulæ pointed by expressive guttural grants. Upon this undercurrent of almost automatic action the man was insensibly carried along through his successive cycles of change. Beginning with prayer and finger-twistings at the north end of the square facing the cauldron, he then walked absorbedly

round it till he reached the south end, where he turned, faced the kettle and repeated the performance. Continuing round till he got to the west side he went through the thing again ; and so on east, northwest, southeast, northeast and southwest, making thus at least a half circuit between each point. All this was most particular ; though as a matter of fact the orientation of the points was hypothetical.

This constitued the simple motif, as it were. No sooner was it completed than he started on it again with variations. First it was salt. From the saucer on the stand he took a handful of this, and making circuits of the kettle as before, deposited a pinch at each of the compass points in their turn, digitating with the free hand as he did so. After this he tossed more salt into the air at each of the four cardinal points. Then, in the same way, he made the rounds, striking sparks from a flint and steel ; and then again with the *gohei*-wand, exorcising the water by cuts in the air of imprecatory violence. Lastly he took two bamboo fronds, one in each hand, and circulating as before, lashed the liquid and then, lifting them loaded with spray, lashed the air above his head ; north, south, west, east and then again *da capo*.

To this boiling shower-bath there seemed no end. Round and round the man went religiously compassing his points, repeating the scalding douche at each with ever-growing self-abandonment. Up to this last act he had seemed to be carrying on the rite, now the rite seemed to carry him on. Still circuit after circuit he made, his exaltation rising with each fresh dip, till at last he was as one possessed, scattering the scalding water not only over himself but over all the innocent by-standers as well and grunting maniacally as he lashed out with the fronds. Higher and higher rose the pitch till nature could no further go, and from the height of his paroxism he all at once collapsed into a lump of limp rag upon the ground. The others rushed in and bore him away, the wilted semblance of a man.

While he was gone to prepare himself once more for the world, the high-priest explained to me the spirit of the rite.

The moon, it seems, is the cause of it all; a first step in elucidation, to follow which requires less stretch of the western imagination than the next succeeding one. For that lunacy causing body is, it appears, the origin of water; on the *lucus a non* principle, we must suppose, because it has none. However that may be, the spirit of water resides in the moon; the spirit of cold water be it understood, the spirit of hot water being in Japanese eyes a totally different article. For a Japanese, cold water and hot water are quite different substances with different names. The spirit of hot water is the spirit of fire and rose to the water in the cauldron from the fire below at the moment the water boiled.

Now just as there are veins in man's body and fissures in the earth, so are there arteries in the air; and to each spirit its own special arteries. When, therefore, the spirit of water be properly besought, it descends from its habitat the moon by its appropriate paths and dispossesses the spirit of fire, which sinks back again to the charcoal whence it came. And of course the hot water is no longer hot.

As is the case with all the miracles, the result is worked to easier perfection amid the pure air of the mountains. It is an irrelevant scientific detail that water at those attitudes should boil at a lower temperature.

In addition to the lunar action on the boiling water the priest himself is, I was told, temporarily possessed by the moon spirit and so rendered insensible to the heat, which as we just saw does not exist. This should make assurance doubly sure.

When the man returned, clothed and in his right mind once more, he was asked whether he felt the heat of the water during the ordeal. He replied, that sometimes he did and sometimes he did not; in this instance, he said, he had felt nothing. He was a frail-looking youth of extatic eye, evidently a good "subject" though still in the early

stages of his novitiate. The head priest, a much stronger man and an adept, said he always felt the water but not the heat of it, which is an interesting distinction.

Here came in the importance of my dabble in the basin. Though it had been but to the extent of a little finger—and that too by religious permission—it had, it appeared, affected the heat on that side of the cauldron, preventing the water there from becoming as cold as elsewhere. For the man averred that he had perceived a difference between the two. But he had just said that he had not felt the heat of any part of it. He had therefore detected a distinction without a difference, a degree of divinity quite transcending the simply not feeling at all. Yet he was unconscious at the time and conscientious afterward. By partially destroying the spell it would seem that I had considerably heightened it.

V.

Hiwatari or Fire-Crossing is the most popular of all the miracles. It consists in traversing barefoot a bed of live coals.

That the Buddhists are awake enough to its merits as a spectacle to claim it for their own need shake no one's faith in its Shintō origin. Birthright-obliterating adoption is an everyday Japanese trick and in this the native Buddhists have admirably displayed their patriotism while conscientiously alive to the interests of their faith. It would be hard to find anything Shintō worth fathering that they will not kindly father. I have known one of them gratuitously to assume proprietary rights in the *gohei* and to advance the *Kojiki* in support of them, which latter statement he wisely withdrew the next day by a postal card.

In its working the miracle is eminently democratic. Professionally it is not a star performance but an exhibition by the whole company. Fellowship, they say, adds to the purity of the rite. It certainly conduces to exaltation. In the second place performance is not confined

to the professionals. They indeed have the *pas*, but after they are satisfied the populace is permitted to indulge itself in the same way to its sole's content.

It lends itself so well to impressive effect that it is now more commonly publicly than privately performed. Indeed it is such an elephant of a miracle that to keep it absolutely secret in the city would be extremely cramping. Its publicity has caused it to be seen accidentally once or twice of foreigners and even purposely once before I came upon it myself, but to no public account of it.

To the faithful it is one of the regular stock miracles, and when you become well known to the profession for a collector of such curios you shall have offers of performance in your own backyard. If also you be friend to the High Priest of the Ontake sect of Shintō you may have a chance to witness it in spring and autumn in special glory in the grounds of the sect's head temple in town. There beside the miracle itself may be seen its scarcely less curious setting, an intent multitude framing the walkers round about, worked up at last to part participance itself. For while the bed is possessed by the god any sufficiently pure person may tread it with impunity to his cuticle and great gain to his good luck. The two go together. The courage comes in in accurately estimating the degree of one's own purity. If one be pure enough he will cross unscathed: if not, his more sensible understanding will speedily advise him of the fact. It is a sad trial to doubting Thomases. Such succeed only in adding to previous anguish of spirit after agony of sole.

The bed to be traversed is usually from twelve to eighteen feet long and from three to six feet wide. The width is not so vital to the miracle as the length; the length it is that has to be walked over and grows tedious. For the purity needed increases *pari passu* with the length—only in geometrical progression. Here it is not the first step but the last that costs.

The bed of state is an eight-poster. Eight bamboo, still fronded, are stuck into the ground enclosing the pyre and permitting perambulation round it. They are festooned by a hempen rope running from frond to frond about five feet above the ground. From this frieze depend fourty-four *gohei*. This is important in ordinary cases, as the bamboo are dedicated to the eight heavenly dragons, bringers of rain. But if the ground be holy such outer guarding becomes unnecessary. It is one of the ground principles of religion that one should do without the gods as much as possible.

Ordinarily the bed is made as follows : Upon a mattrass of straw mats is laid a sheet of seashore sand ; upon this are placed small branches for kindling wood and on top of them sticks crisscross, the better to catch fire. All this in order that everything may be as pure as possible. In the very centre of the bed is stood up a *gohei* upon its wand.

For fuel, pine wood is the proper article. Sticks free from knots are preferred. For resin lurks in the knots and has a spirit hard to quell. So long as a man is truly good he does not care. But the least admixture of sin in a man causes him to mind these knotty spots acutely.

Pine is still used in the country and in town when the authorities are not aware of the fact. Legally, however, charcoal is enjoined instead, owing to the danger of conflagration from flying wood ashes. At the high-priest's functions the law is dutifully observed.

The bed is laid four square to the compass points, in theory. In practice one side is assumed to be north, which is just as good in the eyes of the gods, who are superior to matters of fact.

To give life to the bit of drama I will localize it where I first saw it, in the grounds of the head temple of the Ontake Sect. The crowd had already collected by the time we arrived ; the bed had been laid and fired and the whole temple company, with the exception of the high priest him-

self, were at the moment busy attending to the pyre, some fanning the flames assiduously with open fans strapped to the end of long poles while others pounded it flat again with staves. They were all robed alike in white bath-gown looking robes and were all barefooted. The thing made a fine pageant, framed by the eager faces of the multitude, and set in the cool clear light of a September afternoon.

When they judged the bed to have been sufficiently made, they left off beating it and started in upon the incantation, an invitation to the god to descend to it.

A good old soul full of devoutness and dignity led off. Proceeding solemnly to the northern end of the bed, he faced it, clapped his hands, bowed his head in prayer, and then with energetic finger-twistings cabalistically sealed the same. Then he started slowly round the pyre, stopping at the middle of each side to repeat his act.

When he had got well under way, another followed in exact repetition; then a third and a fourth, and so on down to the youngest, our exstatic friend of the hot water ordeal, who threw himself body and soul into the rite. Seven of them in all were thus strung out circumambulating the pyre and sealing it digitally in purification. As it was not incumbent on the exorcists once started to travel at the same rate, the march soon took on the look of a go-as-you-please religious race.

The bed was circuited interminably, beyond the possibility of count, so rivetting to the bystanders', as well as to the performers', attention was the pantomime. At the conclusion of this first dedicatory prayer the salt made its appearance. For no Shintō miracle is complete without it. In this instance the thing was used unstintedly. A large bowl of it stood handily on one corner of the temple veranda and each priest, as he came up, helped himself to a handful and then proceeded to sow it lavishly upon the coals, finger-twisting with the free hand as he did so. The sowing was done with some energy, and

each throw pointed by a violent formula-grunt that so suited the fury of the action it sounded ominously like an imprecation. But it was only an emphatic command to the evil ones to keep away.

After considerable salt had thus been sown from the cardinal points, the head of the company struck sparks from a flint and steel in the same oriented way over the bed, the others still throwing on salt promiscuously for general efficacy. In addition to what was thus scattered over the coals, a mat at either end of the bed stood spread with the stuff. It sounds damaging, but is nevertheless a fact, that every Shintō miracle has to be taken with a great many grains of salt.

During all this time the high-priest, who took no active part in the rite and busied himself with the duties of host, was nevertheless engaged upon a private furtherance of the affair, quite obliviously, he told me afterward. It consisted is breathing modulatedly in and out of his pursed-up lips. The action is a great purifier; incidentally it imparts to the holy the look of an inexpert whistler vainly attempting a favorite tune.

A pause in the rite now informed everybody that the god had come, and everybody watched mutely for the effect; with very mixed emotion I fancy, for the entertainment partook of the characters of a mass, a martyrdom and a melodrama all in one.

The original old gentleman once more led off. Taking post at the bed's northern end, he piously clapped his hands, muttered a few consecrated words, and then salting his soles by a rub on the mat stepped boldly on to the burning bed and strode with dignified unconcern the whole length of it. He did this without the least symptom of discomfort or even of notice of his own act.

In their order the others followed, each treading with as much indifference as if the bed were mother earth. When all had gone over, all went over again.

It was now the turn of the laymen. The passing of the priests had been a pageant, dignified and slow; the crossing of the common folk was its burlesque. The priests had seemed superior to the situation; their lay brethren often fell ludicrously below it.

Any one who would was invited to try his foot at it; not, I would add, in the spirit of the circus invitation to ride the mule. No deception whatever lay hidden behind the permit. It was a favor gratuitously and graciously granted by the church. For he who crosses furthers his own holiness, a matter capable of being turned at once to mundane account.

Many bystanders availed themselves of the privilege. Indeed not a few had come there for the purpose. Some did so on the pious understanding that the fire could not longer burn; others apparently upon a more sceptical footing. One firm believer incurred no little odium for the extreme character of his convictions. So persuaded was he of the now harmless state of the charcoal that he sauntered solemnly across, rapt in reverie, quite oblivous to a tail of less devout folk whom his want of feeling kept in mid-bed on tenter-hooks behind him. In the extremity of their woe they hopped hastily up and down, and in their desperation pushed him off at the last, to his very near capsizing. For in spirit he was somewhere else, utterly unsuspecting a sudden irreligious shove from behind.

Another individual found it hotter than he had hoped and, after taking one step stolidly enough lost all sense of dignity at the second and began skipping from foot to foot in vain attempts at amelioration, to the derision of the lookers-on, especially of such as did not dare venture themselves. Apparently he thought better of it a little later, or perhaps he found himself more scared than scarred. For soon after he was at it again, and this time, to his great credit, with becoming dignity of march.

Indeed the procession was as humorous as humanity. All sorts and conditions of men, women and children, went over first and last. All were gain to religion, for nothing showed more conspicuous than the bouyant power of faith. It was not the sole but the self that trod there stripped of social covering. In the heat of the moment the walkers forgot their fellowmen and walked alone with their god. Characters came out vividly in the process; each in pious pace contrasting with its neighbors, often treading close on its opposites heels, jostling emotion itself by the juxtaposition. Now a dear old grandam, bent by years to a question-mark, hobbled bravely across notwithstanding, and now a fair little girl, straight and slim as an admiration point, performed the feat vicariously, but I doubt not as effectively, in the arms of one of the priests. A touch of the fine in all this that tended to film the eyes, and show its spirit through a glamor due one's own.

Many of the lay folk, not content with one crossing, returned for more; the church kindly permitting any number of repetitions.

When the last enthusiast had had enough, the embers were prodded by the poles into pi. Under this airing of the bed the god not unnaturally departs. After he has gone no one may cross unscathed. Under coals are certainly more firey than surface ones, especially if the latter have been sprinkled with salt.

A final prayer, pointed with finger pantomime, closed the function.

The use of the salt deserves further mention. In this instance it was the salient feature of the rite and had been enjoined by no less a personage, it appeared, than the god himself. But as the deity had commanded it under the somewhat poetic name of "flower of the waves," the high-priest had been at first at a loss to comprehend the divine meaning. Later the god had condescended to an explanation. Nevertheless the name, so I am given to understand, is in common secular use.

To the undevout mind the salting of the bed would seem to conduce to the success of the feat. For salt is a very glutton of heat and will do pretty much anything to get it, however menial, from melting snow on horse-car tracks to freezing ice-cream. Cooling coals is therefore quite in character. Its unappeasible appetite for caloric is not unappreciated in Japan. The priests nobly admitted that it mitigated the full rigor of the miracle.

The performance of the miracle does not, however, depend upon its use; only one has to be holier to work it without. Fire-walking is at times done quite fresh; preferably amid the purity of the hills, with whose freshness its own is then in keeping. But it is occasionally so performed in town.

The origin of the rite dates from extreme antiquity. It dates indeed from before there were men to walk, having been instituted of the gods in the days when they alone lived in the land. Walking is not of its essence, *hiwatari* being but a specialized case of general immunity to fire. The possibility of such immunity was first demonstrated by a lady, the goddess who rejoices in the simple but somewhat protracted name of Kōnohanasakuyahime-nomikoto. It sounds better when translated: the goddess who makes the flower buds to open. She is perhaps better known as the goddess of Fuji. By proving her own imperviousness to fire she persuaded her doubting spouse, the god Ninigiuomikoto, of the falsity of some suspicions which he had been ungallant enough to entertain. Those who care to read all the evidence is the case will find it in the Nihonshoki, a valuable work in fifteen volumes of archaic Japanese.

Immunity from harm is due only in part to virtue in the performer. The chief cause of the impunity is that the fire has lost its power to burn. It has parted with its spirit. Materially considered, the fire is still there, but spiritually speaking, it is extinct. This is why, when

it has been once exorcized, the veriest tyro may cross it without a blister. The spirit of water has descended to it from the moon, brought by the eight heavenly dragons, and driven the spirit of fire out of the coals. Any sceptic might soon prove this to his own satisfaction by just walking over the coals himself, were his understanding but pure enough.

The object of the rite, so the high priest expounded it, is that the populace may see that the god when duly besought can take away the burning spirit of fire while still permitting the body of it to remain. For so can he do with the hearts of men; the bad spirit may be driven out and the good put in its place while yet the man continues to live.

To the dispassionate eye of science two things conduce to the easy performance of the feat. One is the toughness of the far-eastern sole, due initially to a less sensitive nervous organization than is the birthright of a European, and then still further calloused by constant exposed use. This leaves the distance to be traversed between the natural sensitiveness and the induced insensitiveness considerably less than it would be with us. The intervening step is the result of exaltation. By first firmly believing that no pain will be felt and then inducing a state of extacy whose preoccupation the afferent sensation fails to pierce, no pain is perceived.

More than this the burn is not followed by the same after-effects. For there is a complete or partial absence of blisters. The part burnt is burnt like cloth or any other inanimate substance, and that is the end of it. No inconvenience follows the act among the truly good. In less devout folk small blisters are raised but without noticeable annoyance. In all probability it is a partial case of what Delboeuf so shrewdly discovered with his hypnotized subject, on whom he (I quote from James) "applied the actual cautery (as well as vesicants) to symmetrical places on the skin, affirm-

ing that no pain would be felt on one of the sides. The result was a dry scorch on that side with (as he assures me) no after mark, but on the other side a regular blister with suppuration and a subsequent scar."

If you suppress the pain, you by that act suppresss the inflammatory consequences, largely if not entirely. For pain being an alarmist message deceives the ever credulous brain into over action. Pain is the fire bell of the body physical, and summons pell mell to the spot far too much blood for the occasion. If you like to personify it, which is quite in keeping with piety, you may conceive it grinning at the preposterous fuss its duping of consciousness has caused.

Faith, therefore, does in very truth work the miracle. We know this, now that miracles have ceased to seem miraculous; which is a little late perhaps for purely pious purposes.

VI.

To give a full account of Shintō miracles, we have now to consider quite a different class of them. *Kugadachi* and *hiwatari* belong to what I have called subjection-objective miracles; the objective ones, pure and simple, remain to be viewed. The adjectives are not mere matter of nomenclature. For the first kind are brought about by the unintentional but efficient subjective action of the miracle-performer himself, the latter take place independently of him. It is a distinction unimportant as regards the things, but of vital consequence as regards the people. Indeed it is one which makes or mars the whole scientific value of an investigation into these phenomena. For though it be open to you to doubt whether the water or the fire in the two ordeals above be rendered any the less hot by having parted with its spirit, it is not open to you to doubt the difference of perception of that heat in the man's normal and abnormal states of consciousness. This question

is quaintly begged by believers, by stating that the god withdraws the spirit of the fire or permits it to return momentarily, according to the character of the tester. Sceptics settle the whole matter off-hand by denying the fact. But it is unscientific to call upon a noumenon unnecessarily, even of an annihilating character. Universal negation of a sense distinction implies universal charlatanry; and men are both too simple and too astute for this to be possible. Charlatans ape but they do not originate. A counterfeit implies a genuine and a shammer something to sham.

To the objective miracles there is no such psychic side; they are due to misunderstood physical principles merely. The *Odojigokushiki* or "Descent of the Thunder God" is one of these. He descends into so plebian a thing as a kettle of steaming rice; the consequent touch of thunder giving the rice a taste peculiarly pleasing to the gods. The manner of performing it that I was shown was as follows.

Upon a small urn was placed a kettle and upon the kettle a rice-steamer, the lid so set on as to leave a slit on one side. A young acolyte then appeared in a supposed white robe, his hair dank from the bath and his whole person shivering with cold, and striking a spark from some flint and steel proceeded to light the fire and then to encourage its combustion by the usual finger-twistings, scattering of salt, prayer, striking sparks, and brandishing the *gohei* wand. After the thing was well under way the head priest advanced to perfect the rite, the acolyte falling back to the part of mute. In keeping with the good man's extreme purity his finishing touches were very simple. The principal feature was the soundless whistle he kept up through his pursed lips. This muttered prayer and archaic finger charms suggestive of severe traction of some external thing toward his stomach, constituted all his spell. Then he squatted, still mutely whistling, before the kettle and watched.

He had not long to wait. Suddenly a roar rose out of the body of it and, at the same moment, though as I noticed, a trifle late, the priest's own body began to sway back and forth. Steam rose synchronously, and then after lasting a couple of seconds the roar ceased. The roar had marked the presence of the Thunder-God.

Press of business the priest gave as excuse for the shortness of the divine visit. But indeed we were very fortunate it seemed, for often the deity does not deign to descend at all, being otherwise occupied. Besides if every thing be not perfectly pure he refuses to come on conscientious grounds.

The priest averred that at the instant of possession, he always felt a violent punch in his stomach. He also said that the swaying of his body was to induce by symbolic traction the presence of the god. To sceptical eyes it had seemed to follow rather than precede that fact. The slit in the lid has been suggested as capable of explaining the miracle, could it only talk as well as it can roar.

VII.

By far the most wonderful of the objective miracles is the bringing down fire from heaven by simple incantation. It may be used to light anything, the prehistoric two sticks preferably for purposes of warmth. Not being, at the moment, in need of caloric—it was seventy five in the shade—the miracle was performed in my case upon the comparatively vile body of a freshly filled, unlighted pipe.

This is a very difficult miracle. Indeed even when it succeeds it is scarcely an economical method of starting one's tobacco day-dreams, so much time and trouble does it cost. But to epicureans who hunt new sensations and to whom the one meaning of the word dear is synonimous with

round it till he reached the south end, where he turned, faced the kettle and repeated the performance. Continuing round till he got to the west side he went through the thing again ; and so on east, northwest, southeast, northeast and southwest, making thus at least a half circuit between each point. All this was most particular ; though as a matter of fact the orientation of the points was hypothetical.

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is equivalent to the Korean *ta* in *hăta* and the honorific part *doa-mu-le* may be varied, increased, or diminished, just as in the Korean *hă-o*, *hă-si-o*, *hă-sip-nai-ta*, *hă-op-sim-nai-ta*, etc., or the Japanese *masu*, *de gozaimasu*, etc. Literally *pian-doa* is the same as the Japanese *o-kayeri*, whilst *yüa-san* may be fitted in to any of the Japanese expressions equivalent to 仙鄉 or 仙逝 and derived from the Chinese.

The relative pronoun in Burmese is expressed by the use of what may be termed a participle ; for instance, *kaung-dhoa lu* "a good man;" *la-dhoa-lu* "the come man," or "the man who has come;" *lu* (*lu-dhi*) *kaung-dhi*, "the man is good." This is precisely like the Korean *kï sarami chota* (or *choso*), "That man is good," or *chohïn saram*, "a good man."

The next point is the auxiliary numerals, which, in Burmese, are not only, numeral for numeral, almost exactly the same in meaning as the Chinese numerals, but in many cases are also very similar in sound. Except in so far as Japanese, construction and all, is borrowed from Chinese, it does not appear to be so much a slave to auxiliary numerals as the Chinese and Burmese languages, and the same may be said of primitive or non-Chinese Korean. As Mr. Lowell says :—"In all these languages a noun states, "of its object, quality, not quantity : to express the latter "a generic noun, also quite incapable of expressing "quality, is added to the first." In order to illustrate this point of auxiliary numerals, it will be more convenient to take a few of the Chinese characters pure and simple, and compare them with the Burmese words of similar effect and power. These characters apply equally well in most instances to Japanese and Korean of the mixed kind as spoken now.

位, *wei* ; Burmese *u*, "a chief;" *toun-dhi tu-u*, equivalent, syllable for syllable, to 兩人一位 : *wei* pronounced *yü* in Wênchow.

尊, 座, *tso*, *tsun* ; Burmese *pa* [meaning uncertain], applied to deities and ecclesiastics : *p'ung-dyi ta-ba*, equivalent, syllable for syllable, to 和尚一座.

乘, *ch'éng*, Burmese, *si*, "what is ridden on :" *hle hna-zi*, equivalent, syllable for syllable, to 車两乘.

條 *t'iao*, Burmese *ciaung* and *c'iaung*, "a line," "a length ;" *lan-thoung-ciaung*, equivalent, syllable for syllable, to 路三條; *ah ta-c'iaung*, equivalent to 針一條, or 一根.

The Chinese numerals 桿, 段, etc., are often interchangeable with the above two Burmese numerals.

In the same way the Chinese and Burmese numerals for "what is round," "what is flat," "one of a pair," "a space," "a time," "a brute-beast," "a man," etc., may be compared together. There is even a vague Burmese auxiliary *k'u*, which precisely corresponds with the Chinese *ko*, 個, or 个, and may be applied to things which readily admit of no other numeral word more descriptive.

Mr. Lowell is inclined to make merry over the fact that the Burmese have occasionally to apply the auxiliary numeral to its own principle, *e. g. yüa ta-yüa*, "village one village ;" *the bien ta-bien*," "wood tree one tree," etc.; but this is exceptional. In Chinese we have 一條條子, and there is no reason why almost any Chinese numeral should not be occasionally reduplicated in the same way ; for instance, 下處两處 "two places of ill fame," 公所一所 "one public office."

There is, however, nothing colloquial either in Chinese, Japanese, or Korean, so far as I am aware, at all akin to the peculiar Burmese arrangement by which capital numbers only, such as ten, twenty, a hundred, have the auxiliary number prefixed plus the initial *a* ; thus *k'wet-aloung hnih-sae*, instead of *hnih-sae-loung k'wet*. It is as though we should say in Chinese 碗個二十 instead of 二十個碗 whenever the number is capital. Possibly a trace of this may be found in the graceful Chinese literary expression 二十有一年, or 年七十有載, or 歲, or 一百有三.

Nor does there appear to be in either of the three other "yellow" languages anything at all akin to the curious Burmese particle *a*, which, besides being affixed to nearly all words used as nouns, and again dropped according to the position of the noun in syntax, exercises divers indescribable influences in other miscellaneous ways. Thus *mya* "many," *myadhi* "are many," *mya-dhoa lu* "many men," *sayá amya* "a many teachers": *thih* "new," *a-hih* "anew." Here it seems almost to have the same effect as the English *a*. Perhaps the Cantonese *a* applied to proper names is sometimes the same thing in effect. Thus Mr. Yöng Kêu would be familiarly called A-Kêm, whilst Mêh-shöü 乜誰, "who," is turned into A-mêh-shöü 阿乜誰, "Mr. What's-his-name." Again, Burmese *eing* "a house," *a-eing* "a house [in a special sense], "a sheath." In many respects it has, as a prefix, the same apparent effect as the Chinese 子 or 兒 as a suffix or diminutive enclitic.

Mr. Lowell's remarks upon the subject of adjectives, which in Japanese, Korean, and Burmese alike are very much interchangeable with verbs, do not seem to be quite accurate. Surely it cannot be correct to say that "when "used either qualifyingly or predicatively, the position "differs from the Japanese in that it follows where the "Japanese precedes and precedes where the Japanese follows." As a matter of fact, the qualifying or predicative use which, with us, differentiates the adjective from the verb, is only our way of looking at the question. The Burmese construction seems to be exactly allied to the Korean; there is really no such thing as a verb in either language, beyond the single copula *hăta* in Korean and *dhi* in Burmese. *Kaung* and *cho* are the two roots meaning "good" in the respective languages; *kaung-dhi* is the same as *cho-ta*, and *kaung-dhoa lu* is the same as *cho-hŭn saram* or, to revert to Japanese, as the particles *no* and *na*; as, for instance, *kara no hako*, "an empty box;"

or, again, to take two examples from Mr. Chamberlain's grammar, *Rikō na inu desŭ* "It is an intelligent dog;" *Kono inu wa rikō desŭ*, "This dog is intelligent."

There certainly is nothing in either Japanese or Korean at all akin to the convenient arrangement by which many transitive verbs become intransitive by the simple addition of an aspirate, and *vice versâ*. Thus *kyā-dhi*, "falls;" *ky'ā-dhi*, "throws down." In elegant and highly literary Chinese this is sometimes worked by a change of tone: *sien* 先 "before," *sien-chï* 先之 "to precede him;" *k'i* 騎 "to ride," *ki* 騎 "a mount," "a rider." In this latter case the absence of an aspirate suggests a sort of sympathy in Chinese with the Burmese notion.

In spite of the influence of Pali upon Burmese, there can be no doubt that the language is essentially monosyllabic. Mr. Lowell enters into the question what "monosyllabic" really means; but this is a question which I have also discussed at length in other papers, and which it is unnecessary to go into again here. Suffice it to say that Mr. Lowell places Burmese in a midway position between Japanese, where "chemical union" has taken place, and Chinese where it has hardly been reached. It is curious to compare the examples he gives with the Chinese. *Kya-pyaw*, "hear speak" or "tell," is exactly the Cantonese (and generally Southern Chinese) *kong-t'eng* 講聽, the pronoun or name of the person spoken to coming between the two words in Chinese. The Japanese construction of *kikaseru* is practically the same as the Burmese, being 聽講 or 聽令, which again is almost precisely the Korean *māl-hăta* or 言爲. In all three instances it will be observed that, as compared with Chinese, the two words "make hear," or "cause hear," or "do words," are transposed in the three other tongues. So with the other example given; *na t'aung*, "ear erect," "to erect the ear," or "listen," is the Chinese 側耳 transposed. Another type of compound is synthetical, thus

pyaw-s'o, equivalent in every way to the Pekingese 告訴 [他] 說. Possibly indeed *pyaw* is lineally connected with 表 and *s'o* with 訴.

The various verbal affixes, having the effect of our "moods," are much the same in Burmese and Japanese. But *k'ien*, as in *louk-djien*, "wish to do," besides having the effect of the Japanese *tai* as in *shitai*, has also the effect of turning the verbal root into a noun of condition, or in short, a participle or gerund, according to position. For instance, *eing-t'aung*, "house establishing," equivalent to the Chinese 立室, means "to marry," and *eing-t'aung-djien* means "[the fact of] marriage." It is precisely the distinction between our English "I am wanting," "there is "a wanting (or a wantingness or want) that I have," and "I am a wanting." In other words, the English *ing* finds its analogue throughout the whole gamut of the Burmese *ch'ien* or *k'ien*.

Before I go any farther, I must clear matters up by explaining that the *nigori* exists in Burmese precisely as it does in Japanese; that is to say, as a general rule, the exceptions from the general rule being as arbitrary in one language as in the other. Also as in Northern Chinese, the Burmese *ki* is pronounced nearly like the English *chi*, and consequently the *nigori* form is like *dji*. I mention the fact at this stage, in order that readers may not be confused by the fact that a final Burmese syllable is not pronounced like the same syllable when not final, or rather when initial. It is remarkable that the fact of the existence of the *nigori* or "thickening" [Chinese 濁] in Burmese escaped the attention of Mr. Lowell. Perhaps I should say rather that it *would* have been remarkable, had it not been apparent on the face of Mr. Lowell's paper that he was merely a pleasant and thoughtful writer, with no profound knowledge of either Burmese or Japanese. The Burmese themselves have no idea of the existence of the *nigori*, nor have they any means of expressing the transition

from surd to sonant when explained to them. I have asked nearly all the really distinguished European Burmese-speaking scholars in Burma about this point; but few if any of them have ever seriously remarked its existence as a factor in speech classes, and none have been able to express it for me in the Burmese tongue or to get a Burman to express it. Judson's little grammar, however, practically gives the rule in the following words:—

"There is another permutation of perpetual occur-
"rence which may be thus stated:—When the syllables
"are in juxtaposition, so as to form one word, the first syllable
"ending in a vowel (except *a* short) or a nasal, and the
"initial letter of the second syllable being the first or second
"letter [*i.e.*, the unaspirated or *tenuis* and the aspirate,
"both upper series] of either [*i.e.* any] of the five classes
"of consonants, it frequently takes the sound of the
"third letter [*i.e.* the sonant] of the same class: that is
"*k* and *k*' are pronounced as *g*, *s* and *s*' as *z*, *t* and *t*' as
"*d*; *p* and *p*' as *b*. Thus *sa-kāh*, "a word," is pronounced
"*sagāh*, and *en-tan*, "considerably," is pronounced
"*endan*. But there are so many exceptions to this
"general rule that regard to the coalescence of sounds
"as exhibited in common practice is recommended as the
"only true guide."

Mr. Lowell's remarks on verbal accidents are somewhat summary. The tense denoted by *mi* seems to correspond to the Korean *hăl*, and to be both an infinitive and a future. In fact, Judson's dictionary gives the following example: *s'o-p'yah-mi a-ciaung la-dhi*, "To shall decide reason he came," or "He came to decide the case." This is the same construction as the Korean *māl-hăl-su êpso*, "He is without the withal to shall explain." Mr. Lowell does not state what the tense of probability "which we find in Japanese" really is; but Mr. Basil Hall Chamberlain points out clearly upon page 169 of his *Colloquial Japanese* that Europeans have misunderstood the difference between *kimasŭ*

ka "Will he come," [or "Does he come (to-morrow)"], and *kimashō-ka* "Will he probably come," or "to be likely to come?" But the Burmese can ring the changes on many a future besides *mi*. Thus *thwa-hnen-mi*, "he will go (before you);" *we-ya-mi*, "you-must-shall buy;" *dutiya-atan-hma-si-ba-mi*, "second-class-in sit-shall." There is no improbability here. Chase's grammar gives *an* (possibly hereditarily connected with the classical Japanese *n* or *an* as in *okan*, *taben*), *an-mi*, *lein-mi*, etc. There is also a form in *latan* or *lattan*.

The particle *dhi* does not necessarily denote the present tense, as will be seen from the above example. Neither does the particle *i*. Both of them are *assertive* verbal suffixes, like the Japanese *u*, *eru* or *iru* (according to conjugation), and may be either present or perfect. But, unlike the Japanese assertive or certain present, the Burmese certain present cannot be used as a future. It is singular to notice that *dhi* and *i* are both of them suffixes to nouns as well as to verbs, the former being the nominative and the latter the genitive particle. Thus *ami-dhi tha-go yaik-dhi*, "the mother beats the child." The Koreans, like the Japanese, can write in three ways, either by using pure Chinese, or pure Korean, or by using a mixture of character and *kana*. The Koreans only use the mixed style in school primers. The Korean school books would represent the above sentence in a mixture of Chinese and Korean *ên-mun* thus :—母 *ka* 子 *il* 打 *so*, (substituting Korean for Roman letters), and there is no reason why pure Burmese apart from Pali should not be written in Chinese character in the same way. The colloquial Korean would be *ĕmi-ka érinkĕsil* (or *chăsikĭl*) *ttarita* or *ttario* (according to the rank of the speaker.) It is remarkable to notice how near *ami* and *ĕmi* are, and how the *tsz* 子 of the Chinese *tsz-sih* 子息 becomes *chă* and *tha* in Korean and possibly Burmese. It is also interesting to notice that the Burmese have a nominative in *ka* (*nigori*'ed into *ga*) besides that in *dhi*,

just as the Coreans have a *ka* as well as an *i*. For instance: *ami-ga ma-houk-bu, ngatha, s'o-le-i:* "the mother said 'not so' my son," which may be rendered in Korean or mixed Japanese 母 *ka* 不是了我子 *to hanashima-shita*, with due substitutions to suit each language. The Burmese assertive suffix *dhi* is added on to all auxiliary verbs unless the assertion is negative. Thus *thwa-the-dhi* "goes continues," or "he is still going," *thwa-hnaing-dhi*, "goes can," or "he is able to go," etc. The corresponding negative assertions would be *ma-thwa-bu*, or *ma-thwa-hnaing*, "he is not going (or gone)" "he cannot go;" or, again, *ma-thwa-dhe*, "he is not yet gone;" this last *dhe*, here *nigōri*'ed, corresponding to the *the* of the first example. It is hardly correct to say with Mr. Lowell that the Burmese have two negatives [like the French *ne—pas*]: *ma* is the true negative; thus, *ma wen ya*, "do not enter," or "not enter must," whilst *bu* is, as Mr. Lowell himself elsewhere says, an indefinite past.

The Japanese past in *ta* is stated by Mr. Chamberlain to be a corruption of *te-aru*. So high an authority cannot be lightly questioned, but it seems that it is also lineally connected with the Korean *t* or *yêt*, thus Korean *hăso*, *hăyêtso*; Japanese *ikimasŭ*, *ikimashita*. Both of them correspond in a measure with the Burmese past particle *byi*, *e.g. la-byi* "have come."

It is true that Burmese does not seem to be strong in subjunctives and conditionals; however, a scientific grammar of Burmese, akin to the splendid Japanese grammars of Mr Aston and Mr. Chamberlain, has yet to be constructed. Meanwhile I must protest against such enigmatical, bare, and consequently unanswerable statements as the following made by Mr. Lowell:—"Nor has the Burmese subjunc-
"tive reached the Japanese cohesion. Conjunctions by
"courtesy but demonstratives in truth suffice for the
"relation."

The double interrogative form of Burmese is really remarkable, and so far as I am aware, there is nothing like it in Chinese, Japanese, or Korean. *Lè* is the interrogative particle when a general question is asked, and *la* when it is categorical or specific. Thus, *la-byi-la*? "has [he] come"? *Ami-lè* " [your] name."

On honorifics Mr. Lowell is sketchy and vague. The Japanese by means of the prefixes *o* and *go* 御, and the polite adjunct *masu*, adding an occasional *goza* 御座 for special politeness, are practically in the same plight as the Koreans with their *o*, *si-o*, *sip-ne-ta*, etc., which can be piled on to the verb root *ad libitum*. The Burmese *daw*, as pointed out above, corresponds to the Japanese *o* or *go* and Korean *si*, whilst *mu* can be added to the verb. Thus, *miendji yauk-daw mu-byi*, "governor has arrived," may be compared with the Japanese *ō-san o-kayeri-nasaimashita*; here *mien* is a ruler of any kind, from king to prefect; *gyi* or *dji*, the *nigori*'ed form of *kyi* or *chi*, has the effect of the Japanese *san*; *o* is equal to *daw*, and *masŭ* is equal to *mu*. The Korean would be *nim-kun-i tora hayêt-simneta*, or some such equivalent expression: the Chinese or essential part being merely 君回.

Such double negatives in Burmese as *ma-pyaw-ma-s'o* are precisely the same as the Chinese 不言不語, or our "*nor* spoke *nor* uttered cry," and do not merit Mr. Lowell's derision. Here I may mention an extraordinary delusion of all European—*i.e.*English—students of Burmese, which leads them to imagine a *t* before every Burmese *s*; thus *tsawbwa* for *sawbwa*, and *htso* for *s'o* [possibly lineally connected with the Chinese 訴]. Mr. Lowell follows this absurd system throughout. The initial *h* is also vicious, for the aspirate in such words as *hti*, *hka*, *hpan*, comes after the consonant, and the words are *t'i*, *k'a*, *p'an*; on the other hand, the aspirate in *hnaing hma*, *hle*, comes before the liquid or nasal. The whole of the

Anglo-Burman orthography is in a dreadful state of jumble, and, like the grammar, requires a thorough overhauling.

It is by no means certain that the construction of Burmese syntax is not much nearer to that of Japanese than Mr. Lowell supposes. There are two initial particles *gă* and *gā*, which correspond very fairly with the Japanese *wa* and *ga*, whilst the book final *le-dhi* seems to answer in every reasonable way to the rounding-off word *nari*. In Korean *hăta* does the same duty, either pure or forming part of another verb. The Burmese sentence selected by Mr. Lowell for illustration will turn into very fair Chinese, Korean, or Japanese. Thus *ye kya-thaw-k'a la-pyaw-ba*, word for word 雨 [or 水] 下之時來說罷; in Japanese, *ame furu toki* [*ni wa*] *kikashĭte kudasai*; or in Korean *pi ol-ttae māl-hăyera*. At this distance from Japan and Korea, with no good books to refer to, I cannot be sure of constructing very accurate sentences in those languages, of which my knowledge is imperfect; but the effort is at least adequate to exhibit the almost complete identity of construction which reigns between them.

Mr. Lowell says that "the Burmese in the matter "of clause construction, holds a middle course between "the everlasting Japanese sentence and the choppy Chinese "one." It is true that it does not suspend the attention for so long, but in colloquial it appears to me that Burmese is just as "choppy" as Chinese. And I do not see why it should not be so. French is remarkably "choppy" in its style as compared with the (to us) intolerable suspensiveness of German, and it is one of the charms of French to all nations that the sentences are pithy and short. On what principle should one of the following sentences be preferred in style to the other? "The French troops have "arrived. The German general is away. Seeing this, "the English general declines to discuss business with the

"French general. The English Queen is angry. The "German Emperor says the German general alone is at "fault, because it was agreed that no action should be "taken by English or Germans alone." "The Queen of "England is angry because the English general, on the "arrival of the French troops, declined to discuss business "with the French general owing to the absence of the "German general; but the German Emperor says that "the German general" [etc. as above]. This painful suspensiveness of German and Japanese, is only painful to those whose thoughts are trained to run in a different mould. The mere fact of a language being spoken in a given way is *ipso facto* proof that that is the clearest way for the native speaker. It is not a fact that "choppiness" is either essentially inferior to or easier than suspensiveness; but it is a fact that choppiness must be easier to foreign speakers of choppy languages than suspensiveness (unless that suspensiveness is in the same mould as the suspensiveness of the foreign speaker's own language), for the simple reason that choppiness must be the more antique style of the two, because it consists of the fragments out of which the more developed suspensiveness is composed, and high development in a given direction is quite a separate question from superiority, which after all means popularity, and always must mean so in languages.

It is more true of Mr. Lowell to say that Burmese stands midway between Chinese and Japanese in the matter of tonic sounds. This has been explained by me at length in the philological essay above referred to. As to his concluding statement that Burmese, Manchu, Korean, and Japanese all differ in root-words, I shall shew in my next paper that a very large number of Burmese root-words closely resemble Chinese root-words of similar meaning. As I have already shewn this of Japanese, to this extent Burmese root-words and Japanese

root-words are not so puzzlingly different as Mr. Lowell thinks. As he correctly says : "In more ways than one Burmese faintly suggests Chinese." I think there can be no question that they come from the same old common stock, and I shall endeavour to prove this so soon as I shall have examined Burmese more closely.

ESOTERIC SHINTŌ.

Part II.

By Percival Lowell, Esq.

[*Read March 8th, 1893.*]

Incarnations.

I.

The miracles, as I have hinted, are performed largely with an eye, at least one eye, to the public. To drench oneself with scalding water or to saunter unconcernedly across several yards of scorching coals are not in themselves feats that lead particularly to heaven, difficult as they may be to do. Esoterically regarded they are rather tests of the proficiency already attained in the Way of the Gods than portions of that way needing actually to be traversed. The real burning question in the matter is whether the believer be pure enough to perform them pleasurably. To establish such capability to one's own satisfaction in the first place, and to the wonder of an open-mouthed multitude in the second, are the objects the pious promoters have in view.

Not so the incarnations. They too, indeed, serve a double purpose. But whereas they are, like the miracles, measures of the value of the purity of the man, they are also practical mediums of exchange between the human spirit and the divine. Foregone for directly profitable ends, loss of self is the necessary price of an instant part in the kingdom of heaven.

Perhaps the most startling thing about these Japanese divine possessions is their number; unless it be that being so numerous they should have remained so long unknown. But it is to be remembered that what no one is interested to reveal may stay a long while hid. With quite Anglican etiquette the Japanese never thought to introduce their divine guests and their foreign ones to each other. Once introduced the two must have met at every turn. Indeed the shadowy forms of this spirit world remind one of the ghost-like figures in certain pictures, fancifully hidden in the outlines of more familiar shapes, till, by some chance divined, they start out to view to remain ever after the most conspicuous things there.

Thoroughly religious, the possessions are not in the least hierarchic. In theory esoteric enough, in practice they are, in the older sense of that word, profane. For god-possession is no perquisite of the priests. It is freely permitted to all the sufficiently pure. It is sanctioned and guided by the church but indulged in by the pious generally. Indeed if ease of intercourse be any proof of relationship the Japanese people certainly make good their claim to direct descent from their gods. For they pass in and out of the world beyond as if it were part of this one below.

Purity is the one pre-requisite to divine-possession, and though to acquire sufficient purity be an art it is an art patent rather in the older unindividualized sense of the word. Anyone who is pure may give lodgment to a god just as any plutocrat may entertain modern royalty. The gods are no respecters of persons. They condescend to visit wherever due preparation is made for them. It is the host's house not the host that is to them the important matter. Indeed the presence of the host himself is graciously dispensed with. The man's mind must have been vacated of all meaner lodgers, including himself, before the god will deign to habit it, but who the man is is immaterial. Such humble folk as barbers and fishmongers are among the most favored entertainers of divinity.

But the social standing of the god, on the other hand, is a most material point in the matter. For mere association with the supernatural is not in Japan necessarily a question of piety or even of impiety. Often it is pure accident. To become possessed by a devil, of which bewitchment by a fox is the commonest form, may be so purely an act of that devil that no blame beyond carelessness attaches to the unfortunate victim. Religion far from claims sole intercourse with the unseen. What religion does claim is the ability to admit one to the very best heavenly society. For to say nothing of mere animal spirits there are all grades in gods, good gods and bad gods, great gods and little ones. Intimacy with the most desirable divinities is the privilege to which the church holds the keys.

Capability to commune is thus in a general way endemic, much as salvation is held to be in some places, or infant damnation in others. To Japanese thought the gods are immanent in everything. Unsuspected as such presence be by foreigners, to the people themselves the gods are as real as they are numerous, which is saying a vast deal. After due introduction to their augustnesses one is tempted to include them in the census and to consider the population of the empire as composed of natives, globe-trotters and gods.

The gods resemble the globe-trotters in this, that both are a source of profit to the people. For finding themselves in communication with the superhuman, the Japanese early turned the intimacy to practical account. They importuned these their relatives for that of which men stand most in need, the curing of disease. Out of this arose a national school of divinopathy.

Civilized cousins of the medicine men of North America and of the shamans of savage tribes the world over, the Japanese practitioners differ from other members of the profession in the widespread popular character of their craft. For though all the practitioners are religious men, all priests are not practitioners. The regular religious course and

the divine medical school both hold of the same Alma Mater, the Church, but otherwise they are distinct. Graduates of the one may or may not be graduates of the other. Perhaps the two might with more exactness be described as internes and externes, for they differ rather in relation to the world than in relation to their pursuit.

These doctors of divinity are thus divided into two classes, priests and lay practitioners. The latter are the more numerous. Nowadays, when everything is reduced to a bureaucratic system, both classes receive regular diplomas, without which they are not allowed to practise. Nominally they are not allowed to practise with them, for in the certificates no mention is made of the special object for which the certificates are issued. In them permission is granted merely to perform prayer, which comprehensive phrase covers a multitude of pious acts.

The reason the certificates read so beautifully vague is not that religion conceives her esoteric cults to be so profoundly secret, but that the Government imagines them to be barbarous because supposed not to be in keeping with foreign manners and customs. At the same time the paternal powers that be dare not proscribe them altogether. The fact is they are both too Japanese to be countenanced and too Japanese to be suppressed; so the authorities wink at their practice. The Japanese Government is in more matters than this one in much the same awkward state of mind as the Irish legislator who declared himself to be "for the bill but agin its enforcement."

Except for a difference in degree, the principal distinction between the priests who practise and the practising lay brethren lies in the professional or avocational character of their performance. The priests, of course, have no other business than to be pious, and to be temporarily a god is an easy extension to being perpetually godlike. The lay brethren practise only as an outside calling, each having

his mundane trade to boot. The above-mentioned barber for example besides industriously shaving man, woman and child—this detail of the toilet being unrestricted in Japan—was able to carry on a very lucrative business as a popular other-world physician. He made no analogue of the European barber surgeon of times gone by. No particular pursuit has a preference of the divine practice; barbers being no better than other folk in the eyes of the god. A divinopathist's earthly trade may be anything under heaven. Plastering and clerking in a wine shop are among the latest specimen occupations I have met with of men thus engaged in business both with this world and the next.

Divinopathy has certainly one great advantage over other schools of medicine: by the very preparation for healing others the physician incidentally heals himself. For the mere qualification to be a practitioner is itself a preventive to earthly ills; much as vaccination precludes small-pox. The only question might be whether the cure be not worse than the complaint. After an account of the rigid self-discipline to be undergone before a diploma be possible and then largely kept up for it to continue in force, I think it will seem uncommonly open to the doubt. Yet there are plenty of men who lead this life of daily hardship and renunciation for the explicit purpose of enjoying the life they renounce; just as many an invalid will give up all that makes life worth living for the sake of living the undesirable residue longer.

The character of the company sought is what renders such self-mortification necessary. It is only for really good heavenly society that great discomfort need be undergone. Inferior gods permit intimacy on much easier terms. Ordinary *ichiko*, or fortune-tellers, for instance, whose deities rank much lower, go through no such severe preparation. Gods of high rank stand as much on their dignity as men. I remember once a very superior person, as gods go, who grew quite angry because

I asked him a question he deemed it beneath him to answer, although he had descended on purpose to impart information, and told me, very up and down, to go to *Inarisama*, the god of agriculture, for trivialities of the sort.

But although it be a good thing to take care of oneself, the chief employment with the doctors in this as in more earthly schools of medicine is the cure of other people. The higher practitioners hold office hours in the temple and prescribe for patients on application. The less exalted receive at home and also pay divine calls on the sick, bringing their paraphernalia with them. As with earthly systems, the itinerant or stationary character of the doctor depends both upon his rank and upon the rank of the patient. The customary honorarium for a visit is, I am professionally informed, from fifty cents to a dollar. This always takes the form of a gratuity and is never expected of the poor. When it is considered that a Japanese dollar is worth but two-thirds of our own, the fee does not seem excessive considering the divine character of the physician. But to have any marketable value at all, even of an honorary kind, is a great thing. It very nearly disposes off-hand of such scepticism as would doubt the reality of revelation when a single afternoon's worth of it is held so high. Here again appears strikingly the relative value of the personage; the price an *ichiko* charges to be possessed being but five cents a head per god.

The investment in either case should be satisfactory; especially in the matter of the higher gods; for the prescription is at once divine and direct. The god practically always descends on application and vouchsafes his opinion as to the cure of the complaint. Of course his prescriptions are religiously followed and, if report speak truth, with an unusually large percentage of success. Any and all diseases are thus cured on presentation, subject only to the willingness of the god. This proviso satisfactorily explains the few unfortunate failures.

Divine-possession is not limited in its applications to the curing of disease. Naturally the divine opinion is quite as valuable on other subjects as on medicine, and is consequently quite as much in demand. From the nature of the gods themselves to the weather for the coming month, anything a man may want to know is thus enquired about of deity. Due care only must be exercised to grade the importance of the question to the importance of the gods. Mere fortune-telling is no part of true religion. Questions of cures and of creed alone are dignified enough for the church; cures and coming cataclysms for the pilgrim clubs. For mere social complications the *ichiko* is the person to interview.

Owing to the ups and downs of Shintō consequent upon the introduction of Buddhism twelve centuries ago, and then upon the revival in these latter days of the old Japanese spirit, the practice of divine-possession is in a somewhat mixed state. Terms, like *gyoja*, not pure Shintō, have come to be employed side by side with terms that are. Words like *gyoja* belong to what is called Ryōbu Shintō or simply Ryōbu, "Both," meaning a mixture of both Shintō and Buddhism; for during the middle ages, there arose this hybrid, in whose hands many of the old customs, and notably this one of god-possession were preserved. Since the revival the Ryōbuists have nearly all been affiliated again with Shintō. Besides the Ryobu possessions, there are some Buddhist ones. That these show intrinsic evidence of having all originally been Shintō I shall try to show later. As present it will be better to give an account, as it appears to-day, of the divine act of possession, before taking up the question of the mundane possession of the act.

II.

Gyoja, translated, means "a man of austerities"; and heaven is witness that he is. Short of actual martyrdom I can imagine few thornier paths to perfection. He would

seem to need a cast iron constitution to stand the strain he cheerfully puts upon it. Even to be a *shinja* or "believer," where a much less strenuous regimen is required, strikes the unregenerate as the personification of the austere. Though *shinja* means modestly only "a believer," the amount of works this simple believer must perform before his faith is enough to be accepted would appal most people.

And yet it all sounds so simple too. For the one thing needful to insure divine-possession is purity. If you are pure, that is blank, enough, you can easily give habitation to a god. Now some men are born purer than others, but none are by nature quite pure enough. Additional vacuity must somehow be acquired, the amount varying not only with the man but with the rank of the god by whom he desires to be possessed. To reach this state of mental nonentity is the object of the austerities (*gyo*).

The curriculum has this in common with more secular ones, that whoso goes in at the one end usually comes out at the other, unless he tires of protracted austerity and quits in the middle. The fact that so many graduate shows that no extraordinary capacity is required to do so; unless indeed the word be used in its negative sense. Plodding perseverance is what wins the day. For the course is momentarily most arduous and momentously long.

To the purification of the spirit the road lies through the cleansing of the body. To this end the two chief exercises are washing (*suigyo*) and fasting (*danjiki*), Unlimited bathing with most meagre meals; such is the backbone of the regimen. The external treatment being the more important of the two claims notice first.

Washing is the most obvious kind of purification the world over. Cleanliness, we say, is next to godliness; though at times in individual specimens the two seem none too close. But in Japan cleanliness very nearly is godliness.

This charming compatibility is due possibly to the godliness being less, but certainly chiefly to the cleanliness being more.

Even secularly the Japanese are supernaturally cleanly. Every day of their lives forty millions of people parboil like one. Nor do they hurry themselves in the act. The nation spends an inordinate amount of its time in the national tub; as becomes pecuniarily apparent when you hire a man by the day or, stranger yet, by the job. You are tempted at times to suppose your toiler continuously teaing or tubbing. Doubtless such totality is due to emotional exaggeration on your part, but it is beyond prejudice that he soaks in his tub a good working minority of his time.

When it comes to religious matters it really seems as if the estimable quality were carried to its inevitable defect. For from a pardonable pastime bathing here becomes an all-engrossing pursuit. The would-be *gyoja* spends his waking life at little else, and he sleeps less than most men at that. Not only is it his bounden duty to bathe six appointed times in every twenty-four hours, but he should also bathe as often as he may between. The more he bathes the better he becomes.

Now if he simply soaked in a hot water tub as his profane friends do this might be merely the exstatic height of dissipation. But he does nothing of the kind. No gentle parboiling is his portion; perpetual gooseflesh rather is his lot. For in his case not even an amelioration of nature is allowed. Whatever the season of the year his ablutions must be made in water of untempered temperature, fresh from the spring; in winter a thing of cold comfort indeed (*kangyo.*) What is more he takes this uncongenial application in the mode to produce the most poignant effect—with the shock of a shower-bath.

Esoterically there are grades in the cleansing capabilities of shower-baths. For him who would reach the height

of purity the correct thing is to walk under a waterfall and be soused. This luxury is of course only to be had in the hills. In default of a waterfall, a douche from a dipper will do. But on religious grounds it is not to be recommended. A souse by a stream is always to be preferred to a self-sousing.

Man-made methods are imperative in town owing to the lack of natural ones, which is one reason why the hills are the proper habitat for novitiates to the higher life. In the good old days such habitat was a necessity, not that men were less pure then but on the contrary that they strove to become yet purer. When *gyojas* were *gyojas*, they were anchorites pure and simple. They dwelt as hermits among the hills, seeing no man by the space of three years, and reducing themselves as near as might be to a complete state of nature of the inoffensive kind ; the herbiverous not the carnivorous variety of animal, as their diet will show. After they had thus become quite detached from all that specially constitutes humanity, they returned to the world to live hermetically in the midst of it, repairing again at suitable seasons to mountaineering meditation. Such were the men who opened, as the consecrated phrase is, Ontaké, that is who first succeeded in reaching its sacred summit.

But *gyojas* have deteriorated with the world as large. They are far from being what they were, so far that a conscientious man hardly feels that he has the right to call himself a *gyoja* at all, as one of the class humbly informed me. He blushed, he said, when he thought of the austerities of the olden time. A modern *gyoja* was little more austere than a *shinja* who made his summer pilgrimages when he could. This was perhaps a gloomy view to take of the situation, for one usually finds the past not so superior to the present as report represents. But, even at its worst it would seem only a case for professional

sympathy. For whatever the regimen may have been there is at all events enough severity left to satisfy any decent desire for self-martyrdom.

That mountains should be deemed peculiarly advisable spots from which to enter another world is not unnatural. Their inclinations rendering them incapable of cultivation, they rise superior to the distractions of life. Offered no more companionable objects than rocks, trees and grass, the dweller there may the more effectively meditate himself into inanity. Unjogged by suggestion the mind finds it easier to lapse, and the man eventually to exist on the border-land of trance. But as it is not convenient for everybody to retire to the hills for three years at a time, it has been found possible to combine purity enough for possession with a tolerably secular existence. The *gyo* in the two cases differ only as a state of nature differs from a condition of civilization.

This brings us back again to the bath with which we are not nearly done. If the neophyte be not taking the waterfall in all simplicity on his head, he is out-doing Diogenes by living not simply in his tub but tubbing. A cold-water douche begins the day, another marks its meridian and a third brings it to a close. But the day does not bring the douche to a close. Just before turning in the devotee must take another dip, after which it might indeed be thought that he should sleep in peace. But such would not be rigor enough. The most vital ablution of all, the *crux purificationis*, occurs at 2 A.M. (*yatsugyo*). At this unearthly hour the poor creature must wake himself up, stagger half asleep to the waterfall or the bathroom or courtyard, souse himself or be soused by nature while his teeth chatter a prayer and his fingers twist themselves into cabalistic knots, he himself shivering from top to toe; then, brought up standing in this manner, try if he may to sleep again. At best his doze may not be for long, for at the dawn he must douche again (*hinodegyo*).

Unearthly may the hour advisedly be called, for it is for precisely this attribute that the time is chosen. At that dead of night when every sound is hushed and even the plants lie locked in sleep, the gods can the better hear. And this oddly enough in spite of their own spatterings and sputterings. For the gods themselves are then taking their baths, the gods of the mountains under their waterfalls and the gods of the plain in their rivers. In Japan even the gods wash and are clean; and like mere man apparently make of the bath a time of social reunion and merriment. They hear nevertheless and reward the bather accordingly.

With a *shinja* this nocturnal exercise is optional. It all depends upon how pure he intends to become. Of course it is a great deal better to be thorough and not for the sake of the flesh to shirk profit to the soul. A little more bathing can certainly do no harm—unless it kill, which is not germain to the matter.

Extras are to be taken *ad libitum* by all. The rule is: when in doubt, douche.

This extreme lavatory exercise lasts indefinitely,—as long as the devotee can stand it. And in diminishing doses it is kept up through life. To those who perform it in all its rigor under the waterfalls in the hills the gods graciously shows signs of accepted favor. For round the head of the holy as he stands beneath the fall, the sunlight glancing through the spray rims a halo which all men may see and the reverent recognize as proof of sanctity. The sceptic may possibly ascribe it to a different cause, having perchance seen the like around the shadow of his own head cast, as he sat in the saddle, upon the clipped grass of the polo field. He will certainly do so when he perceives similar ones about the heads of his godless friends. Yet that abandoned character, Benvenuto Cellini, on suddenly remarking one day an aureole radiating from the reflection of his head in the water, took it for sign certain that his salvation was assured.

So much for the fresh water cure. To sum it up in a maxim—adapting to its gentler warfare with the spirits of evil Danton's celebrated one about war in general—we may say that the three essentials to success in it are:—*De l'eau douce! de l'eau douce! et encore de l'eau douce!*

III.

Fasting (*danjiki*) is the next mortification to the flesh. The poor brute of a body unequally yoked to so indomitable a spirit fares ill. For it is deprived at once both of superficial gratification and of solid nourishment. The would-be pure must abstain from meat, from fish, from things cooked and, comprehensively, from whatever has taste or smell. In short he should lead gastronomically an utterly insipid existence. He may not even indulge in the national tea, a beverage tasteless and bodyless enough in all conscience to escape proscription. Salt is specially to be shunned (*shiwodachi*). It is worth noting that on the way to a higher life the apparently harmless chloride of sodium should work as banefully within a man as it works beneficially without him.

Greater deprivation than all these, even tobacco falls under the ban. In this earthly paradise of smokers where the use of the weed rises superior to sex, it seems indeed hard that only those dedicate to deity should be debarred it. But the road to immaterial narcoticism knows no material narcotic by the way. After he has attained to a holy calm without it the lay brother returns to indulgence in this least gross form of sensuous gluttony. The professed ascetic continues to abjure it his life long.

Nuts and berries form the staple of the *gyoja's* diet if he be living a hermit among the hills, buckwheat flour if though not of the world he be still in it. He may also eat vegetables and dried persimmons and grapes in their season; but he must eat most sparingly of whatever it

be. One bowl of buck-wheat and a dish of greens at noon is sustenance enough for the day. Breakfast and supper are forbidden panderings to the flesh. To wash this next to nothing down cold water is allowed him, if his external applications have not already given him enough of it.

Not unnaturally a diet of such subtraction speedily reduces him to his lowest bodily terms, and in consequence to a simple mental state, which he still further reduces by more mental means.

To start with, the general character of his existence conduces to that end. Whether he be living an actual anchorite among the mountains or only a would-be one in town, solitude, complete or partial, tends by well-known laws to convert him into either a maniac or a simpleton. To a species of the latter it is his ambition to attain.

Endless repetitions of elementary prayers further this result. It would be hard indeed to over-estimate the efficacy of such process for producing utter blankness of mind. The subdued chanting by rote over and over again of words of which the thought has long since ceased to take notice, tends in a twofold manner to mental vacuity. There is just enough mental occupation to keep the mind from thinking of other things and so dull it to comparative inaction; and secondly, the rythmic monotone is as potent a lullaby as any more consecrated cradle-song. The eventual end of both would be sleep; as we see with the latter in the case of an infant and in our own case with the former when we conquer our insomnia by methodically counting to a hundred, an indefinite number of times. The chanter does not attain to this supreme nirvana because his attention is not fixed on that end. But the soporific power of these preliminaries in helping to a virtuous vacancy of mind is quite specific.

To this same end, the more searching brother practises upon himself further ingenious devices. One of the most effective is the concentrating his whole

attention upon his own breathing. Mentally he scrutinizes each expiration—the inspirations appear to be somewhat better able to look after themselves—with molecular minuteness. Each breath as it passes in or out is thus subjected to the spirit's picket challenge. By giving his whole mind in this manner to the mere means of existence he effectually prevents any ideas from stealing into that mind unawares. After prolonged duty of the sort consciousness, like all really good sentinels, nods at her post; in which, unlike the good sentinels, lies the virtue of the deed, though quite unsuspected of the doer. For divine-possession in Japan like other Japanese things is not a science but an art. The religious reason given for the inspection is that by prayerful concentration upon this source of spirit one's evil spirit may be expelled and a good efflatus drawn in. One of the truly pious when quantitively questioned told me he had thus kept watch on himself for three weeks at a time, only pausing in the pursuit unavoidably to eat and sleep. It is saddening to think to what farther tenuities he might not have attained had he not been thus grossly shakled to the flesh.

Ablutions and abstinence are thus the two great *gyo ;* which endless prayers, mechanical finger charms and careful breathing help accentuate.

Besides the regular stock austerities there are several supererogatory ones. There is, for example, the *gyo* called *tsumadachi* which consists in walking on the tips of one's toes wherever one has occasion to go. A species of pious ballet-dancing this.

Then there is the austerity of never looking upon a woman's face. This austerity the ascetic who had practised it spoke of as a very severe self infliction indeed. But in view of the vast subjective disturbance wrought even unconsciously by the sex I should judge it to be one of the most essential austerities of all. For no man who is a man can take that absorbing interest in nothing at all

which the rules require while a pair of piquant eyes lead his poor fancy their irresistible dance. To be insensible to such charm were to have attained to complete insensibility already.

Compared with this renunciation the next *gyo* must be a positive pleasure. It consists in letting unlimited mosquitoes bite one to satiety for seven consecutive nights.

The aptitude of all these artifices to the result desired is more or less apparent; some tending to slow down the whole machine or by weakening the body or by tiring the mind, some to dull the sense perceptions by persistent inattention; all to reduce the brain to an unenergetic state. The road is unnecessarily long because originally discovered by chance and then blindly followed by succeeding ages without rational improvement. An immense amount of labor is thus in point of fact thrown away. How much quicker a like result can be attained by the application of a little science modern hypnotism shows.

There will have been noticed in the list of austerities a steady departure from primitive simplicity. Now this decrease in simplicity is strictly parallelled by the decrease in their respective use. Every body washed though comparatively few poised or their toes. Their several vogue is further parallelled by the position occupied by those who practised them in that long chain of mixed belief which dependent from pure Shintō at the one end is supported by Buddhism at the other. The mosquito ordeal for example is quite Buddhist, while abnormal ablutions are not. Now these two parallelisms viewed together are significant; of what will appear farther on.

What the Japanese sensations are during the process may be gathered from the personally narrated experience of one believer, since he sufficiently expresses the type. The given individual was first minded to become a practitioner in consequence of the surprising

cure through god-possession of his master's sick son. He was at the time apprenticed to a dyer and was off on a journey on the occasion when the cure was wrought. Much impressed on his return he determined to seek out the holy man who had effected the miraculous result and by following in his footsteps to attain himself to proficiency. The *gyoja* received him with other-world cordiality and kindly granted him his desire. For three weeks he was put to the washing (*suigyo*) and the fasting (*danjiki*) austerities in all their rigor. At the end of that time he was so weak he could hardly stand. One bowl of rice and a dish of greens a day are little enough to help one through such a course of ablutionary training. Nevertheless for fifty days more he kept on with but little addition to this meagre diet; washing lavishly the while. At the close of this second period he relaxed somewhat and ate, as he expressed it, in moderation, that is immoderately little, the merest modicum of rice; which ameliorated treatment of himself he kept up for the next three years. He was twenty when he went through his novitiate and sixty-three when he told me of it; for the intervening forty-three years he had dieted and douched daily.

No very definite sensation follows, he said, the exercise of the austerities. He simply feels an increase in virtue; whatever that may mean. It would seem to show itself in a practical form. For as he continues in the regimen he gets to know good and evil spontaneously. When a bit of good luck is coming to him or his family or a misfortune about to befall them, he feels it beforehand by a certain mental light-heartedness or a correponding oppression of spirit. Finally he arrives at being able to foretell everything. Whether he can always avert what he is able to predict may be open to doubt. For immediately following this exposure of his capabilities the poor man contracted a very bad cold and was confined for a couple of weeks to his room.

He was, as the mention of his family showed, a married man. In this he was no exception to the rule. All lay-brethren marry as a matter of course. Indeed in Shintō proper the priests wed like anybody else. Nor do such as follow the austerities commit themselves in the least to celibacy. For matrimony and self-consecration to the gods do not, it appears, conflict. Either femininity on repeated doses loses its intoxicating effect or acquired sanctity renders the believer superior to its influence. Nowadays even *gyoja* wed without detriment to their souls. I am by no means sure that they did not in the olden time, for so commonplace a detail of a far-oriental's life as matrimony might well have escaped chronicling. Still there is no doubt that times have changed for the worse with gyojas, as my gyoja averred. Even pecuniarily so much is evident. In the good old days they supported themselves solely on the offerings of grateful patients, in peace and plenty ; now alas! as he said pathetically, these gratuities do not suffice and many a worthy soul is forced to eke out a slender subsistence by secular work in secret. Making toothpicks was the industry he affectingly instanced when pressed to be more explicit. To be driven to such extremity must seem indeed pitiable, even to the undevout.

Thus, then, do the pious get themselves into a general potential possibility of possession. Before possession becomes a fact, however, a short renewal of extreme austerities is needed, like the slight shake that precipitates an already unstable compound; unless the practitioner happen to be in daily communion with the god. Otherwise on notice of a case to be cured he enters again the rigors of the washing and the fast ; and keeps them up for a week if he be thorough, two or three days if he be not. The amount of abstinence depends upon the gravity of the case. There is something highly satisfactory in this dieting of the physician in place of the patient. From the patient's point of view it instantly raises divinopathy above all other pathies on earth. Be-

sides it is more thoroughly logical. For why indeed should not the physician, if well paid for it, be expected to furnish all the elements of his cure!

IV.

We have now reached the function itself. That this is imposing in the first sense of that word, that is impressive, the hold it has had on man sufficiently testifies; that it is imposing in the second sense, that is a sham, is a supposition the first view of one of these trances would suffice to dispel.

The ceremony with which religion has surrounded the act is finely in keeping with the impressiveness of the act itself. So sense-compelling a service you shall find it hard to match in the masses of any other church. But more constraining still are the energy and the sincerity with which the whole is done. It is small wonder the already susceptible subject feels its charm when even by-standers are stirred.

As with the *gyo*, purification is its essence. For not only must a general purification anticede the act, but a special purification must immediately precede it. And first the spot must be holy. Now only one spot is holy by nature: the sacred mountain, Ontaké. All others must be purified. These may be of two kinds: temples public or private, for most houses have what is called a gods' shelf, which does them for family shrine; and ordinary rooms. The first are kept perpetually purified; the second are specially purified for the occasion.

If there be no permanent shrine, a temporary one is constructed. Its central motif is a *gohei* upon a wand, stood upright in a stand. By the side of the *gohei* are lighted candles and flanking these sprigs of *sakaki*, the sacred tree of Shintō. In front of the *gohei* is set out a feast for the god. This varies in elaborateness according to the occasion, its principal dishes

being a bowl of rice, a saucer of salt, a cup of *saké*. In addition to these indispensibles every form of uncooked human food may be offered to the god according to the sumptuousness of the repast it is desired to give him.

The shrine is set up in the *tokonoma* or recess of honor of the room. Overhead is usually hung a hanging scroll of the gods of Ontaké. Some five feet in front of the *tokonoma*, in the centre of the sacred space, a porous earthenware bowl is placed upon a stand and in the bowl is built a pyre of incense sticks, usually beginning as a log-hut and ending as a wigwam.

Then the place is purified. This is done by enclosing the room or the part of it in front of the shrine by strings from which hang at intervals small *gohei*. The most usual arrangement of these is the so-called seven-five-three (*shichi-go-san*) pattern; the seven being nearest the shrine, the fives on the sides and the three at the farther end. From the space so enclosed all evil spirits are driven out by prayer, by finger-charms, by the sprinkling of salt, by the striking of sparks from a flint and steel and by the brandishing of a *gohei*-wand used as an exorcizing air-broom.

After the purification of the place the next duty of the officiators is the purification of their persons. They all go out to the well or to the bath-room to bathe, and return clad in the Ontaké pilgrim dress, a single white garment stamped with the names of the Ontaké gods, with the name of the mountain itself and with the signs of their kō or pilgrim club. For as we shall see more particularly later, all officiators, in the ordinary kind of trance, whether priests or laymen, are enrolled in some Ontaké pilgrim club. This solitary garment is bound about the waist, by a similar white girdle.

In their full complement these officiators consist of eight persons. There is first the man whom the god is to possess. He is called the *nakaza* or seat-in-the-midst. Equal to him

in consideration is the man who presides over the function and who is to talk with deity, the exorcist, so to speak, called the *maeza* or seat-in-front. Next in religious rank is the *wakiza* or side seat. He is one of the *shiten* or four heavens, specialized as the *tōhō* or eastern side, the *hoppō* or northern side, the *nambō* or southern side and the *saihō* or western side. Their duty is to ward off evil influences from all quarters—our English word testifying to the same comprehensive division. The two front ones also have the charge of the paraphernalia and the *nambō* the care of the patient. In addition to these six there is a deputy *maeza* and a sort of clerk of court. The impersonality of these names is worth noting. It is the post not the person that is designated.

Severally clapping their hands the company now enter upon the ceremony proper. This consists of two parts; a general purification service separated by a pause and a rearrangement from the communion service itself. The one is an essential preface to the other and, though quite distinct, the second may never be performed alone.

From the moment he claps his hands each begins upon a chain of finger-charms of the effective uncouthness of which it is difficult to convey any idea in words. They are called *in-musubi* or *seal-bindings*, which describes their intent and incidentally their appearance. The fingers are tied by very realistic jerks into cat's cradle knots, resolved like them each into the next. The tying is timed to consecrated formulae repeated so energetically they sound like links of inarticulate passion. The seal-bindings are themselves sealed by a yet simpler digital device called *kuji*, or the nine characters.

When each man has thus launched himself into the incantation, the *maeza* starts one of the purification prayers (*harai*), into which the others instantly fall. The prayer chosen to begin with is usually the *misogi no harai*. It is a chant chiefly in monotone, only

occasionally lapsing for a note into the octave or the fifth. Every now and then a chanter sinks into a guttural grunt as if mentally fatigued, very suggestive of a mechanical dulling of the mind.

The *harai* over, or rather bridged by some of the company, the *maeza* starts another, the rest take it in swing, and the eight are off again on a second rythmic rite. In this manner prayer after prayer is intoned and *uta* or songs chanted in like cadence between. Shakings of the *shajugo*, a small crozier with metal rings, emphasize the rythm and the pilgrim bells rung at intervals point the swift processional chorus of the whole.

The pyre is then lighted and as the flames leap into the air, prayers ascend with them to Fudo sama. Meanwhile pieces of paper with characters inscribed on them are rapidly passed to and fro though the flame by the *maeza* without burning, an immunity due it is supposed to superhuman agency. Then they are slowly held there by him till they catch fire and are caught upward, by the air-current, ashen ghosts of their former selves. The paper is in effigy of the disease and according as it ascends or fails to do so, will the disease itself depart or cling. Some say the manner of its ascension only is significant. But mark how pitying are the gods. For inasmuch as the flame makes its own draft, that must indeed be an unlucky wraith of tissue ash that fails of being well caught up with it to heaven.

More chanting brings the purification service to a close.

The bowl that held the pyre is removed, and sheets of paper are laid in the centre of the sacred space in the new places the performers are to occupy. Then the *gohei*-wand is brought down from the shrine and stood up in the midst.

The men take their seats for the descent of the god. Up to this time they squat on their heels in the usual Japanese fashion; from now on they sit with folded legs, the exalted

seat of old Japan. The *meaza* seats himself first opposite and facing the shrine, folds his legs in front of him and then drawing his dress over them ties it together from the sides and then brings the farther end up and ties it to his girdle. This is the usual Japanese mode of tying up any bundle. The others do the same, the *shiten* seating themselves at the four corners, and the deputy-*maeza* and clerk by the side of the *maeza*. The *nakaza* as yet is unseated, officially speaking.

All face the *gohei* and go through a further short incantation. Then the *wakiza* reverently removes the *gohei*-wand and holds it while the *nakaza* seats himself where it was, facing from the shrine, tucks himself in as the others did and closes his eyes. In some cases the tucking in is done by everybody at the same time. After some finger-twistings and prayer on the part of the *nakaza* and the *maeza*, the *nakaza* brings his hands together in front of him and the *maeza*, taking the *gohei*-wand from the *wakiza*, places it between them. Then all the others join in chant, watching for the effect.

For a few minutes, the time varying with the particular *nakaza*, the man is perfectly motionless. Then suddenly, the wand begins to quiver, the quiver gains intermittently in strength till all at once the man is seized with a convulsive throe—the throe as we say in truth, of one possessed. In some trances the eyes then open, the eyeballs being rolled up half out of sight; in other cases the eyes remain shut. Then the throe subsides again to a permanent quiver, the eyes, if open, fixed in the trance look, the look of one not on earth nor yet in heaven. The man has now become the god.

The *maeza*, bowed down, then reverently asks the name of the god and the god answers. He then prefers his petitions, to which the god makes reply.

When he has asked what he will and the god has finished replying, the *nakaza* falls forward on his face.

The *maeza* concludes with a prayer; then striking the *nakaza* on the back eventually wakes him up. One of the others gives the *nakaza* water from a cup and when he has been able to swallow it, the rest set to and rub the man's arms and body out of their cataleptic contraction. For at first it is practically impossible to take the wand from his unnatural grip.

Such is the usual form of the trance ceremony. It is the Ryobu-Shintō form; because since the lapse of Shintō twelve centuries ago until the other day relatively speaking, the act was chiefly practised by that combination of the Shintō and the Buddhist cults in which alone Shintō practically survived the paralyzing power of Buddhism during the middle ages. At the official purification of Shintō at the time of the Restoration and the consequent abolition of Ryobu, most of those practising the hybrid formally returned into the Shintō fold and now hold certificates from the heads of the Shintō sects. At the same time the Shintō high-priests, as a part of the same movement, revived the archaic form of the ceremony and practise that in their head temples to-day. An account of it I shall give later. I would instance first some examples of the common practice and of the Buddhist variety of the thing.

V.

Although eight men are considered the proper number for a full presentation of the function, so many are not really vital to its performance. Two are all that are absolutely essential; one to be possessed and one to hear what the god may deign to say. I have seen trances with officiators in number anywhere from two to nine. One man alone would be sufficient were it not a part of the rite that someone should hear the god's words; for one man can take the parts of both *maeza* and *nakaza* serially, doing the *maeza's* part for the preliminary purification and the *nakaza's*

for the possession itself. In this case the second man acts as *wakiza*. Ordinarily, however, when two men take part one is the *maeza* and the other the *nakaza* from the beginning to the end. With three men the third is *wakiza*. Of this kind was the possession upon Ontaké, in the case of the three irrepressibles.

My first example shall be the first possession I had given in my own house. A priest of the Shinshiu kyo, one of the present Shintō sects, came with an assistant as *wakiza*.

He began by hanging up in the room's recess of honor a scroll depicting the deities associated with Ontaké. There were nine of their Augustnesses in three triangular triads, shown standing on conspicuously hazardous pinnacles of a conventionally precipitous tri-peaked mount in conventionally inapt attitudes. They all wore the comfortable cast of countenance and generally immaculate get up quite incompatible with ever getting up a mountain. This, of course, proved their divinity. The great god of Ontaké stood commandingly on the highest peak flanked by two lesser Shintō divinities perched on somewhat lower ones; below stood Fudosama,—a Buddhist conglomerate god from nobody knows exactly where, popularly worshipped as the god of fire, which it is certain he was not, —together with two companions. These were in mid-heaven of ascent. Still lower down came three canonized saints of Ryobu, the men who had opened the mountain as it is called, that is who had first succeeded in getting to the top; for which feat they were now rewarded by being placed humbly at the bottom. The priest had been himself tinctured of Ryobu and the relative sovereignty of the two classes of gods is worth notice, for such is their invariable ranking in these Ryobu, pictures; a relation which says something about the ancestry of the act.

He set up the shrine in the usual manner and built the usual incense pyre in front. The log-hut and wigwam

were so daintily constructed—to say nothing of the time they took in building—it seemed pitiful they should be made but to be so soon destroyed.

Then the priest bathed and changed his dress for the Outaké pilgrim robe, the very one in which he had himself several times made the ascent, and which was therefore correspondingly pure. It showed this unmistakeably. I think it was perhaps the dirtiest dress I have ever seen; at all events it was the most self evidently so. It convinced at once of holiness.

But indeed superficial soiling with inward purity is to be expected of such vestments. It is themselves not their clothes the righteous rightly wash.

Through the garment's present grimy grey, there glimmered traces of red characters; the stamped certificates, these, of his ascents. Time had freed them from garish ostentation and their glory, enhanced by being hidden in an ideographic tongue, come out the finer for being mellowed by age. It was a happy thought that induced the wearer later to give it to me; for it now rests from its wanderings among my most valued possessions.

First as *maeza* the man faced the shrine and if mere unearthly effect be any guage of unearthly efficacy his incantation was eminently successful. In finger charms he was specially deft, and when he lighted the pyre and wove his spell over it the weirdness of the pantomime and its strange setting irresistibly caught one's own fancy in its spell. The incense flame lapped the pyre with seemingly conscious intent and then leapt lougingly up into the void, sending its soul in aromatic surges of smoke to be lost amid the wood-panelled ceiling of the room. From without the glow of dying day stole through the sliding screens to tinge the gloom within. And then pervading it all like a perfume rose the chant of the pilgrim-clad petitioner,

subduing sense to some rich-hued dream. In the middle ground behind sat the assistant statuesquely bowed in silent prayer.

When the last embers of the pyre had burnt themselves out and the orange was slowly fading to ash, the priest paused, removed the bowls, seated himself in the *nakaza's* place, facing out from the shrine, took the *gohei* wand in both hands, and shut his eyes. After a few motionless minutes, the wand suddenly shook convulsively, struck the man's forehead violently and then with like frenzy the floor. Then it came back quivering to its former position before his face. I say "it," for in truth it seemed rather it than he that caused the shaking. Then the throe repeated itself. Trembling one moment, it would start into violent action the next, till at last the man fell face forward upon it and the floor.

The assistant advanced, raised the possessed to a sitting posture and then fell to thumping him on the back and chest to wake him. This energetic treatment brought him sufficiently to himself to be able to articulate for water. But when the glass was put to his lips he bit it to pieces in his frenzied efforts to drink. By good chance he neither cut himself nor swallowed any of the pieces.

When his senses had fully returned and his arms had been well kneaded we carried him on to the veranda, his legs still rigid in catalepsy. There they had to be violently rubbed and jerked into a natural state again. His pulse had been eighty-four when he began upon his incantation; it was one hundred and twenty when he came to.

When sufficiently recovered he went and bathed, and on returning his first question was whether he had spoken in the trance. When he was told that he had not uttered a syllable he was much chagrined. He had hoped, he said, to have astounded us by speaking English when possessed, a tongue of which, in the normal state, he knew nothing. That he might be permitted to do so had been his petition as

maeza. Such supernatural powers, he assured us, were often vouchsafed by the gods ; and he mentioned an Englishman (the only trace I have come across of a previous foreigner in the subject) who had been thus possessed twenty years before in Kōbe and who, though knowing no Japanese in his natural state, spoke it fluently in the trance.

The next example shall be one typical of the average unpretentious trance, the participants being all simple-minded farmers of the suburbs of Tōkyō. There were five of them, all members of the Five Cardinal Virtues Pilgrim Club. The shrine was the simplest possible and the banquet offered the god of the meagrest. No picture was hung in the recess and the pyre was not elaborate.

The *maeza* and the *nakaza* had both been up Ontaké, more than once; the other three were as yet ascensionless but hopeful the lot might soon fall upon them, their finances having up to date only permitted them to travel so far in fancy.

Purification prayers and purification songs—the *misogi-no-harai*, the *rokkon-shōjō-no-harai* and the *nakatomi-no-harai* and several *uta*—were duly intoned, the *nakaza* in this case being specially active because otherwise the leading spirit of the company. All five were clad in their Ontaké ascension robes although the greater number were simply, as has been said, piously anticipating that event.

The possession itself took place with open eyes and was interesting only for the rise and fall of its crises. The wand shook frenziedly, settled before the man's face, the god spake and then with an "*agaru*," "I ascend," the man fell forward collapsed; to be roused again by further incantation. Five several times this cycle was gone through before the possession was brought to a close and the man waked up. Five separate gods had come in turn.

I will now introduce a function with the full force of the *dramatis personæ*. It also was performed in my own

house, by the Mi-Kagura kō or August Dance Pilgrim Club, dance in this case meaning literally, gods' pleasure. There were eight participants, the parts of *maeza*, *nakaza*, the *four shinten*, the deputy *maeza* and the clerk of court being taken respectively by a plasterer, a lumber-dealer, a rice-shopman, a carpenter, a pawnbroker, a pattern-designer, a fishmonger, and a maker of *mizuhiki*, those red and white paper strings with which the Japanese tie bow-knots for good luck about their gifts. Quite a representative board of trade in fact. The plasterer was the president of the club and the pawnbroker its treasurer. This last was a mere coincidence; his earthly calling not being, so I was informed, what specially commended him to the more spiritual office.

On the day appointed they turned up, *more Japanico*, pre-punctually. A polite, but at first aggravating national custom, this appearance of a guest considerably before the time for which he was invited. They came in detachments; the baggage leading with the president and clerk. It was at once set up in place together with several other essentials provided by me beforehand at the request of the club. The list of these last was the better part of a foot long and footed up to exactly thirty one cents and a third.

Kunitokodachinomikoto, the great god of Ontaké, suitably pedestalled upon the mountain and flanked by his followers, was suspended in the recess, in front of which stood a *gohei* bosomed in springs of Shintō's sacred tree, the dark green gloss of the leaves bringing out vividly the white paper flounces of the symbol of the god. Sentinelling it stood two candles speared upon their candlesticks. A modest repast of salt and raw rice lay below and a *saké* bottle not innocent of real *saké*. In front of the feast, in a pair of saucers, two tiny wicks made points of light, floating in rapeseed oil.

In the middle of the sacred space, duly enclosed by pendent *gohei* in the seven-five-three arrangement, was built the symbolic primeval shanty of incense sticks. The place was then purified by prayer, by striking of sparks from a flint and steel and by air-dusting with the *gohei* at each of the four corners. After which the eight severally stole out to the bathroom to bathe and returned one after the other clad in the pilgrim dress. The bathing is as much a part of the rite as any other; and is often quite as publicly performed. In the case of a fire-crossing (*hi-watari*) I have seen the holy performers strip and bathe quite naturally at a convenient well right before the waiting populace of men, women and children. The bathing is done with exorcist accompaniment of finger-charms, pointing the pauses between the dips. Cleanliness and godliness thus go hand in hand.

When the last was back again before the altar, the eight launched in a body swingingly upon one of the purification prayers, the *maeza* as usual leading off. Very impressive these purification prayers are. As the chant swelled it sounded like and yet unlike some fine mass of the church of Rome. With a faster rythm it swept along, a spiritual military charge: and somewhere within one it touched a chord that vibrated in reminiscence and one saw in vision Ontaké and the long pilgrim file tramping with measured tread to the top.

Intoned in monotone, it was pointed with pantomine, those strange digital contortions, the finger-twists. I suppose to one looking on for the first time nothing about the function would seem so far out of all his world as the finger-charms. The semi-suppressed vehemence with which the knots are tied, the uncanny look of the knots themselves and the strange abandonment of the whole man, body and soul, into the act, produce an effect that is weird in the extreme. Symbolic of bodily action you feel the force of the originals in these their effigies.

They typify pretty much every act germain to the occasion. Some drive the evil spirits off; some constrain the good to descend; and so realistic are the signs, the beings to whom they are addressed grow real too. Like a talk at a telephone the half that is heard conjures up of itself the half that is inaudible. And their uncanniness clothes these conjurings with the character of the supernatural. You almost think to see both the devils and the gods.

About them there is a compelling fascination in spite of their repellant uncouthness. If one seek to unravel his sensation from the mesh in which it lies caught he will find the charm of the thing to consist, I think, in energetic rythm. For it has something of the cadence of a dance; yet unlike a dance it is not pleasing in itself. It is indeed the height of inartistic art; its very uncouthness has a certain grace, the grace of the ungraceful masterfully done.

If such be the force of the charm acting quite simply upon the dispassionate, what must its hold not be upon the believer, set as it is by the mordant of faith! And then as chant and charm roll on in some swift processional, suddenly the brass ringed croziers (*shakujō*) ring together in double time, joining with it their jingle as of passing bells.

Prayer after prayer followed thus in purification. Each in turn rose, swelled and sank only to rise again, in long billows of sound buoying one's senses to sensations as of the sea, indefinitely infinite. Crest after crest swept thus over thought, drowning all reflection in a vague vastness of its own. One felt quite contentedly full of nothing at all; in that semi-exstatic state when discrimination has lapsed into a supreme sense of satisfaction; when the charms seemed as enchanting as the chant and the chant as charming as the charms. The portal this to the seventh heaven of ineffable passivity.

A lull like a loud noise broke in upon the half-dream when the *maeza* stopped to light the pyre. Then as the

flame lept ceiling-ward the chant rose with it, the two seemingly together. Tongues of flame three feet high darted upward to transform suddenly into clouds of opal smoke that, surging, floated off and then slowly settled down. Through the flame the *maeza* passed the usual written sheets emblematic of disease; passed them deliberately to and fro, yet did they not burn. Then letting each stay there motionless a moment it suddenly burst into flame. As it did so the chant swelled. The shrivelled shape wavered an instant, hesitatingly poised and then rose with the chant toward the rafters of the room. Its prayer had been heard and granted.

Then other things were passed through the flame to gain like virtue; each man thus purified his rosary, with which he then rubbed what part of his body he wished to be pure and strong; and finally the *gohei* itself for quintessence of purification, was taken for the altar, purified by the fire and then put back in place.

This finished the first service. In the interlude that followed the incense altar was removed, sheets of paper spread on the mats in its stead and the *gohei*-wand taken from the shrine and stood up in the midst. Plain paper! plain pinewood! plain pilgrim dresses! Truly the neutral tints of self-effacement, as near nothing as symbols can well show; the very apotheosis of simplicity.

All except the *nakaza* himself now took post for the possession, seating themselves in the prescribed places, all facing the *gohei;* the maeza in front, the "four heavens" *(shiten)* at the cardinal points on the side and the clerk and the deputy-*maeza* flanking the *maeza* to the left and right.

A short incantation led off. Then the *maeza* removed the wand and gave it to the *tōhō*, the "eastern heaven," who held it ready in his hand. The *nakaza* came forward and solemnly seated himself where the *gohei* had been, facing from the altar. First he folded his legs under him,

then he drew his robe elaborately round them, tucking and tying them in in the approved manner. The result had the look of certain legless toys that begin as a man and end as a pedestal. After the *nakaza* had thus arranged himself the others followed suit.

The *nakaza* began by finger-twists and prayer, privately as it were ; then he folded his hands before him and closed his eyes, the others incanting the while. The *maeza* took the wand from the *tōhō* and put it between the *nakaza's* hands. The man at once fell slowly forward on it, resting one end on the mat and the other against his forehead near the hollow at the base of the nose.

The rest started in upon the "*Rokkon shōjō no harai*," the purification prayer whose initial words the pilgrims chant timed to their tramp as they mount Ontaké. Stirring it is, this intoned prayer, and it takes little fancy to seem mounting one's self on the rythm of its fine processional to where the god awaits his pilgrims at the top. Over and over again the chant swept on. Suddenly the wand began to quiver. At which the band increased in energy. Moment by moment the wand gathered motion in fits and lulls as when a storm gathers out of a clear sky. Slowly, as it shook, it rose to his forehead. Then with a sudden paroxism it beat the air frenziedly above his head, to come down with a jerk to a rigid half-arm holding before his brow, a suppressed quiver alone thrilling it through. The god had come.

The *maeza* leant forward, bent low before the outstretched *gohei* and reverently asked the god's name. The eyes of the possessed had already opened to the glassy stare symptomic of trances, the eyeballs so rolled up the pupils were nearly out of sight. In an unnatural, yet not exactly artificial, voice he said "Matsuwo," at which his interlocutor bowed low again and then preferred his petitions. The god answered and then spake on of his own accord. The clerk took down all he said.

Shortly the man settled forward heavily into a lethargic swoon. From this he was roused by farther incantation to a new access of fury. Raising the wand above his head he lashed out with it like a madman and hopping excitedly round on his folded legs repeated the act at each of the four compass points. Then he came back to his previous statuesque pose and in reply to the *maeza* spake again.

Once more he relapsed into his lethargy and once more he was roused and answered.

When he had fallen into his comitose condition for the third time, the *maeza*, after a sort of benedicite, made the sign of a sanscrit character on his back and slapped him energetically on top of it. One of the *shiten* stood by ready with a cup of water and, the moment he had come to enough, put it to his lips and helped him to drink. Under this treatment he gradually revived but it took some kneading before the wand could be loosed from his cataleptic grip.

Three gods, it appeared, had come in turn, which accounted for the rise and fall in the character of the possession: Matsuwo Sama or Ōyamadzuminomikoto; Fukan Gyōja; and Hakkai San.

VII.

The trances so far instanced have all been of the Ryobu-Shintō kind, as the croziers and the rosaries would hint. The next shall be one introducing two new features: Buddhism and femininity. For the mouthpiece of the god was in this case the mouth of a maiden and the man who parleyed with her a Buddhist priest of the Nichiren sect. It is a sect of purely Japanese origin, having been founded by Nichiren, who had learnt much of the Shintō priests six hundred years ago; a sect with no prototype or affiliations elsewhere.

Like most of the other trances it was a parlor possession in my own house. There were three persons in the company. For beside the priest and the maiden—who was about eighteen, there came a female friend of maturer years, not indeed to chaperone the fair one so soon to be more than metaphorically divine, but merely for religious assistant at the divine audience. The three all belonged to a certain pilgrim club of which the priest was president.

They turned up with an extra jiurikisha carrying a veritable Saratoga trunk of indispensibles. To be fair to the sex, as it shows itself in Japan, it should instantly be said that in this case the baggage was not chargeable to it but to the god's delight in pageantry as interpreted by the Nichiren sect. The trunk proved to contain several candles, some *sakaki*, a *gohei*, two large lumps of rice-paste known as *kagami-mochi* or mirror dough, various other objects of bigotry and virtue and eight volumes of scripture, besides vestments, rosary and other ecclesiastical trappings for the priest. He, and not the women, was the object to be arrayed.

After all the various articles had been deployed, duly set up or donned, the priest faced the altar and began to pray. He prayed a long time, in an elaborate and beautiful chant in keeping with his clothes. One of the interesting features of the ritual was the comparative absence of finger-charms; another the way in which he virtually read through the whole eight volumes of scripture. For want of a more consecrated expression it may be known as the way of the waterfall, and is as conveniently useful as it is unimpeachably artistic. It was made possible by the form in which the books were bound. Like old Japanese books generally the contents were inscribed on one indefinite roll folded for the sake of portability into pages, their ends only being fastened to the covers. They thus lent themselves to being played upon as an harmonicum, the method the priest adopted. Holding the covers farther apart at the top than at the bottom he let the

pages slowly cascade from his left hand into his right, accompanying himself thus on the instrument to the chanting of a portion of its contents by heart. The fair ones chorused him at a respectful distance in the rear.

Then he told several remembered prayers, not on his rosary, but, as it were, to it. For the Japanese Buddhist, not being arithmetical, scorns to use his rosary in mere tally to his prayer, promoting it to the higher post of musical instrument. He soothingly strokes it and it purrs with the gratified responsiveness of a cat.

All this lasted a religious while, but the sights and the sounds beguiled the senses to the forgetting of time. When, in all conscience, the priest had said mass enough, he turned at right angles to his former position and beckoned to the maiden to approach and seat herself opposite to and facing him, sideways therefore to the altar. She then folded her hands and closed her eyes.

First he sprinkled her all over with a shower-bath of sparks from a flint and steel; after which he repeated in a soporific way several monotonic chants and watched the effect. When he judged her numb enough he put the *gohei*-wand into her hands and continued intoning, his own hands still making his amber rosary purr.

Gradually the maiden raised the *gohei* to her forehead. When it got there it began to shiver, struck her convulsively once or twice and then settled into a trembling rigidity. Her eyes stayed closed.

The priest then asked what questions I would like to put to the god. Some doctrinal points occurred to me, the priest acting as go-between. The god and the priest were pleased with the answers; I was not, their conventionality veiled in vagueness failing to commend itself. Then the god indulged in some gratuitous prophecy, not subsequently fulfilled. He kindly foretold that a week after my return to America I should lose a large amount of

money I had out on loan. I thanked him for this information, thinking it unnecessary to inform him in return that I had no money out on loan at the moment. Perhaps it was not odd that I never lost it. But the fault was mine. Had I been a Japanese the chances that are I should have had money loaned; and of course should have lost it. This is as near as I ever came with the gods to successful prophecy. And yet to divine would seem to be of the very essence of divinity.

Altogether the most interesting feature of the case, psychologically, was the great ease of possession, due, as I am convinced, to the sex of the subject. In possessions by the Nichiren sect the god prefers to make use of feminine lips. The only exception is the occasional employment of children as divine subjects. For in this sect men are never possessed.

At another possession by the same sect, four priests and a woman took part. There were no finger-twistings and the service generally was short and simple. A hanging scroll of *Kishibojin* was suspended in the recess of honor; below it a small altar overlaid with rich brocade stood flanked by two *gohei*-wands. The principal priest put on white silk robes and the woman a white cotton surplice. At first she sat off disinterestedly to one side.

At the close of the prelimary service the chief officiator beckoned to her to take her seat; which she did passing through the row of priests with the customary respectful symbolic scooping of the hand and sat down in the midst with her back to the altar. She closed her eyes; the priest made the sign of a Sancrit character on each of her palms and then with prayer put the two *gohei*, one into each of her hands. Twitching ensued almost instantly and was kept up a long time while the officiator (*shugenja*) prayed on. At the close of it the priest asked the god's name and then interviewed him. Then, when permission had first been asked by the priest, the god condescended to interviews with the rest of us. Replies

would have been made in any case, the priest said, but it would have been rude to the god not to have first obtained his consent. The subject was quite insensible to pins stuck into her neck but objected at first to having her pulse felt, pulling her arm annoyedly away, till she had been assured that it was all right by the priest. Her pulse proved a trifle faster than in her normal state (110 as against 100) but decidedly weaker.

After speaking she lapsed into a comitose condition but could be roused by being addressed. When the priest had finished with her he took the wands from her hands, not without difficulty, they were so cataleptically clenched, and somewhat irreverently rolled her over on her side like a doll into a corner where he left her to wake, while he and the others concluded the service. By the time they had finished she came to of herself.

The facing of the possessed—from the altar or simply sideways to it—is a matter dependent on the particular priest and upon the character of the god expected to descend. If the god be of more importance he sits *ex cathedra* as it were; if not simply *ex parte*. This relative disrespect shown by the Buddhists to the possessing gods will be discussed latter.

VIII.

The pure Shintō possessions are, in virtue of being a part of pure Shintō itself, necessarily revivals. They are said indeed to have been always practised in secret during Shintō's long eclipse. But practically they ceased to be and were resumed only when Shintō itself once more came into fashion. It was really in Ryobu-Shintō that the trances, and all else in Shintō to which the people clung, survived.

The pure Shintō trances, therefore, like the Nō dances, show a certain not unattractive archaicism, an archaicism that glamors them with all the more seeming-sanctity.

The personal or auxiliary rites are comparatively few and relatively simple. Their comparative absence and relative simplicity are astutely explained by ascribing greater purity to the officiators; which renders assistance unnecessary. The pure Shintōists are so pure, it is said, that they need them not; a fresh instance of the fact that to the pure all things are pure. The parallelism of this to the Shintō explanation of its lack of a moral code: that only immoral people need moral laws, is evident. It is, however, a very true principle that the more faith the less formulae.

On the other hand the impersonal part of the service is more elaborate that it may be more imposing. But it is distinctly less captivating. In all really grand receptions given the god the dinner previously offered him is the most important part of the entertainment. This is exceedingly elaborate and takes no end of time to serve. The priests stand in a row and with many ceremonious bows and turnings pass the holy platters from the refectory—as one may say—to the shrine where they are all eventually deposited. The dishes consist of pretty much everything edible and, in the raw condition in which much of it is served, of everything inedible as well. They are then further made palatable to divinity by much flow of soul in prayer by the priests. The finger-charms, decidedly the weirdest of the Ryobu rites, are reduced to such very low terms as hardly to appear. The purification prayers of pure Shintō origin, such as the *Nakatomi no harai*, are chanted but with less impressive swing; the Ryobu ones, like the *Rokkon Shōjō no harai*, are not recited at all. So far as records and traditions go the old is reinstated. Even the aboriginal instruments of miscalled music, actual heirlooms some of them, it is said, are played upon by the modern high-priest as they were by the mythologic worthies, that the unchangeable gods may be similarly pleased. In fact the whole action is as near as possible what it might have seemed to one transported a couple of millenniums into the past.

The trance state itself is likewise different. It is more natural and more free. The possessed no longer is restrained to the greater conventionality of the Ryobu forms. He sits, stands, speaks more spontaneously and generally behaves himself with more of the self-prompting a god might be expected to possess. This, however, is in the believer's eyes of less consequence than the knowledge of the scriptures he shows himself to possess. To be able to elucidate the meagre accounts in the Shintō bibles proves his superior divinity. That the subject has been well trained in this old folklore does not to the pious constitute a *propter hoc* in the matter.

Perhaps the most curious phase in this form of possession revival is what may be called the divinity kindergarten, which one of the high-priests holds as often as three times a week. Pious young people of the neighborhood come in on certain evenings for the express purpose of being god-possessed. The pupils are of both sexes and of all degrees of proficiency, from beginners to adepts. To see their exercises is one of the most curious experiences imaginable. The well-versed take an amazingly short space of time to become entranced. The pupils begin by sitting in a row at the farther end of the room, praying quietly, waiting thus each his turn to be called up. When the priest is ready for one of them he nods to him and the boy, or girl, advances to assume a receptive attitude just before the altar, closing his eyes. The high-priest prays over him, sitting off on one side. Then he rises and puts the *gohei*-wand into the boy's hands and resuming his seat plays upon the sacred flute, exactly as you shall read of its being done in the Kojiki. This is not a surprising coincidence since the action is copied from it. In proficients the effect is almost instantaneous. The pupil goes into convulsions, raises the *gohei* to arms' length above his head, brandishes it maniacally and still doing so rises to his feet and proceeds thus to hop about the

room. In this state he then goes through various gymnastic exercises. On one wall of the room stands a ladder up which he climbs to the cornice, clinging to which he makes the circuit of the apartment, descending again by the ladder only to shin along a horizontal bar. Somersaults over a low table follow next; after which he resumes his hopping turns about the room, interspersed with somersaults over the floor whenever the possessing spirit prompts them. The curriculum varies with the idiosyncracy of the pupil, though all indulge in dervish-like dancing and somersaults. But indeed dancing dervishes are orderly members of society by comparison. There are at times as many as three of the gods careering thus at once, and though they often bump they are not aware of one another, though in a way conscious of the limits of the room. A creditable circus on the whole.

When the high-priest deems that a pupil has done enough he stops him, brings him by command to a sitting posture before the altar, takes the wand from him and wakes him up.

The pulse is accelerated and, so far as I could discover from feeling it immediately afterwards, weakened. The actions, dubious as they read, were evidently done in an unconscious condition, as they were said to be.

It takes some practice to attain to this proficiency—several sittings indeed before a pupil becomes possessed at all. The kinder-garten has no special object except a general religious training. It is, as it were, sunday-school three week-days a week.

IX.

And now for a general account of the trance somewhat more psychologically considered; and first for the means of getting into it, the cause, that is, in contradistinction to the occasion.

Possession is effected in fact in the easiest possible manner. From the time the *nakaza* takes the *gohei*-wand into his hands, at which time it will be remembered he closes his eyes, he simply thinks of nothing at all. He makes his mind as pure, that is as much of a blank, as he can.

The thinking of nothing has been made the easier by the previous debilitating process of the austerities. It has been still farther facilitated by the routine ritual gone through with immediately prior to the act, or rather the non-act, itself. Indeed the prayers having become with the man a purely mechanical process, they are almost equivalent already to not thinking at all since they give the mind just enough to do to prevent any real thought from starting in it. The prayers are not only tantamount to non-thought but the thing is so styled by many *nakaza*. They do not think of anything, they say, after they have once sat down to the ceremony. So true is this that a *nakaza* will at times begin to go off during the preliminary rites and has to be brought back by a rousing slap from the *maeza*.

The coming on of the state of possession is described by them as like lapsing to sleep. They simply become unconscious. The experience of one of them from his first attempt to his first success is worth giving in detail.

After having duly completed his period of austerities he was set one evening in the *nakaza's* seat. About him sat the regular company incanting. He closed his eyes and the *gohei*-wand was put into his hands. From that moment he tried to make his mind as blank as possible. The result the first evening was simple nausea. Nor is it surprising that the first dose of divinity should disagree with a man.

His second trial the following evening led to a similar result, but the unpleasant effect was somewhat less pronounced than on the first attempt. So it continued to be

on the third evening and the fourth, up to the fifteenth ; the feeling of sickness diminishing at each succeeding sitting. At last on the fifteenth day his perseverance was rewarded. He remembers hearing the others repeating the *harai* fainter and yet more faint, like singers departing into the distance, and then he was ware of being shaken by the rest. They were bringing him to. Possession had been like the unconscious dropping off to sleep ; coming to himself again like waking in the morning, only that he felt dull and tired. He was told by the company that he had nodded, shaken the wand violently and then become perfectly rigid.

He likened the feeling of lapsing into the trance to the sensation after long bathing in the honorable hot-water, a bath of the temperature of 110 degrees fahrenheit. The analogies indulged in by different subjects when questioned as to this feeling of becoming possessed were variously apposite. One of them said it felt like going up in a balloon. This daringly inflated simile turned out a flight of fancy, as on further investigation it appeared that the man had never been up in a balloon. But inasmuch as most people have not either, his definition was in point of fact more definite than if he had made ever so many such ascents. Another man said it was like being drowned and then brought to again. Psychologically this was a close hit, though I have no reason to think that he had had, any more than the other, personal experience of his comparison. A third merely described all sounds as getting a long way off. Still another, in speaking of the general state said that all ordinary noises grew indistinguishable and yet that in winter he could hear the water freeze.

Of the trance itself most, if not all, of the possessed remember afterwards nothing. One man indeed said that it was like dreaming only more vague, the dream of a dream as it were, which is certainly very vague indeed. Even here I think he mistook the feelings fringeing the

trance state for the trance state itself. For certainly the average good *nakaza* is quite emphatic on the point and this particular man was not a specially able specimen.

They all agree in the sense of oppression which is their last bit of consciousness before going off and their first on coming to. It is for this the *maeza* slaps the *nakaza* repeatedly on the back at and after the moment of waking. The throat is so throttled that unless this were done the water could not be swallowed.

Possession begins, they say, at the *gohei*. The hands that hold it are the first parts of the man to be affected. In the incipient cases these are all that are visibly possessed. As the control deepens the cataleptic condition creeps, like paralysis, on till it involves all of the body not in action.

Possession ends, as it begins. The subject's arms and hands are the last part of him to lose their induced catalepsy After the man is well waked and to all intents and purposes himself again, it is almost impossible to take the wand away from him. Only after being rubbed and kneaded will the fingers let go their hold.

In the trance itself anaesthesia is often marked. I have several times stuck pins into the entranced at favorably sensitive spots without the man's being conscious of the pricks. In some cases where I had otherwise no reason to suspect fraud the pin was felt. So that I doubt whether want of feeling is necessarily spontaneously produced in the state.

The pulse is quickened. But a much more marked symptom about it is its decided weakening. I have explored the wrist of an entranced for quite an impossible time and failed to find anything but an occasional flutter. The Japanese themselves are quite aware of this fading away of the pulse and also of the way in which its rise and fall keeps pace inversely with the degree of activity in the trance state. So conversant with this correspondence are they that I have known during such search for the pulse

a whole company spontaneously to redouble its energy in incantation in order to keep the possession at its height and so obliterate the pulse, which they had affirmed to be non-existent in the trance's full activity. It certainly proved practically to have ceased so exceeding faint was it grown. When the subject lapses into the comitose condition the pulse returns.

During activity the subject's body is in a constant state of quiver. This is one of the most significant of the physical symptoms, as I shall hope to show in the sequel.

Sometimes the eyes are opened in the trance (*gambiraki*) ; sometimes they are closed throughout. Which they shall be depends upon the training of the particular *nakaza*, which again is matter of tradition. By those who practise the former method the latter is denounced as more easily covering shams, which is undoubtedly true. The others doubtless consider themselves above the imputation.

Shams there are ; which is hardly surprising when we consider the great vogue the act of possession has. But an unexpected pin in a tender part of the possessed's body usually pricks the bubble. It is much easier to detect the false than the true ; the sham rarely masquerades successfully while the true may sometimes seem a very perfect sham.

The conventional character of the possessed's action in the average trance, which is very marked, is of course no sign of shamming. The unconscious assimilations of precedent have now become stereotyped into trance action which is just as unconsciously genuine as any other habit. To mistake such for fraud is to be one's own dupe. One might make a more serious mistake and, like the Salpétrière in hypnotism, take for universal symptoms of the Japanese trance what are really adventitious effects perpetuated. The invariable raising of the *gohei*-wand to the forehead in so seemingly formalized a manner in the ordinary Ryobu trance, the brandishing it about, and the bringing it down again, before or above the face

as the case may be, in no less arbitrary a way, are all but so many self-suggestions originally, crystalized now into unchanging custom. The god might act very differently without casting consequent doubt upon his divinity and in the revived Shintō trances, as we have seen, he does do so.

It is an interesting fact that the base of the forehead between the eyes should have been discovered to be a favorable point to press upon in order the quicker to enter the trance, discovered empirically by the Japanese before the thing was scientifically known to Europe. Not all subjects make use of it. Some simply rest one end of the wand on the ground or floor and lean upon it; while others do not do so much as this, only holding it in the air before them. But by many to rest one end on the ground and press the forehead against the other is thought to be helpful to a speedy result, which it doubtless is.

The development of the voice takes time. Dumb possession precedes the ability to talk in the trance. Considerable practice in being possessed is necessary before the god is able to speak. When he does do so the tone is peculiar. It is not the man's natural voice but a stilted, cothurnus sort of voice, one which a god might be supposed to use in addressing mere mortals. It would be theatrical were it not sincere. It is the man's unconscious conception of how a god should speak, and commends itself artistically to the imagination.

ERRATA.—1. For *gyo*, simply or in compounds, read *gyō*. 2. In everyday life the Buddhists also use their rosaries to tell their prayers.

AINU ECONOMIC PLANTS.

By Rev. John Batchelor and Dr. Kingo Miyabe.

[*Read April 12, 1893.*]

INTRODUCTION.

There is no field in the domain of economic botany more interesting and full of promise than that among a barbarous race which has wholly subsisted for untold ages on the products of the forest and the sea, and the spoils of the chase. Such a field one naturally finds among the Ainu of Hokkaidō.

That a subject of such interest should have been almost wholly neglected by recent foreign writers on this race is easily to be explained by the nature of the subject, for it demands in an author a happy combination of the thorough knowledge of the flora of the region with that of the language and customs of the people. If, therefore any explanation be sought for the joint authorship of this paper the reason will be found in this fact.

Works on this subject by Japanese writers and botanists are not wanting. As early as the later part of the eighteenth century, the Tokugawa Government sent a young doctor and artist named Tani Buntan (谷文旦) to Yezo to investigate the natural products of the island, having special regard to medicine. The results of his

researches are supposed to be embodied in a manuscript called the Tōi-Bussanshi (東夷物産志) which is a treatise on the natural products of Eastern Yezo.

About the year 1810, a work called the Yezo Sō-moku-shiryō (蝦夷草木志料) or "Materials for a Flora of Yezo," by So Shōkei (曾尚啓) appeared; and about the year 1850 a manuscript in two volumes was written on the natural products of Yezo, and called the Yezo Bussanshi (蝦夷物産誌.) This work is said to be the result of the joint authorship of several naturalists then residing in Hakodate and among whom is to be counted Kurimoto Jyoun (栗本鋤雲) who is now a member of the Gakushi-in of Tokyō. In the diaries of travel in different parts of Yezo by Matsumura Takeshirō (松浦竹四郎) are to be found many interesting facts with regard to Ainu economic plants.

All the statements found in these volumes were collected and published in the year 1883 by one of the authors of the present work in the 34th volume of the Hokkaidō-shi (北海道志). The most recent contribution to the subject is also by the same author and is to be found in the first and second numbers of a journal called the Keirin (薫林) published in Sapporo in the months of May and July 1892. It is on the medicinal plants and also on the trees and shrubs used by the Ainu.

These works were consulted by us in the preparation of the present paper, but those statements which have not been confirmed by the Ainu we have personally questioned about them have been all excluded. They may be published by us on some future occasion, as some of them have uncommon interest. The present paper therefore contains little but what we have seen used ourselves, or are perfectly certain are known and used by the Ainu.

In the preparation of this paper the Ainu of Osha-mambe, Repunge, Aputa, Usu, Horobets, Chitose, Osatnai, Mukawa, Saru, Tokachi, Kushiro, and the Kurile Islands

among others have been questioned, and though one plant may not be known in one district, it is sometimes found to be both known and used in another.

Our best thanks are due to K. Jimbo, Esq., who has most assiduously laboured in the matter of collecting and verifying Ainu names and in procuring specimens for identification.

This little work must not be considered exhaustive; we feel that the subject has but just been commenced and intend steadily to pursue our studies. We hope on some future occasion to present a paper to this Society on the fibrous plants and on the trees and shrubs used by the Ainu.

PART I.

AINU MEDICINAL PLANTS.

1.—ARIKKO.

Thalictrum aquilegifolium, L.

KARAMATSU-SŌ. カラマツサウ. The Feather Columbine.

The roots of this plant eaten either raw or roasted are said to cure pains in the stomach. They are very bitter to the taste. Sometimes, however, on occasions of stomach-ache a decoction is made by steeping the roots in boiling water, and a good strong dose taken. This is said to work wonders. Should a person wound his hand when at work, or thrust some sharp object into his foot when walking through the forest, he will take the roots of this plant, chew them to a paste, and apply to the wounded part to prevent suppuration.

Some of the Ainu take the leaves of this herb, roll them between the hands to bruise and make them soft, and then plaster over any part of the body where there should be an internal pain or contusion.

2. HORAP or ORAP.

Paeonia obovata, Maxim.

YAMA-SHAKUYAKU (ヤマシヤクヤク).

The root of this plant is dug up, dried and preserved for medicinal purposes. It has a bitter taste. In cases of stomach-ache some Ainu take a piece of the root, and swallow it with water. It is said to have an immediate effect. The root chewed to a paste is sometimes applied to aching joints of the body. For ordinary slight ailments, a decoction of this root is commonly recommended.

In Mukawa and elsewhere, the seeds of this paeony are recommended as a remedy for sore eyes; when used for this purpose, the seeds are chewed up and put in a piece of clean white cloth; the juice is then squeezed out into the eyes. In Usu, when a person suffers from a pain in his ears, the smoke from a mixture of tobacco and powdered seeds is blown into them.

3.—OPKE-NI OR OMAUKUSH-NI.

Magnolia Kobus, DC.

KOBUSHI (コブシ).

The bark is the part employed as medicine. A decoction is taken in time of colds. As in the case of *Pukusa* (see No. 39 and 120) and *Kikin-ni* (see No. 13 and 58.), the bark of this Magnolia is believed to have the mysterious power of driving away the demons of disease. In times of a pestilence, a piece of the bark is commonly put into the drinking water as a preventive. Branches are placed over doors and windows as a charm. A thin decoction is often made and drunk in place of tea.

4.—REPNIHAT.

Schizandra chinensis, Bail.

CHŌSEN-GOMISHI (テウセンゴミシ).

The vines are the part generally used as medicine, although the fruit is also sometimes so used. By some Ainu it is believed to be a specific for colds. When

taken for colds, a piece of the vine is rolled up and put into a cup containing boiling water. The thin decoction thus made is taken. It is also recommended by some Ainu as a remedy for sea-sickness.

5. OTOMPUI-KINA.

Chelidonium majus, L.

KUSA-NO-WO. (クサノヲ). The Common Celandine.

The stem and leaves, after having been softened by dipping into hot water, are applied externally to any place where there are internal pains caused by a fall or contusion. Some Ainu believe the yellow juice of this plant destroys warts. This may possibly have been learned from the Japanese. It is also reputed to be an antidote against snake-poisoning. Some Ainu apply this plant to the stomach to relieve internal pains. A most peculiar practice is, when a child suffers from constipation, to place a small piece of bruised stem in the anus. This is said to have an immediate effect.

6.—RITEN-KINA.

Stellaria media, L.

HAKOBE (ハコベ). The Chickweed.

This common weed is widely used for external application to bruises or to any part of the body where the bones ache. The stems and leaves are steeped in hot water before being applied.

7.—KUTCHI-PUNGARA.

Actinidia arguta, Planch.

KOKUWA (コクハ).

In the spring of the year, when the vine of this climber is cut, sap flows out freely and in large quantities. The sap is used as a medicine and is believed to be a good expectorant. (See No. 51).

8.—SHIKEREBE-NI.

Phellodendron amurense, Rupr.

KIWADA or SHIKORO. (キハダ. シコロ).

The inner bark of this tree is much esteemed by the Ainu as a medicine. It is yellow in colour and extremely bitter to the taste. It is applied externally over any portion of the body where there should be internal pain, particularly such as may have been caused by falling from a horse, or by any similar accident. It is also applied to burns, scalds and sore eyes. The bark is bruised and made damp either by chewing or with water before it is used. Persons who travel in the interior of this island and who are called upon to wade streams the greater part of the day, suffer greatly from a skin disease called *mizu-mushi* by the Japanese. This disease attacks the spaces between the toes, quickly making them quite raw. An application or two of the inner bark of the *shikerebe-ni* is said to remove the malady.

The berries of this tree are much prized by some Ainu as a medicine; they are said to be a good expectorant. In some places the berries are used in cases where the muscles have been strained and caused to swell. On such occasions a few of the berries are chewed into a pasty mass and put upon the affected part. The fruit is also used as an article of food.

9.—SHIU-NI or YUK-RAIGE-NI.

Picrasma ailanthoides, Planch.

NIGAKI (ニガキ).

The bark of this tree has a very bitter taste which is believed by the Ainu to be poisonous. A strong decoction is often used to kill head-lice. Eruptions on the scalps of children are also sometimes washed with it. It is said that should deer eat the bark of this tree they die very soon after. Hence the name, which means "Deer-killing-tree."

10.—TOCHI-NI.

Æsculus turbinata, Bl.

Tochi-no-ki (トチノキ). The Horse-chestnut.

The nuts of this plant are often used as a medicine. They are taken and dried for future use. When required they are soaked and well scraped. The scrapings are then steeped in water and the decoction used to wash wounds with. The Ainu often use it for washing the eyes of horses when they run water or discharge matter.

11.—OIKARA.

Pueraria Thunbergiana, Benth.

Kuzu. (クズ)

The root of this plant is dug up and used as a remedy for aches and bruises. The root is thoroughly roasted at a fire and the affected part of the body well rubbed with it. The root-stock of the Pueraria is rich in very fine starch and is much esteemed by the Japanese; but the Ainu know nothing of it as an article of food.

12.—CHIKUBE-NI.

Cladrastis amurensis, Benth. var. Buergeri, Max.

Inu-enju (イヌエンジュ).

The bark of this tree is believed to have a poisonous property. It is externally applied on the body where there is internal pain.

13.—KIKIN-NI.

Prunus Padus, L.

Yezo-uwamizu-zakura.(エゾウハミヅザクラ). The Bird-Cherry.

The bark of this tree is sometimes steeped in hot water and used as a remedy for stomach-ache. The decoction is druuk.

The bark is also sometimes used as a beverage in place of tea. At Saru and elsewhere this plant is believed to have the power of driving away the demons of disease and is therefore used as a charm.

14. TOKAOMAP.

Cicuta virosa, L.

DOKUZERI (ドクゼリ). The Cowbane or Water Hemlock.

The root-stock of this plant is deadly poisonous. Some Ainu apply externally the charred root-stock when there is a pain in the bone.

15—UPEU.

Seseli Libanotis, Koch var. sibirica, DC.

IBUKI-BŌFŪ NO ISSHU (イブキバウフウノ一種).

A kind of umbelliferous herb having a strong medicinal smell and flavour. It is much used as a medicine and is said to be good for every complaint. It grows in dry places—especially on sandy beaches. The root is the part used. In times of epidemic disease the *upeu* is much sought after by the Ainu for it is thought to be a great preventive of illness and is said to act as a kind of charm. I have often seen them chewing it, and found it hanging up in huts to keep off sickness. During a time when small-pox was raging I saw a dog, with some tied to his collar, driven round a house! This plant may be taken at any time in place of tea or water and is, indeed, often preferred. A decoction is usually made by steeping the herb in hot water; and is so taken in cases of severe cold. Some of the old Ainu mix small pieces of this root with their tobacco to improve its flavour.

16.—YAKARA-KINA or MO-SHIU-KINA.

Angelica refracta, Fr. Schm.

ŌBA-SENKYU (オホバセンキウ).

A kind of umbelliferous plant found growing in wet and damp places. It is used for medicinal purposes, and

is said to be especially good in cases of pain in the stomach. The root-stock only is used. It is generally taken in decoction though sometimes it is put into soup and eaten with the food.

From the fact that upon procuring samples of the dried root-stocks of this Angelica at the villages of Saru and Chitose in the month of March, it seems that they must form one of their common medicines. They are cut up very small with a knife, and put in hot water. The decoction thus made is drunk, herb and all. At Saru it is taken in time of chest-troubles, and at Chitose, in cases of stomach-ache and chest-troubles.

17.—CHIMA-KINA.

Aralia cordata, Thunb.

Udo. (ウド) The Spikenard.

Some Ainu use the root-stock of this plant for wounds inflicted by bears or other aminals. A decoction is often made and the wounds washed with it, after which fresh slices are applied. The spikenard is also used for food by some Ainu.

18.—OINAMAT.

Adenocaulon adhaerescens, Maxim.

Nobuki. (ノブキ).

When a person is poisoned by sumach (Rhus), the leaves of this plant softened by warming at a fire are generally applied.

19.—NOYA.

Artemisia vulgaris, L.

Yomogi. (ヨモギ) The Mugwort.

When one has taken cold, the stem and leaves of the mugwort are boiled in a pan, and a patient is made to inhale the steam, with a cloth covered over his head and the pan, until he or she freely perspires. Sometimes in similar cases, a decoction of the stems and leaves are drunk. A

moxa is sometimes made by pounding the leaves. This plant is also often to be found hung up in houses as a charm against evil, but particularly against disease.

20.—KAMUI-NOYA.

Artemisia sacrorum, Ledeb., var. latiloba, Ledeb.

IWAYOMOGI. (イハヨモギ).

This kind of mugwort grows chiefly on rocky cliffs, and sometimes on the sandy banks of rivers. It is sub-shrubby in habit, and has a strong medicinal odour. It is largely used as a medicine by the Ainu of Kushiro, Kitami and Teshio. The name *Kamui-noya* is also applied by some Ainu to other species of Artemisia. (*A. Stelleriana, Bess.* and *A. Japonica, Thunb.*)

21.—MAKAYO.

The flower-shoot of *Petasites japonicus, Miq.*

FUKI-NO-TŌ. (フキノタフ).

This flower-shoot is sometimes used by the Ainu for food, but is often taken in strong decoction for heavy colds. It is very bitter to the taste. (See *Korokoni*, No. 80).

22.—SETA-KOROKONI.

Arctium Lappa, L.

GOBŌ. (ゴバウ) The Burdock.

The young leaves of this plant are softened by rolling them between the palms. They are then applied to skin eruptions. It may also be remarked that the roots of this plant are sometimes boiled and eaten as food.

23.—EPOTAN-NI.

Ligustrum medium, Fr. et Sav.

ŌBA-IBOTA-NO-KI. (オホバイボタノキ).

Some Ainu believe that chop-sticks made from the wood of this shrub, if always used, will prevent the teeth from becoming carious.

24.—IKEMA or PENUP.

Cynanchum caudatum, Maxim.

IKEMA. (イケマ).

A kind of Asclepiadaceous plant used both for food and medicine. It is said to be good for any complaint, but is a special remedy for small-pox. To wounds of all kinds a thick decoction when applied is said to prevent the formation of pus. Half cooked roots are said to have an intoxicating effect, and to cause loss of all control over the limbs and to do away with the sensation of the skin. The root is dried and stored up for future use, however, it is sometimes taken fresh either roasted or boiled and is said to have a very sweet flavor. In time of epidemic sickness the root is chewed in its raw state and the juice blown from the mouth sometimes upon and over the afflicted person, sometimes all over the inside of the hut and through the door and windows, and sometimes, again, round the house and even whole villages. When so used the *ikema* or *penup* is supposed to act as a kind of charm to drive away the demon of sickness. Those who use this plant so are generally intoxicated by it.

It is also said to be very efficacious as an antidote to poison. As an article of food this plant is used very sparingly and well cooked.

25.—CHIUKOMAU.

Physalis Alkekengi, L.

HŌZUKI (ホヽヅキ). The Winter Cherry.

When there is a pain in the hips, the fruit is smashed and applied as a poultice.

26.—SETA-ENDO.

Elsholtzia cristata, Willd.

NAGINATA-KŌJU (ナギナタカウジュ).

The decoction of this highly aromatic plant which is commonly found around the huts of the Ainu is prescribed to persons suffering from the after effects of intoxication. It is also used in the place of tea.

27.—TOIORUSH-MUN or KAMUI-KEU-KINA.

Mentha arvensis, L. var vulgaris, Benth.

HAKKA (ハクカ). The Peppermint.

The bruised leaves of this plant are applied to any place where a person is in pain.

28.—SHUMNU-HASH.

Lindera hypoglauca, Maxim.

KUROMOJI or TORIKOSHIBA. (クロモジ.トリコシバ)

Among some Ainu this plant is looked upon as a good remedy for stomach-ache, and has a very nice smell and flavour. The wood is broken up fine and boiled. When cool a dose is taken. Sometimes, however, the decoction is poured over rice or millet and taken.

29.—KETU-HASH.

Daphne chinensis, Lam., var. breviflora.

KOSHŌNOKI or KARASU-SHIKIMI. (コセウノキ.カラスシキミ)

The whole plant is reputed to have a poisonous property, but especially its berries and roots. Some Ainu burn the roots to charcoal and pound them to powder. This powder is applied to bruises or places where there is any internal pain; but it is never applied to cut-wounds.

30.—NI-HARU.

Viscum album, L.

YADORIGI or HOYA. (ヤドリギ.ホヤ). The Mistletoe.

The Ainu like many nations of northern origin hold the mistletoe in peculiar veneration. They look upon it as a medicine good in almost every disease. It is taken either in food or separately as a decoction. The leaves are used in preference to the berries, the latter being of too sticky a nature for general purposes. Some Ainu have been known to use the mistletoe leaves merely for tea without any reference to their supposed medicinal properties, while others sometimes mix it with their stews.

By many Ainu the mistletoe is supposed to have the power of making the gardens bear plentifully. When used for this purpose the leaves are cut up into fine pieces, and after having been prayed over, are sown with the millet and other seeds; a little also being eaten with the food. Barren women have also been known to eat the mistletoe in order to be made to bear children. That mistletoe which grows upon the willows is supposed to have the greatest efficacy because the willow is looked upon by the Ainu as being a sacred tree. (See No. 100.)

31.—KAPAI.

Laportea bulbifera, Wedd.

MUKAGO-IRAKUSA. (ムカゴイラクサ).

The stems and leaves of this plant are, after having been well roasted and mashed, used as fomentation for ulcers. (See also No. 105).

32.—KAMUI-TAT.

Betula Ermani, Cham.

TAKE-KAMBA. (タケカンバ).

The bark of this birch can be peeled off in very thin layers. Some of these papery layers are sometimes pasted over wounds in place of plasters. They are said to possess good healing properties and to prevent inflammation.

32.—b. NITAT-KENE.

Alnus japonica, Miq.

HAN-NO-KI or YACHIBA-HAN-NO-KI. (ハンノキ.ヤチバハンノキ)

The Alder.

A decoction made by steeping the bark of this tree in hot water is said to be good for pains in the stomach. Ainu women take a dose of this medicine immediately after child-birth. The special name of this docoction is *Ichuptasarep*. It is said to be exceedingly bitter to the taste.

33.—URA-SUSU or URAI-SUSU.

Salix multinervis, Fr. et Sav.

KORI-YANAGI. (コリヤナギ).

The fresh bark of this shrubby willow is widely used by the Ainu for application to cut or bruised surfaces. The bark is cut into fine shreds with a knife, and plunged for a short time into hot water to make it soft. It is then applied to the wound and is retained there by bandage. The bark is renewed from time to time.

34.—YAI-NI or NUP-KURUN-NI.

Populus tremula, L.

HAKOYANAGI. (ハコヤナギ).

The fresh bark is cut up into fine shreds and applied to cut-wounds to prevent the formation of pus.

35.—SHUNGU-UNKOTUK.

The resin of *Picea ajanensis, Fisch.*

YEZO-MATSU NO YANI. (エゾマツノヤニ).

Some Ainu apply the resin of this spruce to cut wounds to hasten their healing.

36.—NIMAK-KOTUK.

Cremastra Wallichiana, Lindl.

SAIHAI-RAN OR HAKKURI. (サイハイラン . ハツクリ).

The root of this orchid is used as a remedy for tooth-ache. It is merely chewed and then expectorated. It is of a very sticky nature and clings to the teeth very tenaciously, hence its name. *Nimak*, "teeth," and *kotuk*, "to adhere to." Sometimes a stiff paste or ointment is made of this herb and spread over swellings and boils as a remedy. However, in whatever way it may be used it is not supposed to be a very certain cure, and is not applied when other more favourite remedies are at hand. A strong glue is made from the roots of the plant by pounding them well.

37.—SHUWONTE.

Smilax herbacea, L.

SHIODE. (シホデ). The Carrion Flower.

The application of the softened leaves is said to heal troubles of the eyes. They are also applied to skin eruptions and wounds.

38.—ETORURATKIP.

Polygonatum giganteum, Dietr., var. falcatum, Maxim.

NARUKO-YURI. (ナルコユリ). The Solomon's Seal.

A piece of the root-stock of this plant is sometimes put into the mouth of a child who suffers from laceration of the tongue and lips and is allowed to remain there until the pain is relieved.

39.—PUKUSA or HURARUI-KINA.

Allium victorialis, L.

GYOJYA-NINNIKU or KITOBIRU. (ギヤウジヤニンニク, キトビル).

This herb is said to be specially useful as a remedy for colds. It is also sometimes to be found hung up in door-ways and entrances and by windows as a charm against epidemic disease.

40.—SURUGU-KUSURI.

Acorus Calamus, L.

SHŌBU. (シヤウブ). The Sweet Flag.

The root-stock of this plant is extensively used by the Ainu as a medicine. It is dried and kept with *ikema* and *moshiu-kina*. Pains in the stomach caused by drinking bad water, or by eating improper food, are said to be relieved by taking a decoction of this root-stock. It is also said to be efficacious in cases of cold and headache.

41.—SHUPUYANUP.

Lycoperdon sps.

KITSUNE-NO-CHABUKURO. (キツネノチヤブクロ).

The Puff-ball.

Spores of this fungus are sometimes outwardly applied by the Ainus to cure pains in the body. It is also applied as a remedy for scalds and burns.

42.—SHIU-KARUSH or KUI-KARUSH.

Polyporus officinalis, Fr:

EBURIKO or TOBOSHI (エブリコ, トボシ).

A kind of fungus growing upon larch tree and having a very bitter taste. This polyporus is used by some Ainu as a medicine. It is chewed and rubbed into painful places. But generally its decoction is swallowed as a remedy for stomach-ache. It comes chiefly from the Kurile Islands and was greatly prized by the old Japanese doctors.

43.—UMMA-SHIKARUSH.

A kind of toadstool which grows only from horse-droppings. It is sometimes applied to wounds, scalds and burns as a remedy.

44.—NIKAMBI.

The white leathery layers of the fungus mycelium found between the bark and wood of dead oak, elm or ash trees. It is applied to wounds on the body to stop hœmorrhage.

PART II.

AINU EDIBLE PLANTS.

45.—PUKUSA-KINA.

Anemone flaccida, Fr. Schm.

GAJŌ-SŌ or FUKUBERA. (ガジヤウサウ. フクベラ).

By some Ainu it is also called *ohau-kina*, "stew plant." The leaves and stems of this plant form an article of diet among the Ainu. The people gather this herb in large quantities when it is in blossom in the spring and dry it for winter use, though some of it is used green. It is usually eaten boiled with fish, or occasionally put into soup.

46.—PUI.

Caltha palustris, L.

RYUKINKWA. (リウキンクワ). The Marsh Marigold.

The slender roots of this plant are gathered and eaten, but not the stems and leaves. Some are eaten fresh and others dried. In either case they are generally boiled with fish, rice or millet, and sometimes with oil of sardines. Some Ainu pound them to cakes before eating.

47.—KAPATO.

Nuphar japonicum, DC.

KŌHONE. (カハホネ).

The thick horizontal root-stocks of this plant, which are rich in starch, are used as an article of diet. They are first cut into small pieces and scalded, and then either

cooked with millet or rice, or put into a soup. The root-stocks are also dried and kept for winter use, and are said to be very delicious.

48.—TOMA.

Corydalis ambigua, Cham. et Schlecht.

ENGOSAKU. (エンゴサク).

The bulbs of this plant are extensively eaten by the Ainu, especially by those in the Ishikari valley, Saghalien, and Southern Kuriles. The bulb has a slightly bitter taste, which is removed by repeated boilings in water. In Etorup, the Ainu boil with a certain kind of earth to remove its bitterness. They are eaten either simply boiled or mixed with rice. In Saghalien, it is said that they are cooked generally with the fat of seals. The bulbs are often boiled and then dried for future use.

49.—SHIBE-KINA.

Cardamine hirsuta, L.

TANETSUKE-BANA. (タネツケバナ).

The leaves and stems of this herb are first parboiled and then eaten as salad.

50.—RISESSERI or NISESSERI.

Cardamine yezoensis, Maxim.

AINU-WASABI. (アイヌワサビ).

In the early spring, the young leaves and new root-stocks are gathered for food, the older portions of the roots being thrown away. To increase pungency, the Ainu in some places have learned to put the leaves, together with the root-stocks, into bottles and keep them well stopped a day or so before using. The *Risesseri* is generally boiled before eaten.

51.—KUTCHI.

The fruit of *Actinidia arguta, Planch.*

KOKUWA. (コクハ).

This fruit is eaten by Ainu. It is also greatly relished by bears. It has a delicious taste when well ripened though it is slightly astringent and mildly purgative. The fruit ripens after the first frost.

52—MATATAMBU.

Actinidia polygama, Planch.

MATATABI. (マタタビ).

The fruit of this plant is eaten by the Ainu. The unripe berries are extremely acrid and are sparingly cooked in stews to give them flavour. Only the well ripened fruit is eaten raw.

53.—KANCHIKAMA-NI.

Zanthoxylum piperitum, DC.

ZANSHO. (サンセウ).

The leaves and fruit of this shrub are often cooked in soup and used as a condiment. The wood, being of a very tough nature, is often made into hooks and used for getting seaweed (*Laminaria*, Japanese and Ainu, *kombu*) out of the sea.

54.—SHIKEREBE.

The fruit of *Phellodendron amurense, Rupr.*

SHIKONOHEI. (シコノヘイ).

These berries form an article of diet among the Ainu who collect them in large quantities during the autumn months and dry for future use. Generally they are very sweet and aromatic in flavor, though sometimes some of the trees are said to yield berries having an astringent taste. The Ainu generally boil this fruit with beans, but a very favourite way is to cook it with the fat of deer or bears. These berries are also used as a medicine (see *Shikerebe-ni*) No. 8.

55.—HAT.

The berry of *Vitis Coignetiæ, Pulliat.*

YAMA-BUDO. (ヤマブダウ). The Wild Grape.

The wild grapes are relished by the Ainu, and also by bears. The Ainu eat them either raw or by keeping them in a cup with salt for a day or two.

56.—MENASARU or NOIPORO-KINA.

Lathyrus maritimus, Bigel.

HAMA-ENDŌ. (ハマエンドウ) The Beach Pea.

The beans are sometimes collected and eaten.

57.—AHA.

Amphicarpaea Edgeworthii, Benth. var. japonica, Oliver.

GIN-MAME or YABU-MAME. (ギンマメ . ヤブマメ).

The underground seeds are gathered in large quantities. They are eaten boiled either alone or with rice, after being cleared from the coatings, roots and young shoots. They are said to be very sweet, tasting something like chestnuts. A peculiarity about this leguminous plant is that it has two kinds of flowers, one being an ordinary purplish bean-like flower, and another a subterranean inconspicuous flower, which never opens but is so constructed as to bear seeds without any help of external agencies, (cleistogamous flower). The subterranean seeds are about 7-10 times larger than those which are produced in the above ground pods. The former are known as *Aha*, and the latter as *Ahacha*. The Ahacha are also collected, and eaten commonly boiled with rice. (*Aha* is applied to both the nut and vine, though more properly the vine should be called *Ahara*).

58.—KIKIN-NI.

Prunus Padus, L.

EZO-UWAMIZU-ZAKURA. (エゾウハミザクラ)

The fruit is eaten. (See No. 13.)

59.—YUK-EMAURI, KAMUI-HUREP,

or *Hure-aiush-ni.*

Rubus crataegifolius, Bunge.

TACHI-ICHIGO. (タチイチゴ).

The berries are eaten.

60.—EMAURI.

Rubus parvifolius, L.

NAWASHIROICHIGO. (ナハシロイチゴ).

The berries of this plant are eaten by the Ainu.

61.—KAMUI-EMAURI, or YUK-EMAURI.

Rubus phœnicolasius, Maxim.

EBIGARA-ICHIGO. (エビガライチゴ).

The berries are eaten. They have a fine flavour.

62.—KUNNE-EMAURI.

Rubus occidentalis. L. var. japonicus, Miyabe.

KURO-CHIGO. (クロイチゴ.)

The berries of this plant are eaten by the Ainu. They are especially abundant on the eastern coast of Hokkaidō.

63.—EMAURI or YAYAN-HUREP.

Rubus Idaeus, L. var. strigosus, Maxim.

YEZO-ICHIGO. (エゾイチゴ).

This raspberry is widely distributed throughout the island of Ezo. The berries are much esteemed by the Ainu.

64.—HUREP.

Fragaria elatior, Ehrh.

SHIROBANA-NO-HEBICHIGO. (シロバナノヘビイチゴ).

The Wild Strawberry.

These are very much relished by the Ainu. They are especially abundant in the vicinity of Nemuro, and in the high mountains of Hokkaidō.

65.—MAU.

The fruit of *Rosa rugosa, Thunb.*

HAMA-NASU. (ハマナス).

This plant is very plentiful on sandy dunes and near the sea shores of Yezo. The hips are used as an article of food by the Ainu. They are eaten raw and are much liked by the children.

66. SETAN-NI or SETAI-NI.

Pyrus Toringo, Sieb.

ZUMI or SANNASHI. (ズミ. サンナシ).

The small fruits, which are called *setara* in Ainu, are used as an article of food. Children especially are fond of them.

67.—IWA-KIKIN-NI.

Pyrus Aucuparia, Gærtn. var. japonica, Maxim.

NANAKAMADO. (ナナカマド.) The Mountain Ash.

The red fruit is sometimes eaten.

68.—ABE-NI.

Crataegus chlorosarca, Maxim.

YEZO-SANZASHI. (エゾサンザシ.) The Blackpome Hawthorn.

The pome of this hawthorn is black and fleshy. It is eaten by the Ainu.

69.—PEKAMBE.

Trapa incisa, Sieb. et Zucc.

HIME-BISHI. (ヒメビシ).

The fruit of this plant forms an article of diet especially among the Ainu who live near the marshes, and is eaten either boiled or roasted. It is often boiled with rice. To split the hard shell of the fruit the Ainu of the Ishikari valley do it very skilfully with their knives, while those of the Tokachi valley usually use their teeth. When it is eaten raw it is said to cause diarrhœa.

70.—MICHIPA.

Cryptotaenia japonica, Hausskn.

MITSUBA. (ミツバ.) The Japanese Honewort.

The stems of this plant, together with the leaves are used as food. Sometimes they are boiled green, and at others they are first salted. This use was probably learned from the Japanese. The *michipa* is the Ainu corruption of the Japanese word *mitsuba*.

71.—ICHARI-KINA or ICHARABO.

Anthriscus sylvestris, Hoffm.

SHAKU or KOJYAKU. (シヤク.コゞヤク)
The Wild Chervil.

The fresh shoots of this plant are often used in stews as a vegetable. Many of the Ainu collect the young shoots, steep them in boiling water, and then salt for future use.

72.—SHIU-KINA.

Angelica ursina, Maxim.

YEZO-NYU. (エゾニウ).

This plant has a very bitter taste and is not generally eaten. However, in some districts, as for instance in Tokachi, the Ainu eat the white interior stalk after having peeled off the bark and expelled as much of the whitish colored juice as possible. This is the largest umbelliferous plant known in Hokkaidō.

73.—CHIFUE or CHISHUYE.

Angelica edulis, Miyabe.

AMA-NYU. (アマニウ).

The stalk of this plant is eaten by the Ainu either raw or dried. It has a sweet taste. It is much hunted after by the children. For preserving, the stalk is cut into short pieces, skinned, split, and then dried. Some Ainu prefer to eat it boiled soft.

74.—PITTOK.

Heracleum lanatum, Michx.

HANA-UDO. (ハナウド). The Cow Parsnip.

This herb is used by the Ainu for food. It is sometimes eaten raw, though generally it is first roasted and pealed. It is never boiled or put into stew. Bears are said to be remarkably fond of this plant. In the Saru district the stalks are eaten both fresh and dried.

Young shoots which are largely collected and eaten in spring are called *haru*, while *pittock* is applied only to a fully grown plant.

75.—CHIMA-KINA.

Aralia cordata, Thunb.

UDO. (ウド). The Spikenard.

The stems of this plant, even to fully-grown ones, are, after having been first peeled, boiled and eaten as a vegetable. It is also sometimes used as a medicine. (See No. 17.)

76.—ENENGE-NI, ENINGE-NI, or SHUAT-NI.

Aralia spinosa, L.

TARANOKI or T'ARAMBO. (タラノキ.タランボ).

The Angelica Tree.

The Ainu boil the young leaves of this plant in their stews and eat them as vegetables.

77.—ENUMI-TANNE.

Lonicera cærulea, L.

YONOMI. (ヨノミ).

This shrub is very abundant in the marshes which lie between Chitose and Tomakomai. The juicy, dark-coloured berries are collected and much esteemed by the Ainu. They are eaten raw.

93.—KITESH or KEN.

Convolvulus japonicus, Th.

HIRUGAWO. (ヒルガホ).

The long slender roots of this plant are dug up in the spring and used as an article of food by the Ainu. They are eaten either roasted or boiled, alone or with other food, such as rice or millet. They are said to be very sweet to the taste and are much liked.

94.—SETA-ENDO.

Elsholtzia cristata, Willd.

NAGINATA-KŌJU. (ナギナタカウジウ).

A decoction is sometimes made by steeping the leaves of this plant in hot water and used as tea. (See No. 26.)

95.—ERUM-KINA or EREMU-KINA.

Plantago asiatica, L.

ŌBAKO. (オホバコ). The Plantain.

The root is the part used as an article of diet It is eaten boiled. Some Ainu eat the seeds, after having been well pounded, with rice or millet.

96.—IKOKUTTARA.

Polygonum sachalinense, Fr. Schm.

Ō-ITADORI. (オホイタドリ).

The young shoots of this plant, which have a reddish tinge, are eaten by some Ainu. They have a slight acidity. The leaves are commonly employed when pickling the stalks of Petasites (*korokoni*). When so used first a layer of the leaves is spread over the bottom of a barrel, then a layer of *korokoni*, and so on till the barrel is full. The leaves impart a reddish colour and slight acidity to the pickle. (See No. 21.)

97.—KUTTARAAMAM.

Polygonum Weyrichii, Fr. Schm.

URAJIRO-TADE. (ウラジロタデ).

The fruit of this plant is collected by some Ainu and pounded in a mortar. The mashed fruit is eaten either boiled with millet or cooked in fish oil.

98.—SHUNAPA.

Rumex aquaticus, L., var. japonicus, Max.

MADAIWŌ. (マダイワウ).

The fruit of this plant is eaten by some Ainu. It is first pounded in a mortar and then partaken of either boiled alone or with rice. The leaves also are sometimes eaten in soups.

99.—SUSUMAU-NI.

Elæagnus umbellata, Thunb.

AKIGUMI. (アキグミ).

The fruit of this plant is first scalded and then eaten.

100.—NI-HARU.

Viscum album, L.

YADORIGI (ヤドリギ). The Mistletoe.

Some of the Chitose Ainu extract starch from the mistletoe branches by pounding them in a wooden mortar, and washing in water. However, mistletoe is not generally partaken of as food excepting in times of great scarcity. (See No. 30).

101.—YUK-T'OPA-KINA.

Pachysandra terminalis, S. et Z.

FUKKISŌ or KICHIJISŌ. (フッキサウ. キチジサウ).

The berries of this plant are eaten in their raw state.

102.—RIYAHAM-USHI.

Daphniphyllum humile, Maxim.

YEZO-YUZURIHA. (エゾユヅリハ).

The evergreen leaves of this shrub are sometimes dried and smoked in place of tobacco.

103.—KOSA.

Humulus Lupulus, L.

KARAHANA-SŌ. (カラハナサウ). The Wild Hop.

The root of this plant is eaten either boiled or roasted. It is of a sweet taste. It is generally dug in the spring, though occasionally in the autumn.

104.—TESHMA-NI or TUREP-NI.

Morus alba, L.

KUWA. (クワ). The Mulberry Tree.

The fruit, which is called *topembe*, is eaten raw.

105.—KAPAI.

Laportea bulbifera, Wedd.

MUKAGO-IRAKUSA. (ムカゴイラクサ).

The young shoots are gathered in the spring, boiled in two waters and then eaten. (See No. 31).

106.—MINCHI or MOSHI-KINA.

Pilea pumila, A. Gray.

MIZU. (ミズ). The Rich-weed.

The succulent semi-transparent stems are eaten boiled.

107.—NESHKO.

Juglans Sieboldiana, Maxim.

ONIGURUMI. (オニグルミ). The Walnut tree.

The Walnuts are called *Ninum*.

These form an article of diet among the Ainu, but as they are very thick shelled, making it difficult to extract the kernel, they are not thought much of.

108.—NISEU.

DONGURI. (ドングリ). Acorns.

These are eaten by the Ainu, especially those of *Quercus dentata*. The favourite way of eating them is to first boil them, though occasionally they take them roasted. They are not used in stews. Acorns are usually boiled in two or three waters before using; and are sometimes cooked till they become a paste, before partaken of.

The acorns of *T'un-ni* or *Kom-ni* (*Q. dentata*) are especially eaten, because they are less stringent and sweeter than the acorns of the *Quercus crispula* and *Quercus grosse-serrata*, (*Chikapo-pero-ni* and *Shipero-ni*).

109.—YAM.

The fruit of *Castanea vulgaris, Lam.*

KURI. (クリ). The Chestnut.

Chestnuts form an important article of food among the Ainu. They prepare them in various ways. The favourite way is to well boil them, then take off the skins and pound them into a paste; they are then reboiled with millet or rice and eaten.

It is considered to be a great delicacy to mix the pounded chestnuts with the eggs of salmon or trout and boil them together. Another way is to mash them with the fat of animals. Sometimes they are eaten roasted, but in that case never by way of taking a meal. This latter way of cooking chestnuts is looked upon as more of an agreeable pastime than anything else.

110.—ENCHIKIMAIMAI or ICHIKIMAIMAI.

Empetrum nigrum, L.

GANKŌRAN or KOKENOMI. (ガンカウラン.コケノミ.)

The Crowberry.

The black berries are eaten raw. They have a slightly bitter taste.

111.—KANAT-NI or ANAT-NI.

Cephalotaxus drupacea, Z. et S.

INUGAYA or HYŌBU. (イヌガヤ, ヒヨウブ).

The fleshy part of the drupe-like fruit is sometimes eaten by the Ainu. It has a sweet though slightly resinous taste.

112.—RARAMA-NI.

Taxus cuspidata, S. et Z.

ICHI-I or ONKO. (イチヰ, オンコ). The Yew.

The fruit of the yew is sometimes eaten by children but is not used as a general article of diet.

113.—TODONUP or HENEKKERE.

Pinus pumila, Regel.

HAI-MASSU. (ハヒマツ).

The seeds of this dwarf-pine are much esteemed by the Ainu of the Kurile Islands as an article of diet.

114.—NIMAK-KOTUK.

Cremastra Wallichiana, Lindl.

SAIHAI-RAN. (ザイハイラン).

The root of this orchid is sometimes eaten boiled. (For other uses see No. 36.)

115.—UNINTEP or UNINTEK-KI.

Gastrodia elata, Bl.

ONI-NO-YAGARA. (オニノヤガラ).

This plant is used by some Ainu for food. It is eaten boiled, but is not mixed with other articles of diet because its flavour is said not to be very inviting. The underground bulbs are the part used. They are collected in spring and are boiled with as little water as possible.

116.—ETORURATKIP.

Polygonatum giganteum, Dietr. var. falcatum, Maxim.

NARUKO-YURI. (ナルコユリ).

The root stock of this plant is eaten either boiled or roasted. (See also No. 38.)

117.—UKURU-KINA.

Funkia ovata, Spreng.

GIBŌ-SHI. (ギバウシ).

The white parts of the leaf stalks only of this plant are used for food. They are boiled with other things and are said to be very sweet and tender.

118.—SHIKUTURU or SHUKUTUT.

Allium schoenoprasum, L.

YEZO-NEGI. (エゾネギ). The Common Chive.

The bulbs and leaves of this plant are used as ordinary food. Many chop them up fine and boil them in their stews to give flavour to other articles of diet.

119.—MEMBIRU.

Allium nipponicum, Fr. et Sav.

NOBIRU. (ノビル).

The bulb of this plant is the part used. It is generally eaten fresh as a salad but is not dried and stored up. Sometimes, however, it is used as an ordinary food, especially to give flavour to other delicacies.

120.—PUKUSA.

Allium victorialis, L.

GYOJYA-NINNIKU or KITOBIRU. (ギヤウジヤニンニク.キトビル).

The bulb and the lower part of the leaves of this plant are used as food by the Ainu. They are taken in the early summer, chopped up fine, and dried for future use. This plant is often used as ordinary food to give flavour to other edible articles, and sometimes it is boiled in fat. It is also used as a medicine. (See No. 39.)

121.—TUREP.

Lilium Glehni, Fr. Schm.

ŌBA-UBAYURI OR UMBAIRO. (オホウバユリ.ウンバイロ).

The Ainu extensively use the bulbs of this plant fo food. They prepare them as follows. After having well washed the bulbs they pound them, in their raw state, in

a mortar. The flour or finer portion, which is called *irup*, is then separated from the coarser, and put in the sun to dry. When eaten this is generally made into a gruel and cooked with millet or rice. The coarser part, which is called *shit* and *shirari*, is boiled at once and then again pounded and put into a tub to decompose. When thoroughly rotten it is again boiled and pounded. After this it is made into large cakes, called *onturep* or *turep-akam*, with a hole in the centre, and hung up to try. When needed for food the Ainu throw them into the millet pot and boil them. The flour is, it may be remarked, sometimes applied to burns.

122.—MASARA-ORUMBE.

Lilium dahuricum, Gawl.

YEZO-SUKASHI-YURI. (エゾスカシユリ).

The bulbs of this lily, which grows chiefly on the sandy beaches and river banks, are used as an article of diet. They are cooked in the same way as *niyokai*. (See No. 123.)

123.—NIYOKAI.

Lilium avenaceum, Fisch.

KURUMA-YURI. (クルマユリ).

The bulbs of this plant are the parts used. They are taken in the autumn, brought home, picked to pieces, and, having been thrown into the rice or millet pot are boiled. Sometimes they are eaten alone, but they are more generally mixed with other food.

124.—ANRAKORO.

Fritillaria kamtchatensis, Gawl.

KURO-YURI. (クロユリ). The Black Lily.

The Ainu eat the bulb of this plant. It is dug up in the summer, brought home, washed, and boiled. When well cooked the bulbs are mashed and mixed with the fat of animals, or with rice.

The bulbs are often dried and stored away for future use, though many of them are eaten fresh. When any of that which has been stored is to be eaten it is generally reboiled in stew.

125.—ESHKERIMRIM.

Erythronium dens-canis, L.

KATAKURI. (カタクリ). The Dog's Tooth Violet.

The long solid scaled bulbs of this plant are used for food. They are taken and well washed and then thoroughly pounded in a mortar. The fine flowery portion is kept for use, and the coarser thrown away. When required, a little of the flour is put into a cup and hot water poured on it. By stirring, a kind of gruel is made, and this is drunk by itself. The *eshkerimrim* is never cooked with other food. The leaves are also collected by some Ainu and cooked as a vegetable. It is also said by some to be good for stomach-ache.

126.—CHIKAP-TOMA.

Gagea lutea, Ræm. et Sch.

KIBANA-NO-AMANA. (キバナノアマナ).

The Yellow Star of Bethlehem.

The Ainu children eat the bulbs of this plant after roasting in a fire. The leaves are also put in soups.

127.—KINA-EMAURI.

Trillium kamtschaticum, Pall.

SHIROBANA-NO-ENREISŌ. (シロバナノエンレイサウ).

The berry of this plant is used for food. It has a delicious taste with a slight trace of acidity.

128.—RAURAU.

Arisæma japonicum, Bl.

TENNANSHŌ (テンナンセウ.) Jack in the Pulpit.

The bulbs of this plant are eaten. They are dug up in the autumn, brought home and washed, and then put in the ashes upon the hearth to bake. They are never boiled. As

a certain part of the bulb is said to be very poisonous they have to be partaken of with great care; the good parts only are used as food and the poisonous carefully taken out and thrown away.

The basal part of the stalk and its continuation into the bulb is said to contain the poisonous property. This part is of a greenish colour and is very carefully picked out with a knife before using. The ashes appear to counteract the poisonous acid which is still left in the bulb, and to render it harmless.

129.—SHIKEREBE-KINA.

Symplocarpus fœtidus, Salisb.

ZAZENSŌ. (ザゼンサウ). The Skunk Cabbage.

The leaves are the parts used as food. They are first boiled and dried, and then cooked in soups.

130.—TOP.

Bambusa senanensis, Fr. et Sav.

YAMA-DAKE. (ヤマダケ).

The grain of this bamboo is sometimes collected by the Ainu and eaten in the same way as rice or millet. It is called *Kamui-amam*. The young shoots, which are much eaten by the Japanese, are not used by the Ainu.

131.—KAMUI-SOROMA.

Osmunda regalis, L.

ZEMMAI. (ゼンマイ). The Flowering Fern.

The young fronds are taken, and used as food, prepared in the same manner as *tuwa* (No. 133).

132.—SOROMA.

Onoclea germanica, Willd.

KUSA-SOTETSU or KOGOMI. (クサソテツ・コゴミ).

The sterile fronds of this fern are collected when young and soft, and are much eaten by both Ainu and Japanese. The Ainu generally put them into soups.

The fertile fronds of this fern, which appear later in season, are called by the Ainu *Airap-kina*. They are made into powder and are eaten by mixing with water and making into paste.

133.—TUWA.

Pteris aquilina, L.

WARABI. (ワラビ). The Brake.

The young fronds of this plant are taken and well boiled in fresh water and then dried for future use. When required for food they are mixed with other food and reboiled.

The Saru Ainu know how to extract the starch or *irup* from the rhizomes of the brake; they probably learned this from the Japanese.

134.—EHURUPESH-KINA.

Scolopendrium vulgare, Sm.

KOTANI-WATARI. (コタニワタリ). The Hart's Tongue.

The frond of this fern is sometimes smoked by some Ainu either alone or mixed with tobacco.

135.—PERO-NI-KARUSH, KOM-NI-KARUSH, or TUN-NI-KARUSH.

Lepiota sp.

SHI-I-TAKE. (シヒタケ).

This kind of fungus is used for food; it grows both upon the green and decaying stems. It is extensively eaten by the Japanese, and even cultivated in certain districts.

136.—CHIKISA-NI-KARUSH.

Pleurotus ulmarius, Bull.

TAMOGI-TAKE. (タモギタケ).

The Ainu use this as food and are very fond of it. It is only eaten after having been well boiled.

137.—KENE-NI-KARUSH.

Pleurotus sp.

MUKI-TAKE. (ムキタケ).

This kind of fungus is used for food. It is eaten mixed with stews.

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ESOTERIC SHINTŌ.

By Percival Lowell, Esq.

[*Read May 17th, 1893.*]

Pilgrimages and the Pilgrim Clubs.

I.

To one of a poetic turn of thought the very name Shintō, or the "Way of the Gods" pictures of itself one long pilgrimage from earth to heaven. But such poesy is, after all, profane, the "way" here being as unvividly viewed by its followers as are the thousand and one other ways of the world by those who pursue them. Nevertheless pilgrimages are more than foot-notes to its profession. If in no sense a church militant, Shintō is certainly a church perambulant; and if it have produced no allegorical Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," it can at least show an actual one so impersonally spelt that he who runs must read. Shintō in short is as much given to stringing its devotions along the road as it is to laying them before the household shrine; marks of which open-air adoration meet the lay pilgrim at every step.

Anyone who has travelled at all in Japan must have been struck by a singular, yet nearly universal, feature of the country inn: a motley collection of colored, charactered cloths dangling from short fishing-poles stuck into the eaves, in fluttering fringe to the entire inn-front. Diverse as

they are in design, the majority agree in displaying at the top the conventional triform figure that passes for a peak.

From their general shape, size and stamping, the stranger will take these cloths, at first blush, for the towels of the guests hung out in all innocence to dry; though their inordinate number slightly tax the credit of even Japanese tubability. Sojourn at the inn, however, will dispel this somewhat bathetic illusion by showing them to be permanences there, a regular part of the real estate of the establishment. Forced thus to change his conception of their character, the unenlightened will next imagine them to be some novel inn allurement, a kind of preposterous bait of landlord ingenuity dangled thus to catch the public eye. Secularly speaking, both inferences are correct. For they were towels and are bait; but not of landlord invention. They are the *hō-no-tenugui* or gift-towels of the pilgrim clubs, displayed thus as sign to comrades who shall come after.

Originally they were ordinary, every-day towels, bestowed in all simplicity upon the inn as tokens of favor by such clubs as chanced to put up at it and be pleased; just as ladies in tourney times cast their hand-kerchiefs to their knightly choice. Not having handkerchiefs the Japanese presented their towels instead, rightly regarded rather the more romantic article of the two.

But towels they are no longer. Time has ennobled them out of domestic service. They are now club badges manufactured by the thousand and carried about by the gross as a sort of self-advertisement and guidebook combined. For though they are presented to the inn, they are presented for the immediate benefit of those presenting them. Each bears conspicuous the club name and address and is left with the landlord to be flown before his inn, a banneret to beacon in the breeze to the brethren that this is where the club puts up. It is the inn's asterisk in the pilgrim's Baedeker.

The pilgrims are very free with their certificates of club satisfaction. On any fairly good inn you shall count from fifty to an hundred of them and with hostelries of exceptional entertainment the house-eaves fail to accommodate them all, and stout poles planted in the street in front fly the overplus. Landlords spare no pains to display these ghosts of former lodgers, for the pilgrim patronage is individually not unlavish and collectively is enormously large.

The sight of such banner-bedizened inns and the still more striking spectacle of itinerants distinguished by—and well-nigh extinguished under—huge toadstool hats, will probably be the foreigner's introduction to Japanese pilgrims. Once recognized, he will find them a regular part of the scenery.

Probably at no time and among no people have pilgrimages been so popular as in this same nineteenth century in Japan, exceptional excitements like the crusades excepted. Even the yearly journey of the Mahometan world to Mecca, though it draw from greater distances and be invested with more pomp, does not imply so complete a habit. Almost every Japanese is potentially a pilgrim, though every summer do not see him actually on the march. Either he has been a happy palmer in the past or he looks forward to becoming one in the near future; want of funds alone standing in the way of his being such at the moment. Popular poverty indeed, would seem the only reason for the nation's failure to take the road in a body between the middle of July and the first of September. As it is, the country's thoroughfares at that season are strung with folk wending their gay way to some shrine or other—with wallet in girdle and staff in hand, the living resurrection of biblical times.

Now the first point of interest about these pilgrimages is that the impulse to them is emphatically of the people. Like so many Japanese traits, art for instance, the pilgrim

spirit is not an endowment of the upper classes but the birthright of everybody. Indeed it is chiefly the simple who go on pilgrimages; the gentle not being sufficiently given to the necessary pedestrianism.

The next feature about them is their national character. Their patrionage is purely insular. Their goals draw no devotees from outremer. Buddhist though some of them be, no contingent ever crosses from China or Korea to visit them. On the other hand to the more noted of them pilgrims flock from all over Japan. Men from one end of the empire meet there men from the other and from all points in between, the Hokkaidō, Yamato and Kyūshū fraternizing cheek by jowl; a fact which in the eyes of the pilgrims adds greatly to the pleasure of the pilgrimage. Socially it is journeying the whole distance by only going half-way. Regard for the smaller shrines is naturally bounded by a narrower horizon. But considering that till within ten years the means of conveyance were one's own feet the attraction of even these lesser load-stars is felt surprisingly far.

That the pilgrim spirit is thus in a twofold sense wholly national,—first in the sense of only and then in the sense of all—implies one important fundamental fact: that Japanese pilgrimages are not of Buddhist but of Shintō origin. It is the first hint of the groundlessness of Buddhist claims to spiritual ownership in the mountain-tops, all of which they assert that they opened, that is first made accessible to mankind. But in spite of the very catholic character of the pretension the right to such eminent domain grows airier and airier the closer we scrutinize it. The Buddhist idea, like the early Christian, seems to have been: when confronted by a strong popular superstition, baptize it at once.

The third peculiarity about these pilgrimages consists in their being probably the most unreligious in the world. Speaking profanely, they are peripatetic picnic parties,

faintly flavored with piety; just a sufficient suspicion of it to make them palatable to the godly half of very human gods. For a more mundanely merry company than one of these same pilgrim bands on the march it would be hard to meet, and to put up at an inn in the next room to one of them is to seem present at a ball. They are far more the "joly compagnie" of "fayerie" Chaucer tells us of than the joyless "lymytours" that displaced it.

Sociability indeed is the keynote of the affair from start to finish. To go upon a pilgrimage alone is not an act consonant with the Japanese temperament. In the first place the national gods are not beings to beget that exclusiveness of communion which is of the essence of western religious notions. Every people is the poor relation of its own gods, since its gods are necessarily the embodiment of its spiritual aspirations. Now far-eastern aspirations are relatively slightly tinged with individuality; they therefore lack exclusiveness. To the impersonal Japanese mind God and I are not the spiritual ultimates they are to the more personal western religious one, to which the spirituality of any third person is a dim after-thought. That such is the Aryan conception of things is shown by the sacredness with which the subject is invested. If a highly personalized person believes anything he believes it too intensely to share his communion with others unless from very surplusage of conviction he be driven to try to convert the world. The far-oriental lacks the desire for propagandism because he lacks first the throbbing sense of self in the whole subject. His deities share the social impersonality of the race. Consequently to commune with deity is to him no more private a matter than to commune with anyone else. And this latter act is to him not intrinsically private at all. Of our desire for privacy as such he has no notion. What little secrecy he observes is of objective occasion. It is the subject matter not the subjective self that

bars communication to a third. For a like reason he knows no secrets of the soul. The care with which Japanese public assassins and suicides conceal their coming crime, instead of being an exception to this statement, as some might think, is a proof of the rule; since these persons always take no less care to leave behind them letters for publication explaining their innermost thoughts on the subject to the world at large. Nor is this act open to the theory that they do so because they are going to the land where all things are forgotten. For they believe in a very actual post-mortem existence, intimately connected with the present one. How intimate is hinted by the fact that their future life is susceptible of being honored by an advance in the rank they bore on earth and that slander of the dead is a crime expressly punishable by law, as the new penal code takes pains to formulate in Article 359. This feeling of the Japanese shows itself in his pilgrimages. It is not simply that he objects to starting alone; his gregariousness goes a great deal deeper than that. He has no mental reservation in the matter throughout. He has not only no reason for going alone but every reason to do otherwise. He cares little whom he travels with, but he is bound to travel with somebody. So he pools his pleasure in advance by making sure to start with a goodly pilgrim company.

To pool his purse is with him also matter of account. Whether the average Japanese should be called poor or not is merely a question of words. If to require next to nothing and to satisfy that infinitesimal need by the help of others while being supremely happy withal, be not poor, then the Japanese is not poor. But he is unquestionably impecunious. His personal property of impersonality is only matched by the impersonality of his personal property. For what a Japanese appears to possess is, ten to one, hypothecated of a friend and what he really owns mortgaged to a neighbor. He is, in short, but a link in one long chain

of loan. We talk of our far-reaching system of mercantile credits. It is financial self-sufficiency beside the everyday state of far-eastern affairs. Borrowing there is both unlimited and unbusiness-like. The national means of subsistence viewed individually reminds one of that of the horse which his master pastured for poverty's sake on a neighbor's field and when asked what he fed him on, replied on "borry."

To these racial conditions of mind and money are due the founding of the pilgrim clubs.

The pilgrim clubs (*kōsha* or *kō*) are great institutions quantitatively as well as qualitatively. Indeed they are numerous beyond belief. Their aggregate must be something enormous, for collectively they are said to comprise eighty per cent. of the entire population of the empire, a statement I accept only at the Japanese evaluation of the numeral, that is an incalculable amount. Their individual membership consists on the average of from one hundred to five hundred persons apiece. Some clubs are smaller than this and of some the membership mounts into the thousands. The *Tomoye kō*, the largest I know of, has from eleven to fifteen thousand men enrolled in it. That these are drawn chiefly from the small tradesman and artizan class speaks for the hold the habit has on the people.

The constitution of the club is proportionally simple. It holds its charter now-a-days from the head of the sect. The charter is got by some energetic individual of the society-founding-propensity who collects about him a few friends and incidentally appoints himself to the club presidency, becoming what is called its *sendatsu*. When not thus self-appointed the president is elected by the brethren for his religious proficiency, which comes back again by another road to the same thing.

One great charm about these clubs is their cheapness. Whatever may be argued by domestically inclined persons against clubs generally on the score of expense, these

at least would hardly seem open to the charge. For the initiation fee is from five to ten sen (three to five cents) and the dues from one to two sen (that is from two-thirds of a cent to a cent and a third) a month, according to the club. And yet the president of one of them once told me that the principal item in his club's running expenses was the cost of dunning the members for their dues. So lamentably human is humanity the world over. But indeed it was a serious matter, for it amounted, it appeared, to a fifth of the gross receipts. His club consisted of five hundred members and was of the relatively expensive kind, that is the one and a third cent a month, or eight cents a year class, which sum it took eighty dollars to collect.

When his club obligations have finally been discharged the member receives a ticket (*kansatsu*) with the name of the club and of the subsect from which it holds inscribed on its face and the name of the member and half the stamp of the club seal on its back. The other half remains in the registry book of which the ticket is a slip. The ticket constitutes a certificate of membership to all whom it may concern, inn-keepers principally.

Forgetfulness to discharge one's club dues is the less excusable in the face of their being of the nature of gambling debts. For after the cost of collection and the other running expenses have been deducted the balance is drawn for by lot by the members, to be pocketed by the lucky few, through the club treasurer, for pilgrimage purposes.

Once a year, about three weeks before the pilgrim band is to start, the lots are drawn and in the drawing everybody who has paid up participates except the winners of previous pools. They are barred to give the unlucky a chance, till everyone shall have had his journey apiece. Thus are the inequalities of fate corrected and all eventually made happy at the club expense.

The dues being so modest the percentage of prizes is necessarily small; only about three members in a hundred being annually recipients of the club fund. Paucity of prizes doubtless conduces to remissness in paying up; and even rotation in eligibility, just though it be, does not add to the desire of past winners to make present, personally unprofitable, disbursement.

The occasion of the drawing is the most important in the annual annals of the club. It is its great field-night. To it everybody comes, drawn by that universal magnet the possibility of a prize, practically impossible though such be. Nor is it stretching credulity to suppose even those present who are barred the chance, so strong is the instinctive interest in chance as such—despite that it be foredoomed to result to another's gain.

Inasmuch as club buildings are expensive, the place of meeting is usually the president's own house, which is none too large and is consequently crowded. The president leads off by choosing what shall be the winning numbers, which he submits to the approval of the assembly. They are then inscribed on a memorandum and given to the clerk to hold against the drawing. Twisted tapers, numbered in regular order, are next stuffed into a hanging basket and drawn out in turn. Those who are lucky enough to draw the numbers corresponding to the memorandum are declared the winners and held to be specially invited of the gods to visit them. The club fund is turned over to the club treasurer for their benefit and everyone heartily envies them their lot.

The envy is principally pecuniary. For though the god is supposed through the lots to show a gratifying preference for the winner's company, he is not considered averse to self-invited visitors. Anyone who wishes to do so may join himself to the pilgrim company, at his own expense; and many do.

On the day appointed for the start, the god-chosen and the self-invited rendezvous at what stands to the club for club-house, and thence sally forth to the envy of the less lucky, under the guidance of their revered president. This individual being presumably the holiest man in the club, if not the actual author of its being, is clothed from the start with a certain fatherly prestige. His importance is heightened by his having made the pilgrimage several times before. In fact he goes usually every year. On the road he acts as guide, philosopher and friend, expounding the wonders of the way to the simpler brethren who believe it all and when they get back repeat the marvels in their turn to a no less spell-bound audience at home. For like the month of March, they come in like lions who went out like lambs.

Beside a cicerone's gratified sense of importance there are other, more substantial, benefits accruing to the post of club president. For the worthy man is not only the head but the only dead-head of the party. He alone pays no scot. This is probably a delicate extension to the next world of the well known principle in this that the guide should receive from those who profit by the patronage he brings a certain percentage of their gains. Otherwise the saintly man is superior to money consideration; the purse being carried by the *tori-shimari-nin* or treasurer.

The treasurer is the club's man of affairs, of very small affairs indeed. The Japanese are not above a monetary system which descends in decimals to the thousandth part of a cent, and what is more surprising they keep accounts to the like infinitesimal terms. No wonder that neither arithmatic nor trade have charms for them. To this general practice the club-treasurer is no stranger. Nothing is too small to figure in his cash-book, from a fresh pair of straw sandals to a cup of tea. To all of which the inn-keeper with due solemnity affixes his seal on a bill lilliputian in all but length.

In spite of the infinitesimal values of the separate items of the expense, the sum total invariably causes the club fund to fall short, the deficit having to be made up out of the individual pockets of the pilgrims. Unlike the club dues this does not seem to be begrudged, the fact being that a pilgrimage is altogether too detectable a thing not to render those who indulge in it blind to its cost.

The pilgrim clubs are apparently purely Japanese institutions. They find no counterpart in China. They were therefore not imported but grew up on the soil.

II.

Japanese pilgrimages are essentially of two kinds; the distinction between the two being not so much matter of religion as of topography. The lowland shrines and the sacred summits divide the pilgrim patronage between them to an even greater antithesis than is brought about by the particular faith professed. For with these matter-of-fact devotees the ground of belief is immaterial in comparison with the character of the actual ground to be gone over. With them it is a question of goal, not of goal-keeper. Indeed most of the pilgrims have a beautifully dim idea as to what faith the particular shrine to which they are going really belongs. It would be inconvenient if they had, for shrines have changed ownership more than once and had believers been obliged to explain the spirit of their professions by the changing letter they must have found themselves in the fix of a French patriot who, though of unquestioned loyalty, should, under that more dynamic than static government, be called on to state his exact position toward the political party in power at the moment.

In profession some pilgrimages are Shintō, some Buddhist. There used to be some that were Both, till at the purification the hybrids returned again to the

Shintō fold, for pilgrimage as well as for other purposes. A significant fact this, as to whose sheep they were; in spite of the Buddhist assertion that what little virtue they possessed they got from them, the Buddhists. Their virtue may have been so derived, since that is matter of creed, to say nothing of their being but vice-Shintō at best—but that their practices were not is pretty well proved by this act alone.

In importance the Shintō pilgrimages are far and away the first, measuring importance by patronage. Half a million folk, it is estimated, make the journey to the shrines at Ise every spring and ten thousand climb Fuji every summer.

There would seem to be a connection between pilgrimages and divine possession in Japan, somewhat closer than that between sun-spots and cyclones, believers in the one being peculiarly given to the other. Not only are most of the pilgrim clubs Shintō—for to say that they are Japanese in origin is to say that they are Shintō, and though there are now Buddhist pilgrim clubs they owe their being not to being Buddhist but to being Japanese—but what Buddhist clubs there are belong to those Buddhist sects that have borrowed—without acknowledgment—Shintō occult practices, that is, the Tendai, the Shingon and the Hokke sects. Indeed properly speaking the Buddhist clubs are really Ryōbu, which inherit their perepatetic propensity from the Shintō side.

The great Shintō goals are four: Ise and Idzumo, in the plains, and Ontaké and Fuji among the peaks. Though there are many minor goals, either standing alone or affiliated with the greater ones, these four divide the Shintō sects between them. Of these sects there are, in the modern state of the Shintō church, ten. The oldest of the ten—which only implies an age of about twenty years—is of the nature of a government bureau and is sedentary, having no pilgrim clubs. Another goes somewhat further,

in that it has pilgrim clubs which, however, go nowhither. Of the other eight, three are devoted to Ontaké, two to Ise, two to Fuji, and one to Idzumo. Those devoted to the plain shrines naturally have much the largest following. Sects do not mix goals but it is quite permissible for individuals to mix sects. So that persons of advanced pilgrimage habit can indulge it to any extent without too tiresome repetition.

Pilgrimages to the lowland shrines and to the sacred peaks differ in several important respects ; in dress to start with. For the Japanese are quite in line with the rest of the world in believing man to be composed, as the satirist put it, of soul, body and clothes, and in giving not the least attention to the last. Though they have never formulated the fact that I know of—it would not be in character to do so—they act on it artistically with praiseworthy appreciation. Each of the two classes of shrines has its special costume ; for the one the height of holiday, for the other of ascetic, attire. For shrines in the plain the dress is as gala-like as possible. Indeed a man's best things are hardly good enough ; he must get better things for the occasion even though he borrow the money to do so. But as no poorest person but finds some friendly soul, in this land where all are at least common relatives of the gods, to lend him the wherewith, a pilgrim band is a very effective affair ; a thing of beauty which in these people's eyes instantly justifies not only its existence but its cost. The degree of dress is a question of the shrine. The greater the goal, the gayer the garb.

More distinctive is the costume consecrated to the peaks. Speaking theoretically it is pure white or pure grey according to the sect or the particular club; speaking practically it is a grimy dirt-color in both cases. For it is never washed, the travel stains being a part of its acquired sanctity. Its hue, artificially self-effacing to begin with, is thus still further obliterated by nature to con-

formity with its surroundings. It is the most entirely impersonal of colors, a sort of neutral nothing admirably expressive of a proper spirit within. On the pilgrim's maiden tramp it is as blank as his mind; afterwards as natural as his acquired nature knowledge.

It begins with a huge mushroom hat made of wood-shavings cleverly plaited, held on by a series of straps. Natural deal-color is deemed in this connection as holy as pure white, since both are attempts at colorlessness. Under this hat, umbrella or parasol, for it is most serviceably any of them as occassion requires, the pilgrim wears a white fillet binding his brow. This gives his face quite a Grecian front. A long white tunic comes next, which theoretically is the only garment the pilgrim wears. Practically he usually has on something beneath it, first in the shape of a shirt and then of tight-fitting trouser-drawers. The tunic is thoroughly stamped with ideographs; some of them being the names of the gods of the mountain, some those of the pilgrim club. Girdling this is a long belt-sash, round which often runs a row of transmogrified sanscrit letters, quite illegible to the wearer or to anyone else, so caricatured have they been by successive ignorant transmission. Their illegibility of course enhances their religious effect, much as the unlearned feel something spiritually elavating in pronouncing the word amen. White gaiters, white cloven socks and straw-sandals complete the more intimate part of the costume. The gaiters are sometimes lavender for the ladies.

But the most angelic portion of the dress is the wing-like mat (*goza*) which the pilgrim wears over his shoulders by a strap across the breast. As it extends beyond his arms on either side and flaps in the wind as he walks it gives him an ostrich-like effect at a distance and what I conceive to be a seraphic one nearer to. At all events it is the nearest mundane attempt at angelic representation. And what is even more saintly

it is quite without vain-glorious design, for it is intended solely for a combination waterproof-coat and linen-duster. It is also, very conveniently, both a carpet and a bed.

In his right hand the pilgrim carries a consecrated staff. This is sometimes round, sometimes octagonal and is branded with the name of the peak and stamped in red with the sign of the shrine. The imprint further states whether the pilgrim came by the front entrance or the back one, for mountains usually have both doors, the original path being held to be the front one. The staves are sold and stamped at what is known as the portal to the peak, the place, that is, where the ascent is supposed to begin. They are counter-stamped again at the summit to testify to the ascent's having been made. They are thus certificates of good works and irrefutably silence the sceptical when the pilgrim gets home and spins his yarns.

At his girdle each man usually carries a kerosene-looking tin can in which to carry home some of the holy water, which is a specialty of most sacred mountains. With sublime indifference to detail it is a panacea for all ills.

In his right hand the leader of the party holds a bell which he rings as he walks; others often do the like. This sound, together with the chanting in which all join, gives a very fine processional effect to the march.

Pocketed somehow about their persons, the pilgrims carry *gohei*-wands, rosaries and various other tools of their trade. In addition to which they go provided with their pilgrim banners, badges and the club's visiting cards. More mundane baggage they have none.

The cause of the difference in costume between the two classes of shrine, is not without its moral. For, after all, the one is not particularly religious, being a mere exaggeration of secular adornment, while the other is a matter of punctilious regard for the god. The reason for this reminds one of the reason the little girl gave for omitting

her prayers in the morning, though she said them punctiliously at night : that she needed God to protect her while she was asleep but that she could look after herself in the daytime. For the mountain costume is put on to ingratiate the gods. There being some danger about the mountain ascents, it is considered best to take all possible precautions for protection.

As an introduction to the chief differences between the lowland shrines and the sacred peaks, differences due to the character of the ground, I will mention one difference not due to it but which, curiously enough, is the result of religion. Their patronage differs, or more strictly speaking did differ, in sex. For femininity flocks to the one and, until Western ideas broke down all barriers, was debarred the other. This was no matter of physique; but of piety. Woman was altogether too godless a creature to tread such holy ground as the peaks. This will seem odd to Western ideas, where woman when not godlike is usually godly, and at times both. She was graciously permitted to climb three quarters way up and was then obliged to stop, which must have been considerably more aggravating than not to have been allowed to climb at all.

That the fair sex was thus discriminated against shows one psychic fact pretty clearly. It shows that there can be little lack of religious feeling in a people whose church can afford thus to bar one sex ; and that by nature the religious one of the two. One wonders what western churches would do for support under like hierachical laws. That to the speculative emotional Aryan mind far-orientals seem dull to other world observance is not due to lack of religion, but to their all-pervading matter-of-fact light-hearted character.

Proof that woman is no less devout in Japan by nature than elsewhere is the way in which she flocks to the lowland shrines and has a beautiful time of it the whole distance. To see her trudging sturdily along, beam-

ing at the least provocation, the very impersonation of vacant good humor, is as good as a gleam of unexpected sunshine. Sometimes she dutifully follows in the wake of her lord and master; sometimes she shuffles along in the exclusive society of her own sex, volubly chattering continuously upon nothing at all. But she is always perfectly happy and apparently never tired. She has no nerves.

To Ise go pilgrim clubs composed entirely of pilgrimesses, maidens of Kyōto and Ōsaka who make the journey in bands of from fifty to a hundred, taking with them only a man or two to do the heavy work; veritable bouquets of pretty girls. If the god be half the man he is thought to be, he cannot be insensible to such feminine attention.

Stranger still to our straight-laced notions of propriety little girls of ten and twelve surreptitiously club together and some fine morning slip off all by themselves to the Ise shrine unbeknown to their parents. There is some slight alarm when the disappearance is first discovered. But the very inquiry that raises anxiety soon lulls it by revealing several similar bereavements among the parents' particular friends. Then the financial accomplices of the deed, kindly disposed neighbors wheedled by the children into loaning them the necessary funds, come forward and own up, now that the borrowers are beyond recall. But indeed so soon as the cause of the flight is known there would seem to be no thought of fetching back the fugitives. On the contrary their act is deemed eminently praiseworthy, which strikes one as perhaps unphilosophic. But religion covers a multitude of sins.

The parental heart is not set quite at rest till other pilgrims returning from the shrine bring word of the waifs; one has met the little girls disembarking at Yokkaichi, another saw them at the Ise inn, all report the truants quite well and happy, as if children at mischief were ever otherwise. Then with palpitations of pride the parents

make preparations against their return. Elaborate these are, for honor enough, apparently, cannot be done the young scapegraces. Days before they can possibly be expected to arrive their relatives go out to meet them a long way down the road and then wait at some convenient village till the band comes in sight. The girls are received with praise in place of blame and amid great rejoicings escorted into town; a reception which conduces to recurrence of the escapade.

Each lowland shrine has its special festival season, although it may also be visited advantageously at other times. Pilgrimage to the shrines at Ise is made at the time the cherries blow. Then the great highways that lead thither are as gay with pilgrim folk below as their flower aisles are gay with blossom overhead. The progress of each band is one long triumphal march. As it nears an inn where it purposes to spend the night, runners are dispatched ahead to notify the place if its coming, which instantly is all bustle to receive it. Hastily donning their best clothes the maids and other servants go to meet the band some way out and escort it in with festival pomp. A feast follows in the evening, as spirituous as spiritual, pointed with pious song quite secularly sung. At the end of it there is something very like a break-down by the whole company, maids and all. The pilgrims rising, make a ring about the maids in the middle and then walk round and round chanting the Ise hymn while the maids join lustily in the chorus. In this unpuritanical fashion is each evening brought to a close.

On their departure the next morning the pilgrims present everybody with mementoes of themselves: the inn with the club-banner and the maids with the club visiting cards. Especially is the president to the fore with this charming self-advertisement. Quantities of both kinds of keepsakes are carried in large quantities by the band, and distributed without stint. For in the pilgrim estima-

tion not to scatter such souvenirs of themselves along their route would be to travel in vain. The pleased recipients. accompany the band some distance out, speeding its departure with the like good wishes with which they welcomed its approach.

But the bouquet of pageantry is the moment when the pilgrim company re-enters in triumph its native town. Careful account has been kept of its whereabouts, and just before it is due horses strangely and gorgeously caparisoned are sent out to meet it. On either side the horses' necks are stuck long bamboo fronds, in front of which hang pieces of gaily colored crape. Each horse carries a rich riding-saddle to which are fastened two paniers, one on either hand; each steed thus seating three persons apiece, one astride in the middle and two asquat in the baskets on the sides. With the steeds are sent personal adornments for the pilgrims; hats made of flowers (*hanagasa*) and gayly embroidered coats, beside cakes and coppers for scattering to the crowd. Thus garbed and barbed, strewing the largess rollickingly by as they ride, do the pious pilgrims make their entry home. That evening a banquet is given them by their relatives and friends regardless of expense, like some coming of age in the gay middle ages. Saké and merriment flow without stint and the next day the pilgrims sink back into private life, like other famous folk.

More serious matters are the pilgrimages to the peaks; both on the score of piety and of pedestrianism, for the one affects the other. Unlike the lowland shrines whose clement situations permit a choice of reception days, the peaks all have the same season for receiving mankind. Midsummer is their consecrated time. This of course is decided primarily by natural conditions, but has been further stereotyped by custom till to contravene it would seem to Japanese not simply impious but impossible. They firmly believe

the mountains inaccessible except in midsummer, preparatory to which every year takes place what is called the mountain opening (*yamabiraki*). This in done with some pomp annually about the 26th of July, at which time each mountain is formally climbed for the first time that year, the path repaired and prayer offered on the summit. The ceremony is a matter of some three days. The peaks then remain "open" till about the 8th of September, after which they are deserted again till the next July.

The ascent of the higher and more important peaks is curiously convenienced for the comfort of the holy climbers. Each is well ribboned with paths in May-pole fashion from the peak to all parts of the base, so that pilgrims arriving from one side are not obliged to make a half circuit before attacking the climb. The paths are all thoughtfully beaded with rest-houses at intervals suited to the weakness of the flesh. A care-taker inhabits each of them and dispenses tea, cakes, water and scanty fare to the exhausted and also provides *futon* and other strict necessaries for spending the night. For they are built not only to solace the wayfarer by day but to shield him till dawn. In the season they are crowded with pilgrims. Nominally there are always ten of them on every path from base to summit, one at the end of each of the ten stations into which the path is considered to be divided These divisions go by the rather startling name of "gills" (*go*), as the "first gill," the "fifth gill," and so up to the "tenth gill" which lands the pilgrim at the top. Amid much that is passing strange in the Japanese method of mountaineering this surprising nomenclature for a waterless slope is perhaps the strangest. Were the rest-houses so designated there might be a realistic suggestiveness about the name. But it is to the mountain itself that it is applied with what must be thought very ill-placed humor. For the path is usually painfully dry. The mountain, it is ex-

plained, is likened to a heap of spilled rice. The truth is the measure is one for both rice and liquids, and the capacity of a mountain is held to be a *shō*, that is about three pints, quite irrespective of its size. The path, by an analogical extension, is therefore called a quart and a half long and then divided into tenths, each of which becomes a gill. The architype that suggested this strange system may have been conical enough to warrant it, but it is now applied to all high peaks indiscriminately, whether they show irreconcilable irregularity or not. However, the suggestion of the liquid is regretable, for climbing a dry mountain is a very humorless affair. It becomes a practical joke of the most objectionable character when you reach one of the gill huts only to find it closed, an event which fortunately happens only when you are behind time in the season and the mountain is already shutting up for the year.

Shrines beside the path are almost as numerous as rest-houses, demanding their momentary mumble of the passer-by. Temples also are not wanting. There are several at the bottom, one at the top and often others between, for though there be few on the flanks themselves, the foot of a mountain is of arbitrarily indefinite length. Although untenanted of priests they all stand open to the public, and the cords of their bells hang conspicuous, mutely asking the pilgrim to call upon the god.

But the most peculiar and withal picturesque of the purely religious features of the way are the *torii* or portals, that straddle the path in guarding sentinels, true colossi of roads. There are ever so many of them in all, the outermost placed at a seemingly quite disconnected distance away from what it would herald. The several passes known as *torii tōge* which you shall find scattered all over Japan are each and all so called from the portals erected on their tops to sacred peaks visible from them in clear weathe One of the best known is the *Torii tōge* on the Nakasendō,

through whose arch the pilgrim as he tops the pass catches his first view of Ontaké, just peeping over intervening ranges of hills, thirty miles away as the cranes might fly, if there still were any cranes to speak of in Japan. From this outermost one the pilgrim's progress carries him under one after the other of these most picturesque structures, till entrance through the last lands him on the holy summit itself. Or, to be more exact, would so carry him were it not for a pious distrust of his own purity, which prevents him from passing under them on the ascent and modestly induces him to go round them instead. Increase in holiness overcomes shyness on the way down.

To bead the journey with points of interest many minor shrines, considered affiliated to the main object of the pilgrimage, are taken in on the way. Ōyama is in this manner visited on the pilgrimage to Fuji. These minor shrines are either related to, or direct descendants of, the main one. For shrines, spiritually, propagate after their kind. Ōmanago, near Nikkō, for example, is an offshoot of Ontaké, having been consecrated to the god of Ontaké about fifty years ago. This habit of offshooting permits many persons vicariouly to visit what they might otherwise never have the chance to reach; inasmuch as the branch establishments (*debari*) as the Japanese call them are scattered all over the land.

The church is not above trade. Faith in it has become in its hands a marketable commodity. In return for ready money it barters its spiritual power in the shape of charms. These are simple pieces of paper stamped with lithographed characters, the names of the gods, and sometimes embelished with rude protraits of the same; manufactured by the million and sold in like numbers. Every shrime keeps a booth and some salesmen for the purpose and does an enormous business in the article. For no pilgrim passes on his way without buying his charm. Some of these charms (*mamori*) guard one against special catastrophe,

disease or misfortune; some bring particular good luck, such as a prolific propagation of one's silk-worms; others are cure-alls and universal protectors. Their prices are popular. For half a cent one may purchase immunity from all the ills to which humanity is heir. The result is that no one can afford to return home charmless, and though nothing particularly fortunate follow the possession of the slip, there is at least no knowing how much worse off the man might have been if he had had it not.

At the present time Ontaké and Fuji are the two most patronized peaks, for even pilgrimages are not exempt from the exigencies of fashion. Yudonosan in the northwest was one of their predecessors in spiritual popularity: a Ryōbu resort, it was specially famous as the home of the hot-water miracle (*kugadachi*). In numbers of devotees the peaks naturally do not command the patronage of the plain shrines. Nevertheless in the midsummer season the mountains are simply beaded with folk going up or coming down, and the huts on their sides crowded with holy men. In their short six weeks the numbers on popular peaks rise well into their thousands.

The pilgrims are much given to chanting as they march. They do it as naturally as some people whistle. The Ise bands go rolling along to the enlivening cadence of the *Ise ondō* and to many more special odes set to what they are pleased to think music. It is rythm on the road to song, a kind of caterpillar stage in the art of melody needing transformation to become the winged thing.

The chants consecrated to the peaks are more truly processionals. Common to all of them is the stirring refrain *Rokkon shōjō; Ōyama kaisei;* chanted antiphonally in two tones, the second half about a fifth higher than the first. Literally the meaning is: May our six parts be pure and may the weather on the honorable peak be fine. But the words are mystic to most of those who repeat them. The first half is a portion of one of the purification prayers, the *Rokkon*

shōjō no harai; the second a part of a prayer for fine weather. It is said to be simply invaluable in dispelling mist. Certain it is that it can not fail to thrill any one who hears it. Few effects are finer than the spectacle of one of these pilgrim bands mounting slowly in the dawn to the rythm of this more than martial refrain.

III.

There is one mountain that makes bourne to a farther journey than any possible to the feet. Ontaké is goal to the soul's pilgrimage into the other world. For Ontaké is the mountain of trance. To its summit pilgrims ascend, not simply to adore but to be there actually incarnate of the gods. Through the six weeks in which the gods condescend to man, divine-possessions daily take place upon it. What is more, it is the only peak in Japan where, of the spot's own instance, such communion is thought to occur. It is what the Japanese call the great original (*honmoto*) of trance; other peaks, such as Ōmanago, getting their power by direct descent from it.

Till two years ago all this remained as unsuspected of foreigners as if it had been concealed on purpose. It is true that Ontaké is out of the tide of ordinary travel. But it is a conspicuous and, secularly speaking, a well known peak, and has more than once been climbed by Europeans. That these trances should have escaped the notice of all the earlier explorers would be simply inexplicable in any other land than Japan, where so much still remains inevitably shrouded by difference in language, manners and mind. Yet escape recognition they did. Rein, that indefatigable collector of facts and statistics, managed many years ago to get to the top and then to the bottom again without seeing anything. The guidebook, in the person of an enthusiastic pedestrian,

contrived to do likewise. Several other travellers, first and last, made the climb and similarly succeeded in not perceiving anything unusual; so blind are men to what they do not expect to see. For the trances were there and the Japanese peasants who guided these several gentlemen knew about them all the time.

That Ontaké is the only peak that reaches thus to heaven has of course helped to keep the mysteries so much more mysterious than even their performers intended. For among the Japanese the act is not peculiarly secret. The methods to its accomplishment alone are esoteric, and even these might be called more an open secret of the profession than a mystery proper, for who will may enter the path that leads to them.

In keeping with the spirituality of the peak, is the esoterism of the pilgrim clubs that climb it. In this essential respect the Ontaké clubs differ from all their fellows. God-possession is the mainspring of their existence; the pivot upon which everything, even to their very constitution, turns. Instead of simple prayer-meetings in their dead season, they hold regular seances for the special purpose of becoming entranced. They are thus in constant communion with the gods. Their business, in fine, is divine-possession.

In a sense they have, therefore, no dead season. For they are always journeying in spirit to their far bourne. The reason why in summer they also take the trouble to travel on foot is that a higher spiritual flight is possible from Ontaké than is ever possible from town. The thin, pure air of the peaks is conducive to etheriality and Ontaké is furthermore invested with faith's most potent spell. If to have faith as a grain of mustard seed can remove mountains, it is not easy to set bounds to what a mountain of it might not manage to do.

Each club is a divine dramatic company in itself and contains all the performers necessary to a possession. The only exceptions to such a complement are some very

small clubs. These, however, are usually presided over by a *sendatsu*, who is also *sendatsu* of some larger club—for it is no unusual thing for several clubs to have a president in common—and their *sendatsu* borrows of himself in the one capacity what he needs in the other. The loan of a *nakaza* is thus easily managed.

Large clubs contain several such companies. There may be as many as fifteen *nakaza* in a club and twice that number of *maeza*. There is no rule in the matter. But except for exceptional cases of *esprit de corps* many *maeza* or *nakaza* in one club do not apparently make a happy family of it, finding divided prestige disagreeable. So, like queen bees, they swarm with their following and found a new club. Such fission is the commonest mode of club generation.

The *sendatsu*, or club president, is always, I believe, the chief *maeza*, in accordance with what one would expect. Next to him in spiritual importance comes the *nakaza*. Indeed the two offices are practically co-important, the former being more a matter of learning, the latter of natural aptitude. The one is the acme of action, the other of inaction, in the club. Most *maeza* have at some time been possessed, but not being specially good at it have given up the practice for the more congenial one of directing the function. To attain to either post is a matter of spiritual proficiency and promotion through various ecclesiastical grades. One begins an ordinary pious member of the club. From this he rises, if pious enough, to the post of *shiten* and then successively to that of *wakiza*, deputy *maeza* and eventually to the exalted one of *maeza* or even of *nakaza* itself. All by way of the austerities.

Nakaza being as much god-given as self-made are naturally somewhat less common than *maeza*. One is the usual quota for a club ; one, that is, in active practice. For there may be and often is what may oddly enough be called an *inkyo-nakaza*, or retired god. An ordinary *inkyo*, a

man professedly out of the world while still patently in it, is a sufficiently odd conception, but to be a retired potential god would seem a doubly etherialized idea. Nevertheless the thing exists, and in case of sickness or other incapacity on the part of the *nakaza*, the man who represents this abdicated embodiment of immateriality performs in the other's place.

The *inkyo-nakaza* was the previous regular *nakaza* of the club; the present one being his direct successor in the profession. For each club educates its own *nakaza*; the new god-man being formed under the tuition of the *maeza* and the then *nakaza*; after which the old one retires. There is thus an unbroken chain in the possession traditions. Each club is a small Salpétrière perpetuating its own peculiar practice. For each club has its special methods handed down from time unknown. The thing being with these people an art and not a science, the clubs do not go the length of the Paris school in affirming to be necessities of the trance state what are merely accidental adjuncts to it innocently induced by suggestion and similarly perpetuated; they content themselves with purely practical claims, averring their particular method to be the one permitting the most intimate intercourse with deity.

The chief difference between these various schools of divinity consists in the opening or non-opening of the eyes of the possessed during the height of the trance. Those clubs that are possessed with their eyes open claim that those that are not are more subject to imposition; which is plausible, as to counterfeit the glazed look of an entranced is certainly no easy feat, if indeed it be possible. In neither school does the entranced see. Other actions of the possessed during the trance are also stereotyped. Indeed his whole behavior in it is no more nor less than a bundle of hypnotic habits. The mechanical raising of the *gohei*-wand to his

forehead, the peculiar frenzied shake he gives it, the settling of it again to a statuesque imperative before his brow are all but so many cases of unintentional artificiality. This is particularly discernible in the difference between the simpler attitudes of the Ryōbu trances and the more elaborate poses of the pure Shintō ones. And the Buddhist feminine fashions are again different. Another instance of unwitting artificiality common to all is the tone of voice of the possessed. God he is and god's voice he unintentionally simulates, nor does he make a bad guess either at what dramatically it might be supposed to be. That all these forms should be so invariable and in a sense put on, does not of course make them shams in the least; they are merely abnormal habits quite paralleled by all our normal ones.

To be a club *nakaza* is pretty hard work. He must be possessed at least two or three times a month and may be called upon to be somebody beside himself much oftener. It depends upon how much divination work there is to be done. This is of two kinds. There is first the regular routine business of the club in the way of prophecy: the foretelling of drought, storms, earthquakes and other general catastrophes affecting the interest of the club. Some clubs have to interview the gods once a month on such matters; others manage to get along on two questionings a year, at the two great semi-annual festivals. This is probably due to club-temperament just as it suffices some people to ask a question once for all while others have to be perpetually putting it under indistinguishably different forms. In addition to this routine work there are the inevitable extras: the unavoidable illnesses, all of which have to be cured by divine prescription, and other misfortunes, which are susceptible of relief from the same source. Between all these various woes to be provided against, the god, and incidentally the poor *nakaza*, is kept pretty busy. To be so frequently divine has its

drawbacks. Except for its *succès d'estime* he must wish at times that he were merely mortal. Even to the rest of the club the divine interviews are no slight strain. Doubtless they are also highly enjoyable to it; less so to an outsider; for they are not superficially clever; which is the best guarantee of their genuineness. The Delphic oracles, for example, were much too brilliant to have been divine.

An actual specimen of the work of one of these clubs may be of interest. The club, the August Dance Pilgrim Club, is one I happen to fancy. It is a typical club of about a hundred and thirty-five members, all drawn from the artizan class, small carpenters, plasterers and the like, and possesses an exceptionally good *nakaza*. Once a month they interview deity on the good fortune or misfortune coming to the club during the next thirty days. The *nakaza* goes into the trance, is questioned by the *maeza* and his reply then recorded on a slip of paper by one of the *sewanin* (literally help-men, the minor officials of the club) and carefully filed. So that one may find in the club archives just what the club's history was, or should have been, month by month in the past. The prophecies are laconic and suggest in indefiniteness the predictions of the New England Farmer's Almanac about the weather for the year. This however does not detract from their chance of verification. These interviews would from preference take place on the first day of each month, but as the members of the club are all hard-working men to whom bodily necessity precedes spiritual luxury, the first few days of the month are taken up with purely mundane business matters—the first day being the Japanese day for settling their so-called accounts —and spiritual concerns rarely get attended to before the fifth. On the sixth the club dues are collected, a cent a member. For individual illnesses and the like, their *nakaza* is further possessed on occasion, usually in all five

or six times a month ; sometimes as many as seven or eight. In addition to all of which he works like anybody else at his regular trade and is a strong, hearty, young fellow in spite of being a god so goodly a fraction of his time.

The Ontaké pilgrim clubs thus furnish their members society not to be found in any other clubs on earth : the company of heaven to be had for the asking. For the Ontaké pilgrim clubs are the only clubs in the world whose honorary members are, not naval officers, not distinguished foreigners, not princely figure-heads, but gods.

ON THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE LOOCHOOANS.

By Basil Hall Chamberlain.

[*Read 14th June, 1893.*]

The close connection between the Japanese race and language and the Loochoan race and language having been long known or surmised in a vague way, it was but natural that one who, like myself, had spent half his life in studying Japanese should wish to ascertain the exact nature of the relationship. An additional incentive was given by the fact that my grandfather, Captain Basil Hall, who visited Great Loochoo in 1816, when in command of H. M. S. "Lyra," was the first author to describe that island in any detail for European readers, while one of his officers, Lieut. Clifford, appended to Captain Hall's narrative a vocabulary which was not only the first attempt made by any foreigner to deal with the Loochooan language, but has remained practically the only one down to the present day. So strangely isolated and little known is this Lilliputian island realm, that the fingers of two hands suffice to enumerate the brief European notices that have appeared on Loochoo and its people during the seventy-five years that have elapsed since the publication of Capt. Hall's book.

Having myself spent but one month in the archipelago, and having resided nearly the whole of that time at the port of Nafa in the Main Island, I cannot of course pretend

to have done more than scratch the surface of the subject, though I worked hard, rode about the country, and supplemented my own observations by perusing every available Japanese written source of information, and moreover enjoyed constant social intercourse both with native Loochooans of the highest rank and with the resident Japanese officials. All that is attempted in the present paper is to bring before the indulgent notice of the members of the "Asiatic Society of Japan" some of the most noteworthy characteristics of the land and people, no effort being made either at completeness or at logical order. To treat of Loochoo properly and exhaustively must be left to future scholars with fuller information and more leisure for the task. Such may soon present themselves, seeing that the missionary societies, both Catholic and Protestant, after having abandoned Loochoo for many years as a hopeless field, show signs of preparing to invade it again in earnest. At the time of my visit (March, 1893), the Abbé J. R. Ferrié, of the *Société des Missions Étrangeres de Paris*, stationed at Naze, the port of Ōshima, was the sole European of any kind residing in the archipelago. The only European visitors seem to be one or two florists of Yokohama, who occasionally go South in order to collect plants common there, but rare on the mainland. Globe-trotters are absolutely unknown.

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In Loochooan life the very first thing obtruded on the traveller's gaze is death. "What are those white, glistening things?" he asks of the Japanese captain, as the little steamer runs southward down the dangerous reef-bound coast. "Is it the national washing laid out to dry on the grass?"—No, it is the white-washed surface of the massive funeral vaults, of which each Loochooan family owns one. So large are these structures, so brightly white, that their sparkling attracts notice before any of the abodes

of the living are clearly distinguishable ; and they are scattered over the land broadcast, as graves are in China, not collected together in cemeteries after the Japanese or European fashion. The shape most in vogue—that of a horse-shoe—has undoubtedly been copied from a Chinese original. Some vaults, however, are rectangular. Perhaps, on second thoughts, a bishop's mitre describes the appearance better than a horse-shoe, the mitre proper being the actual vault, while the ribbands are a wall on either side. The vault is sunk so as to make it equal with the surrounding ground,—generally coral rock ; but the space in front being lower still (for vaults are mostly built on hillsides), the whole height of the front walls is seen. There is a metal door in front, and in the court there sometimes stands a stone screen. The brilliant white colour comes from the plaster used. The dimensions of two average specimens which I measured were as follows :—

Total height of front.....	9	feet	8	inches.
Total breadth.....	22	,,	2	,,
Length of court enclosed by walls	24	,,	8	,,
Height of opening in front	3	,,	8	,,
Breadth of opening in front	2	,,	8	,,
Thickness of all stones used ...	—		16 to 18	in.

The family vault is often a poor family's most valuable possession, not only from a sentimental point of view, but from a pecuniary one, as money can be raised by putting the vault in pawn.

When a Loochooan dies, a mosquito-net is hung over the body, and curtains are drawn all around, so that none may see in. The weeping relatives relieve guard, one by one, in the chamber of death. The funeral is attended not only by the family, but by other mourners, who, said to have been originally the servants of allied families, have in modern times developed into a professional class who earn a livelihood by simulating transports of grief. I had heard much about these funerals both from Japanese and natives ; and

one spring afternoon, while on my way to visit that little gem of beauty, the Royal pleasure-grounds at Shikina, I suddenly came on such a procession hurrying along a country lane,—the Buddhist priest in front, then the coffin, then a train of some thirty persons, of whom five or six were hired mourners, apparently females, though immense straw hats hid their faces from view. They were attired in coarse cloth made of banana fibre, they uttered the most dismal groans, and tottered so that they had to be supported on either side by assistants who, as it were, bore them up and at the same time pulled them rapidly along. The portion of the professional mourner's art most difficult of acquirement and most highly prized is weeping copiously *through the nose*. In the production of these unpleasant tears—for so by courtesy let us call them—the professional mourners are said to attain extraordinary proficiency. The coffin having been brought to the vault, is left shut up for two years. Then in the third year the relations assemble again, and the nearest of kin wash the bones, which are deposited in earthenware urns of curious make, ornamented with the lotus and other emblems that bear witness to a formerly penetrating Buddhist influence now almost extinct. The remains of married couples rest together in the same large urn. Bachelors and spinsters—but Loochoo harbours few such—have urns half the size. All the urns of a family are ranged round the interior of the vault on shelves, in order of precedence.*

More original still than the funeral customs of the Loochooans is their usage with regard to weddings. After the "middleman"—the marriage broker, as he might be termed—has negotiated the preliminaries, and proper

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* Mr. Satow's authorities misled him into the belief that the native Loochooan funeral rites had been discontinued. (*Trans. Asiat. Soc. of Japan*, Vol. I. p. 8.) Such is still far from being the case.

presents have been sent by the bridegroom to the bride's family, the proceedings are as follows:—The bride is escorted to the man's house at one or two o'clock in the morning, surrounded by all her relations, the object of these precautions of time and escort being that the affair may not be bruited abroad and excite impertinent curiosity in the neighbourhood. She and the bridegroom exchange cups of *sake* (rice beer) after which she is at once led home again. This brief ceremony is repeated three nights running, after which she remains three days with her parents, while the bridegroom is carried off by his friends to a brothel, where they hold high revel. The object of this step, so far as the man is concerned, is that he may, on the very threshold of matrimony, prove his independence of wifely leading-strings, while to the woman it gives an opportunity to display freedom from jealousy, which is considered the worst of all feminine vices. After three days spent in this manner, the bridegroom goes home, being joined by the bride, who keeps house with him for another period of three days, at the expiration of which the bride goes to her parents' home, whither the bridegroom follows her. Her relations await his arrival with a pestle, painted and ornamented to represent a horse, on which he rides in, while all the boys of the neighbourhood greet his advent with drums and tomtoms and anything that will make a noise. A grand family feast then takes place, after which the happy couple return home, and the long wedding ceremonies are at last concluded.

Of the Loochooan ladies I cannot speak from personal experience. I never saw one during the whole period of my visit; and Japanese friends who had spent months in well-to-do Loochooan households informed me that they had never once caught a glimpse of the ladies of the family, and what is perhaps stranger still, had never even heard them. Loochooan gentlemen do not allude to their women-kind in conversation. To do so would

be deemed worse than an ordinary breach of etiquette :—it would be an indelicacy. The peasant women, however, and those of the artisan classes go about freely, not even taking the trouble to hide their faces. The daily market, which forms the centre of public life at Nafa—the Yokohama of Loochoo—is entirely in female hands.

The women carry all loads on their heads, Roman fashion, which gives them a firm, erect gait ; and their faces too are firm, square, and often hard in expression, the total result being an unpleasing contrast to the graceful femininity of the Japanese. Perhaps the most comical of all Loochooan sights is that which may be often witnessed of a woman walking to market with a sucking-pig on her head ! A disk of straw serves as a couch to which the animal is firmly tied, with its little legs sticking out fore and aft, so that it looks as if taking a swimming lesson. The Loochooans, apparently averse to allowing animals the use of their legs, carry them in more ways than one. Pigs of mature age and also goats, instead of being driven, are borne between two men on a pole, suspended by their feet, which are tied together, the extreme discomfort of this method of transport to a fat and heavy pig being attested by the screams of the victim. Pigs, of whom we see so little in Japan, are very much to the fore in Loochoo. An ancient regulation, which the new Japanese rulers have not repealed, compels each family to keep four of these animals,—not that there is much need for compulsion in the matter, pork being here, as in China, a much esteemed article of food—a delicacy to the rich, a source of income to the poor. But Loochoo is probably the only country in the world where the pigs live in coral sties. "A traveller's tale!" you may exclaim. No, it is the sober truth ; but then, remember, there is coral and coral. Loochoo produces none of the pink coral of which ladies' necklaces are made. On the other hand, the Southern half of the Main Island is of coralline

origin. In fact, the place is one big coral-reef that has gradually risen above the sea-line; and thus it comes about that coral is the handiest material to use for building walls and even pig-sties.

The dress of the Loochooan men resembles Japanese dress; but the use of two hairpins is a peculiarity. The material of which the hairpin is made indicates the rank of the wearer. Royal personages and the very highest nobles have gold, the lesser nobility and the gentry silver, the common people pewter and sometimes wood. The universal custom is for young men to shave their faces until the age of five-and-twenty, after which the moustache and beard are allowed to grow, though the cheeks mostly continue to be shaven.

The women wear hairpins somewhat differently shaped, and bind their hair in a simple coil, which is twisted round itself at the top of the head, the hairpin being stuck through the coil from back to front. No one was able to give me a reason for the sort of scoop or saltspoon with which the hairpin ends. The object of the similar, but much smaller, scoop at the end of a Japanese hairpin is plain enough. It is an instrument wherewith to scratch the inside of the ear, whence its name of *mimi-kaki*. But its Loochooan analogue is clearly far too large for such a purpose. Possibly it is a copy of a Japanese original, in which, as so often happens, the original use of one of the parts having been forgotten, it has degenerated into mere ornament; a "survival," and hence the sport of change and fashion.

Needless to say that the hair, in the arrangement of which the hairpins play a leading part, is black. In the colour of the hair, eyes and skin, and in physical characteristics generally, the Loochooans closely resemble the Japanese. This remark applies especially to the men of the upper classes, which is not wonderful, seeing the attractions offered by Loochoo to adventurous warriors during historical times, the great ninth century archer Tametomo—

himself of Imperial Japanese descent—heading the list. The striking similarity of the two peoples forcibly impressed not only myself, but my highly intelligent Japanese travelling companion, and has always been accepted as an incontrovertible truth by Japanese writers on the subject. Nevertheless it is proper to state that all foreign observers do not concur in this view. Mr. Gubbins, while noticing the close likeness that exists between the upper classes of both countries, calls the lower "almost dwarfish," adding that "in physiognomy they resemble the Chinese." Dr. Guillemard, a trained scientific observer, goes much further. "They are," he says "a short race, probably even shorter than the Japanese, but much better proportioned, being without the long bodies and short legs of the latter people and having as a rule extremely well-devoloped chests. . . . . The Japanese and natives were easily recognised by us from the first, and must therefore be possessed of very considerable differences. The Liu-kiuan has the face less flattened, the eyes are more deeply set, and the nose more prominent at its origin. The forehead is high, and the cheek-bones somewhat less marked than in the Japanese; the eyebrows are arched and thick, and the eyelashes long. The expression is gentle and pleasing, though somewhat sad, and is apparently a true index of their character."

Dr. Doederlein, writing of Ōshima, the northernmost island of the group, distinguishes two types there,—one unmistakably Japanese, the other having a sharper chin, less developed prognathism, a better nose, larger eyes, and differentiated more especially by a hairiness not less than that of the hairiest Europeans.

The question is an extremely interesting one to Japanese specialists, because bearing on that of the original home and subsequent migrations of the Japanese race. Assuming, for instance, as geography, legend, history, and the present distribution of population in the Japanese archipelago almost force us to do,—assuming that the ances-

tors of the bulk of the Japanese race entered South-Western Japan from Korea, viâ Tsushima as a stepping-stone, did they at once spread over the whole of Kyūshū, exterminating the aborigines, or did they act as a wedge? Did they drive a small fraction of the hairy Aino race South, as we know that they drove the main body of that race North? and if so, is there any Aino blood in Dr. Doederlein's hairy islanders? He himself hints at such a possibility. The possibility of a former Aino occupation of the whole Loochoo group has also suggested itself to the mind of a modern Japanese investigator, Mr. Kada Tei-ichi, who adduces one place-name, Sonai (*nai* means "stream" in Aino), on the extreme Southern island of Yonakuni as a possible support to this view. But a solitary place-name of doubtful interpretation is a narrow foundation on which to build so wide a theory.

To return to our main subject, any original social inferiority that may distinguish the Loochooan peasantry from the upper classes would tend to be accentuated by a poor diet, consisting almost exclusively of sweet potatoes. In seasons of scarcity, recourse is had to an inferior kind of sago obtained from the *sotetsu* or *Cycas revoluta*, which grows freely all over the country, instead of being the delicate exotic which we see it in Japan. All sorts of stories are told of the unwholesomeness of this article of food:—that it fills without satisfying, that it gives bad breath, that people sometimes fall down dead after partaking of it, etc., etc. I incline to think, however, that the fault lies in imperfect preparation and in bad cooking, an opinion which the Abbé Ferrié confirmed.

The greatest curse of Loochoo is its snakes, which belong to the genus *Trimeresurus*, and are often 6 or 7 feet long and from 2½ to 3 inches in diameter. They are called *habu*, and their bite generally causes speedy death in torments. They climb hedges and trees, to lie in wait for small birds; but if startled by a passer-by, they

will dart out at him. In Ōshima, where this plague is far more wide-spread than in any of the other islands, the *habu* even infest houses, making it dangerous to walk about at night without a light. Many deaths occur annually in Ōshima from snake-bites, and some people may be seen who, though not actually killed, have been crippled for life in this manner. Rewards at so much per head are consequently bestowed on those who bring in the carcases of the hated reptiles. The *habu* are much less common in Great Loochoo, being practically restricted to the forests of the Northern half of the island.*

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No country that I have ever visited shows scantier evidence of any active religious influence than Loochoo. One small and new Shintō temple, one old and tawdry Confucian temple—both at Nafa,—what is called a shrine of Kwannon, but might, for all appearances to the contrary, be a tea-shed, on the way from Nafa to Shuri, a tiny shrine of the goddess Benten near Shuri Castle; and two or three Buddhist temples at Shuri—one of them containing the tombs of the Kings,—such is the sum total of the religious edifices that I was able to discover, though I took long rambles about the country. By comparison with Loochoo, Japan seems a land of fervent piety, though it should be observed that Satsuma and Ōsumi, the provinces of Japan nearest to Loochoo, are also those which appear to be the least religious. The impression which I gained from further enquiries was

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* Only a day or two before this paper was read, I received a letter from the Abbé Ferrié dated 1st June, 1893, saying: "On rencontre déjà pas mal de *habu*. Nous avons eu cinq victimes à Nazé. Deux sont mortes quelques heures après avoir été piquées. Si on pouvait trouver le moyen de débarrasser le pays de ces vilains serpents, quel service on rendrait aux habitants!"

that matters had not always stood thus. Indeed one may infer from Captain Hall's account that the Buddhist priests were more numerous in his day than they are at present, though even in his day they were treated with contempt by the educated. I saw but five Buddhist priests in a whole month. The sole remaining public function of the priest seems to be to assist at funerals.

This marked religious indifferentism may be partly ascribed to Confucian influence, which has been more potent in Loochoo than even in Japan, both morally and politically. Though the language and the manner of life of the Loochooans, when carefully investigated, show unmistakable traces of relationship to the Japanese, still there lies on the surface a veneer of Chinese influence thicker than any that ever existed in Japan. This is natural enough, the smaller body offering less resistance than the larger to external pressure. The old Loochooan polity was a striking illustration of the yielding to Chinese influence, with its exaltation of the civil and depression of the military element. The Loochoan graves offer another, the use through centuries of the Chinese calendar another, the adornment of the porches of houses with Chinese moral and congratulatory sentences yet another, pig-eating (if I may again refer to it) yet another, perhaps piggishness yet another still,—for the Loochooans are dirty compared with the Japanese. Their greasy food, their terribly airless dwellings surrounded by high stone—or rather coral—walls, the absence of the Japanese bath, the unpleasant nature of other domestic arrangements,—all this marked inferiority in the matter of cleanliness points to the prevalence of Chinese influence. Of actual Chinese speech there is little, and never has been much. A few interpreters, specially trained at Nafa, were the only Loochooans who, in the old days of national independence, possessed a fair colloquial knowledge of that language. Even for the Chinese characters, the graceful Japanese hand known as *O-ie-ryū* has long been the

favourite one, and many of the Loochooan nobility pride themselves on being able to compose Japanese verses which the Japanese themselves allow to be excellent.

So completely has Loochoo been overshadowed by her two great neighbours, that her own language has remained uncared for. Every one of course speaks it and nothing but it, unless strangers be present; but it has been left uncultivated and for the most part unwritten, there being no native alphabet, and the Japanese syllabary being ill-suited to write the Loochooan language, which is richer in sounds than Japanese, distinguishing as it does between *ha* and *fa*, *tu* and *tsu*, *si* and *shi*, etc. Even under these disadvantageous circumstances the Japanese syllabary is sometimes employed, especially for writing poetry. Through the kindness of Mr. Nishi, mayor of Shuri and an enthusiastic antiquarian, I became the possessor of copies of two rare and curious manuscripts, —one a glossary of obsolete terms, the other of uncertain interpretation, but believed to consist of the liturgies recited by the virgin priestesses of royal birth who formerly presided over the royal tombs and the religious ceremonies connected therewith—an institution reminding one of the Imperial virgin priestesses of Ise.

Loochooan may be said to resemble Japanese in about the same degree as Italian does French. Though speakers of the two are mutually unintelligible, and though few Loochooan phrases, even when written down in Roman, would yield much sense to a European scholar however well-acquainted with the sister tongue, a little digging below the surface proves beyond shadow of doubt that the two *are* sister tongues. Sentences in the one can be translated into the other word for word, almost syllable for syllable. Many words are identical, others can be shown to differ only by letter-changes which follow certain fixed analogies, in other cases again either Japanese or Loochooan has retained

an archaic form. In others, especially in the verbal terminations, there is considerable divergence, though not greater than French and Italian show.

Just take one or two examples. The word *fiji* has an outlandish sound. What is it? It is the equivalent of the Japanese *hige*, "beard." Reasons too lengthy to enter into here make it probable that the form of which both Japanese and Loochooan are modifications was *fige* (with a hard *g*) or *fi-ke*. Loochooan has retained the initial *f* intact, Japanese has retained the final *e* intact, while both languages have modified the *g* in the middle, the Japanese—at any rate the natives of Tōkyō—pronouncing it like *ng*, while the Loochooans have turned it into a *j*. The following key will help to unlock the relationship of many words:—

Japanese	*k*	=	Loochooan	*ch*
,,	*g*	=	,,	*j*
,,	*r*	=	,,	*y*
				or is dropped altogether.
,,	*e*	=	Loochooan	*i*
,,	*o*	=	,,	*u*
,,	*h* or *f*	=	,,	*f* or *h*

For instance, the Japanese word *toki*, "time," is represented by *tuchi*: *migi*, "right," by *miji*; *kame*, "a tortoise," by *kāmi*; *no*, "of" by *nu*; *hiza* by *fisha*,—not in the Japanese sense of "knee," but in the more general sense of "leg," there being a different word for "knee" in Loochooan; *toru*, "to take," by *tuyung*, etc, etc. The bearing of these differences on Japanese philology is most instructive, the use of *y* for *r* and the use of forms like *nu*, "of" (instead of classical and modern Japanese *no*), carrying us back 1,200 or 1,300 years, while the *n* (or *ng*, as I should prefer to write it) which terminates the present tense of Loochooan verbs even in the Positive Voice, goes far towards supporting Mr. Aston's bold hypothesis to the effect that the true negative element in the Negative Voice of Japanese verbs is not the letter

n, as has been generally assumed as a matter of c
but the vowel *a* which precedes it. In Loochooa
difference between Positive and Negative is express
a curious combination of vowel and consonantal ch
which have nothing whatever to do with the final *n*
Thus :—

	Positive.		*Negative.*	
Pres.	*tayung*,	I take	*turang*,	I take n
Past	*tutang*,	I took	*turangtang*,	I took n
Pres.	*chichung*,	I hear	*chikang*,	I hear n
Past	*chichang*,	I heard	*chikangtang*,	I heard n

Most of the Japanese particles are represent
Loochooan by closely cognate forms. It strikes one,
fore, as singular to find neither *wo* nor *wa*. All the
interesting is it to discover that there exists a n
of expressing the emphatic sense of *wa*, which recal
declensions of words in European languages. The
is done by changing the final vowel of the word, acc
to the following schedule :—

a	becomes	*ā*
i	,,	*ē*
u	,,	*ō*
ng	,,	*nō*
long vowels add		*ya*

For instance the Japanese *kore*, "this," is
but *kore wa* is *kurē*; "tobacco" is *tabaku*, but the
word emphasised is *tabakō*; a "mosquito" is *ga*
a mosquito emphasised is *gajanō*; a "tree"
(the same as in Japanese, but with a long *i* in
of a short one), but a tree emphasised—the Jap
ki wa—is *kī-ya*; a hill is *jira*, but a hill empl
ed is *jirā*. Verbs change in the same way. For ins
nindi (= Jap. *nete*) means "sleeping;" but "*sleep*
(with an emphasis, Jap. *nete wa*) is *nindē*. The long v
in Loochooan are uttered with extraordinary length an

phasis. But this is scarcely the occasion for entering on details so technical. A proper discussion of the Loochooan language must be reserved for another time and place.

The Loochooans appear to learn Japanese with the same facility as the Koreans do. In the primary schools, Japanese is now taught as a special subject during the first year, after which time it is used as the vehicle of instruction in other subjects. But I was informed that the progress of the students is often unsatisfactory. How could it be otherwise? No sooner is the class dismissed, than Loochooan reigns supreme again in the playground and the home. Doubtless, however, in a few generations, Japanese will drive Loochooan out, as French is driving out Italian at Nice and Mentone.

Various reasons compel me to omit from this paper detailed mention of many matters which at the time seemed worth noting down. There is the Loochooan theatre, for instance—an institution full of interest to the Japanese specialist, on account of its unmistakable kinship to the early mediæval drama of Japan. There is the tattooing on the women's hands, which varies from island to island. Take again the little Loochooan ponies, only 10 or 10½ hands high, so that a European bestriding one has his feet well-nigh resting on the ground. Take Loochooan history, which, nothing daunted, carries back its readers over a period of 17,000 years! Take the rude ideographs invented by the islanders of Yonakuni, and the system of notched sticks by which, until recently, the village elders of most of the islands kept their accounts. The catalogue of things curious and interesting is endless.

Perhaps one of the most surprising features of Loochoo, seeing how close Loochoo lies to the tropics, is its non-tropical aspect. Things seem to have got reversed on this side of the world. Up North in Yezo,

where all nature is snow and ice-bound for five months out of every year, the jungle is impenetrable, and the grass and giant weeds in summer are higher than a man on horseback. Japanese vegetation, though less rank than that of Yezo, nevertheless covers the hills with high grass and bamboos, through which it is no easy matter to force one's way. Loochoo carries the improvement further still. It has no high grass or tangled weeds, scarcely any bamboos, but fine short turf like that of Northern Europe; and the trees, too, are thinner and stand further apart, and there are many open fields and comparatively numerous domestic animals, and there is a general trim appearance which, both to Captain Basil Hall and to Commodore Perry—his successor in these waters—strongly recalled English scenery.

The roads, on the other hand, or rather the absence of roads, recalls China. There is indeed one excellent road leading from Nafa to Shuri, the capital, a distance which, according to the official distance-post is 1 *ri*, 11 *chō*, 26 *ken*, 2 feet, and 1 inch !—say 3¼ miles. Practically there are no other roads in the country, the rest being mere paths or trails, in which coral crags stick up like pins and needles, so as to make walking anything but pleasant to a European. Yet along and up and down these dreadful torture-tracks, the little 10½ hand ponies clamber unshod, picking their way as skilfully as so many chamois.

So far as the character of the Loochooan people is concerned, there is complete unanimity among all observers, both European and Japanese, every one praising their docility, their courtesy, and their mildness. Many of the older men, in particular, have an expression of face which is half-winning, half-pathetic in its gentleness.

Over the gate leading to the Loochooan capital city of Shuri there hangs a board with these words: "*The Land of Propriety*,"* this being an alternative name

* 守禮之邦.

bestowed on Loochoo by a certain Chinese Emperor in praise of the perfect manner in which his envoys found all official rites and ceremonies to be performed. The Loochooans are very proud of this title of their country. Nor is it mere ceremonial propriety or superficial politeness in which they excel. They commit scarcely any crimes. Perhaps it may be as well to give my authority for a statement so startling and so positive. My informants were the Prefect of Loochoo, Mr. Narabara, and the late Head of Police in the archipelago, Mr. Takeshita, who made good their assertion by producing statistics. Petty theft is the sole offence at all common. Neither, if the Loochooans do no violence to other people, are they ever, like the Japanese of former days, known to lay violent hands on themselves. Though they had a few wars, both civil and foreign, in ancient times—wars to which ruined castles here and there bear witness—they never were a military people, and for well-nigh three centuries no weapons have existed among them. The *samurai* of Loochoo wore neither sword nor dirk. The old native government, as already stated, was founded on a purely civil basis, on the patriarchal theory of Confucius. In fact, Loochoo, notwithstanding some disagreeable stains on its moral character, was and is truly "the Land of Propriety" in certain fundamental respects—a land of courteousness, and peace and good order, and docility to the powers that be. I saw not a single beggar in the country, though the mass of the people work hard and the general standard of living is low. There is also no great luxury among the upper class.

It has sometimes been asserted, and again quite recently by the late Rev. Dr. Macgowan, whose opinion will justly bear weight with many, that the Loochooan women are overworked. From what I saw, I do not believe this to be the case. True, they do a share of field work, and they trudge to market with burdens on their

heads. But the heaviest portion of the field work, all work with horses, and in fact all the tougher manual labour, is undertaken by the men. No doubt those will find matter for blame in Loochoo whose tenet is that every woman should be a lady, living in an artificial world of otto of roses and cotton wool, and having everything done for her by her husband and her servants,—the husband being but a sort of upper servant, a major-domo who must attend to my lady's behests. This tends to become more and more the Western view of things, especially in America. To me it seems more natural and proper that each sex should bear its share of the burden of life ; and I agree with the philosophical author of *Japanese Girls and Women*, * in holding that the reason why, here in the Orient, the women of the lower class hold a relatively higher place in the family than the ladies of the upper class, is precisely because their work earns for them a just title to consideration, and their practical experience makes their opinons worth listening to in the family council. Of course nothing seen in real life ever comes within measurable distance of the ideal. Yet occasionally last spring, when riding through Southern Loochoo, it seemed to me as if something very near the ideal of humble but contented family life were presented to my eyes in the persons of a sturdy peasant man and woman busily working in the fields,—their own fields, mind,—while the midday meal of sweet potatoes lay ready for them on the grass, and their baby croned and disported itself in a big basket under its mother's eye. It would be criminal to put into such a woman's head the notion that her husband was ill-treating her, simply because he expected her to do her share of work in the healthy open air.

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* Miss A. M. Bacon.

And here I must conclude, craving the Society's indulgence for this very sketchy treatment of a wide subject, Loochoo being, as the foregoing remarks may serve in some measure to show, no semi-savage South Sea Island, but the seat of an ancient and highly complicated civilisation, to do justice to which would require a folio volume.

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ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

MINUTES OF MEETINGS.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held at No. 17 Tsukiji, on Wednesday, Oct. 18, at 4 P.M.

The Rev. D. C. Greene, D. D., occupied the Chair. The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved. The Corresponding Secretary announced the election of Rev. C. E. Rice of Tōkyō to ordinary membership and that of Harrington Putnam, Esq., of New York, to life membership in the Society.

Dr. Divers brought forward his motion to amend Art. XII of the Constitution by changing the date of the annual Meeting from June to November. After some remarks from Dr. Divers the amendment was put to a vote and carried.

Dr. J. N. Seymour then made his proposed amendment to Art. VI of the Constitution, by which the life composition payment of non-resident members was changed from $16 to $20. Mr. Garrett Droppers moved to amend this proposition by substituting for $20 the words 16 *gold* or 3 *guineas*. Dr. Divers supported this motion, which was accepted by Dr. Seymour as a substitute for his amendment, and upon being put to vote the motion in this substituted form was carried.

Mr. Percival Lowell was then called upon to read his paper entitled " Esoteric Shintōism: Proof of its Shintō Origin." In this paper the author gave a continuation of the same general subject as that treated by him in the last session of the Society.

The Chairman, in thanking Mr. Lowell for his contribution, characterized the subject as one which was of as great interest to those who had been long in Japan as to those who had only recently come. Mr. Lowell seemed to the Chairman to attribute over-much impersonality to the Japanese people, and attention was called to the fact that they were deficient in the power of combination—an indication of possible excessive individualism.

In answer to this Mr. Lowell said that such inability on the part of the Japanese seemed to him rather to prove his view. A

keen sense of personality in his judgment went along with the power to combine.

Mr. White asked a question about the etynology of the word *torii*. He also desired to know whether Mr. Lowell assigned the *torii* to Shintō, to which the answer was that a very similar thing was to be found in Corea. Mr. White also suggested that the *Shin* in Shintō might mean mysterious or unknowable, although the meaning given to it by Mr. Lowell was the more common.

With renewed thanks to the author of the paper the Chairman declared the meeting adjourned.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society was held at No. 17 Tsukiji on Wednesday, November 8th, at 4 P.M. The President was in the chair. The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

It was announced from the Council that Dr. L. Serrurier of Leyden had been elected a life member of the Society, and that a gift of several books and pamphlets had been received from Dr. P. Mayet.

The President called upon the Corresponding Secretary to read a paper entitled "The Hi-No-Maru, or National Flag of Japan," written by W. G. Aston, Esq. Enlarged copies of the illustrations of this paper were displayed at the meeting.

The Chairman, in the name of the Society, thanked Mr. Aston for his suggestive paper and Mr. Longford for reading it. He said that it was interesting to know that the Japanese flag, though modern in some things, was yet old in idea. He had seen in a temple at Uji much the same kind of flag as the Hi-no-maru, only it had Buddhist characters on it. Some might be disposed to say that Mr. Aston's derivation of the present flag was far-fetched, that Japan was the "Land of the Rising Sun," and therefore nothing could be more natural than for Japan to choose the sun for her national ensign; but the Chairman thought Mr. Aston's theory correct. The crow and the sun were often pictured together in Japanese art. Among many emblems drawn by Japan from China, that of the rising sun had survived. As to the suggestion that the imperial crest is not really a chrysanthemum, but the sun with its rays, the Chairman could not speak, but he hoped that some members of the Society might investigate the matter and thus gratify Mr. Aston's desire for more light upon this subject.

Mr. Milne thought there was too much tendency to refer everything to China. For himself, he preferred the simple and obvious explanation of the sun and the chrysanthemum. Nothing, he thought, could be more natural or appropriate for Japan to adopt as national emblems. He saw no cause to go to China for them.

The Chairman remarked that even the Japanese word for chrysanthemum, which is *kiku*, is Chinese, but we should have to go to botanists to learn what was the native country of this flower.

Mr. Longford then read a summary, which had been prepared by the Chairman, of a paper on "Ma-Twan-Lin's Account of Japan up to A. D. 1200, including the Japanese chronicles as written down for the Chinese by the Japanese in A. D. 1000," written by E. H. Parker, Esq.

In the discussion which followed, the Chairman, after expressing his sense of the value of the paper and the thanks of the meeting to the Corresponding Secretary for reading it, commented upon the undesigned coincidences between the account of the Japanese as given by the Chinese historian and that which we have from other sources. Thus we know that in early times the hair was worn loose, that no plates were used for food, but only large leaves, that skins were used as clothing, and that it was the custom to sing and dance at funerals. Some of the customs mentioned continue even to the present day, as for instance cormorant fishing may still be witnessed at Gifu. Other statements of the history are confirmed by the survival of customs in isolated places, such as Loochoo, where the lower classes are even at present forbidden to wear gold and silver ornaments and where tattooing of the hands and arms may still be seen.

Mr. Milne remarked that nothing of the history of Japan seemed to be given, but only an account of its manners and customs, to which the Chairman replied that there was much history in the paper itself, but that he had been compelled to omit it from the summary.

It was remarked that Aso-san was mentioned, whereupon Mr. Milne said that it was the volcano with the oldest history of any in Japan. The Chairman added that this was because it was the farthest west

It was asked whether the Ainu were named in the history. The Chairman replied that they were, and it was also stated that they were hairy men with long beards and had been taken from

Japan to China. Whether the name Ainu was used in the original the Chairman did not know, but this could be learned by reference to the book itself, which as a standard Chinese work could probably be obtained in Tōkyō.

Mr. Droppers called attention to the divergent opinion which observers formed of the Japanese people. In the Chronicles of Ma-Twan-Lin the Japanese were spoken of as a people peacefully inclined and easily governed, yet we know that their history is full of bloody internal wars and many authorities have spoken of them as a warlike people.

The Chairman suggested that possibly a people might be easily governed and fond of war at the same time. However that might be it was to be noted that those who had been longest in Japan were slowest in passing sweeping verdicts concerning the Japanese people.

The meeting then adjourned.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society was held at No. 17 Tsukiji, on Wednesday, January 17th, 1894, at 4 P.M., with the President in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

It was announced from the Council that Professor Michel Revon of Tōkyō, Samuel Tuke, Esq., of Tōkyō, and F. H. Cornes, Esq., of Kōbe, had been elected to ordinary membership, and that Rev. Clay MacCauley had been elected as a member of the Council in place of Rev. W. I. Lawrance, who had left Japan.

Professor Garrett Droppers then read a paper on "A Japanese Credit Association and its Founder."

In the discussion following the reading of the paper the President said that to him the founder of the Ho[illegible]sha seemed a sort of early Japanese socialist. Mr. Ma[illegible]re natu stated that he considered there were many instructive lessons for the present in this study of past Japanese social conditions. It showed how human nature was essentially the same throughout the world and that reformers, in whatever situation or country placed, advocated certain necessary human relations as the conditions of a true society.

Mr. Longford remarked how his attention had been first called to the existence of such a man as Ninomiya by the notorious Soma scandal of last summer. In a casual inquiry

which he had made how it was possible that so much wealth had been lodged in a single family, a Japanese student had replied, "Oh yes, the family is very rich, because their estates were managed by the reformer, Ninomiya." Mr. Longford then read an interesting note prepared by himself.

Mr. Tison and Dr. Divers, who also took part in the discussion, inquired about the general influence exercised by the Association. To a question asked by Mr. Taft as to how many members of the association were farmers, Mr. Droppers replied that nearly all were of the farming class.

The President returned the thanks of the Society to Mr. Droppers for his valuable paper and to Mr. Longford for his note, after which the meeting adjourned.

Under the auspices of the Asiatic Society, Professor Milne delivered a lecture at the Public Hall in Yokohama, February 22, 1894, on "Movements of the Earth's Crust."

Mr. Jas. Troup, who presided, said it was quite unnecessary for him to introduce Prof. Milne to a Yokohama audience. His name was as familiar amongst them as a household word. (Hear, hear.) He was connected in their minds with phenomena relating to earthquakes very much as the Clerk of the Weather was connected with another set of phenomena. They sometimes spoke of scientists of Europe making a science; Professor Milne had made the science of "Seismology" all his own; for they might with justice say he had more than any other man made that science. It was with regard to this science that he wal to address them that night, and he was sure they were all very glad to see him.

Professor Milne, who was cordially received, stated at the outset that it was not his intention to speak on the subject of earthquakes; he would only mention them incidentally. He wanted to prove to them that they were all moving. He did not mean to say that they were all rocking about—that would be very wrong. But that the room was being tilted up. All over the world this tilting went on every day, and after the tilting things came back to their upright position. There was a pulsatory movement going on. In the land as in the ocean there was a swell, an undulation, going on. It was too slight for them to distinguish it, but with instruments they detected the

movements and could have no doubt on the subject. He wanted to start with certain hypotheses which perhaps they might not believe, and certain facts which they would believe. He wanted to argue from what they deduced when they saw a series of phenomena which more or less graduated one from another. He believed everybody would accept the statement that peat was derived from moss and coal from wood. He wanted to show them the gradations in the subject under consideration from one stage to another. Those gradations were exemplified in the theory of evolution—in Darwin's theory. To begin with he must go a long way back. Experiments had been made in various parts of the world—everywhere between the arctic regions and the equator—to determine the rate at which heat increased as they descended beneath the surface of the earth; and the general result was that after they passed a certain depth there was a gradual increase in the heat the further they went. So that a short distance below the surface—from one to four miles—the heat would be intense. Let it be granted, then, that the deeper they went the heat became greater and greater. For the purpose of illustration he might liken the earth to a tea-pot covered by a cozy. Even with a cozy the heat of a teapot became gradually less; and so in the same way the earth was losing its heat, and the crust was contracting. Then came the question, could that crust support itself? To obtain an answer, let them ask the further question, could an arch of granite, say of eight, or if they liked eighty miles, support itself. Without going into figures he thought they might accept it that it could not. If that was the case, how could they expect the crust of the whole earth to be self-supporting. It was illustrated by the wrinkles in the peeling of an orange, the wrinkles in the flesh of a man who had grown old, and the wrinkles in a coat which was too large for the wearer. Therefore, in the same way, the crust of the earth being unable to support itself, some parts were going down and some going up. This had been going on for all geological time, and so the hills—the Rockies, the Grampians, and the Scandinavians—had their beginning. Geological developments were divided into three periods, primary, secondary, and tertiary, and the Grampian Mountains were due to the first of the movements of the world's crust. Having explained the geological formation of these mountains, the Professor remarked that he was not going into the mountain history of various parts of the world. The Alps and Himalayas, what were they?—like most young things, stuck up; they belonged to the tertiary period. They must not judge the age

which he had made how it was possible that so much wealth had been lodged in a single family, a Japanese student had replied, "Oh yes, the family is very rich, because their estates were managed by the reformer, Ninomiya." Mr. Longford then read an interesting note prepared by himself.

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the centre of the earth. That was the only thing he learnt from the levels. He made experiments with a variety of instruments, one being a sort of pendulum, which with a microscope was seen to be moving; but there was nothing self-recording about it. Professor Milne next described at length an instrument resembling the boom of a ship, for recording the earth tremors, by which photography is brought into use for the purpose of recording the movements. Another instrument in use at Kamakura was also described, in connection with which photography is used as the recording agent. As illustrating the sensitive nature of the instrument, he said he had one fixed on a stone column in his house; and so sensitive was it that if one leant upon one side of the column the instrument recorded the pressure; in fact he could weigh a man to 14 lbs. by his sitting on one side of the solid column. They might ask him, as as American gentleman did recently, "But what is the good of it?" and he would have to reply, "There are no dollars in it—at present." He could only answer as did Faraday when a similar question was put to him with regard to his observations with a copper disc on a magnet—"What is the good of a baby?" They could never tell what the baby would become; but from Faraday's discovery resulted motors and the incandescent light. He did not know what good would come of the instrument he had described. It recorded a daily tide—a tide which was too big for lunar effects. What it was due to he did not know; but there it was. It also showed that districts of the earth's surface could be used as barometers. It was indifferent to the shaking due to street traffic and trains and recorded only wave movements. The other day two instruments at Kamakura recorded a wave disturbance which lasted more than two hours; they often lasted an hour. Professor Paschwitz, of Potsdam, was engaged in similar work; and in his observatory at Wilhelmshaven recorded the great earthquake in Japan. Thus the instrument determined the rate at which earthquakes travelled, but if asked what was the good of that he must reply that he did not know. He was glad to say he had attracted the attention of Lord Kelvin, from whom he had received a very pleasing letter. It seemed to him that earthquakes were due to crumpling of the earth's crust; it bent until it could bend no more and then the crack came. The earthquake of 18th inst. appeared to indicate a bending in this district. Three hours before the earthquake came his instrument recorded an abnormal disturbance. If that happened again—although he did not know that it was an

advantage to know when earthquakes were coming; perhaps not. He was not satisfied, however, that he could predict earthquakes. If they could see the interior of the earth, he believed they would see nothing to trouble them; these tremors, in his opinion, were merely surface phenomena. So far he was not satisfied with the results obtained, because they could not make good observations on alluvial plains. He believed his instrument would be of assistance to astronomers; and it was probable that it would also be found of value in saving life from gas explosions in mines. In England the law required that when there was a fall of the barometer additional ventilation should be provided. The mine owners were dissatisfied with this regulation, and he sympathised with them, because he believed that the dangers of gas explosions increased when these tremors came, and did not depend upon the rise or fall of the barometer. In conclusion, Professor Milne said he was annoyed when anyone spoke to him about earthquakes. There were far more important and more interesting movements going on, and he believed that in a few years' time they would see much more attention given to a study of the earth's movements. (Applause).

Mr. Troup, in thanking Professor Milne for his interesting lecture, said their ideas had to be modified, as a man like Mr. Milne made things clear to them. He was yet in the prime of life, and they hoped he might be long preserved to continue these studies and observations. He ought also to thank the Council of the Asiatic Society, in the name of those present, for having arranged that lecture. It was a long time since the Society thought of Yokohama, and he hoped the success of that gathering would induce them to arrange another before long. (Applause).

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society was held at the rooms of the Society, No. 17 Tsukiji, April 11, 1894, at 4 P.M.

The President was in the Chair. The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

It was announced from the Council that M. Maurice Courant of Tōkyō had been elected an ordinary member and George D. Morgan, Esq., of New York, a life member of the Society. Mr. James Troup then read his paper on the "Possible Origin of the Water-wheel of Japan."

The President thanked Mr. Troup in behalf of the Society for his interesting paper, and expressed the opinion that Tyler states that the origin of the water-wheel is lost in the mist of antiquity.

Dr. Divers remarked that there might be separate origins to so useful and simple a thing as the water-wheel. It may also have been imported into Japan from China. *A propos* of a remark made by the author that he had never seen the *battari* used for any purpose except pounding rice, Mr. Mason stated that be had seen the same contrivance used in Kiushiu for pounding lime.

Mr. F. H. Trevithick followed by reading extracts from his paper on the "Railways of Japan."

In opposition to the opinion expressed in the paper that it would now be best for Japan to continue using the accepted narrow gauge of 3 ft. 6 in., Mr. MacCauley remarked that in his opinion Japan would profit by at once adopting the standard guage. Only 18% of the land of Japan was under cultivation, and the railway system of the country was still in its infancy. Consequently, by adopting the standard guage now a great saving could be effected in future.

Dr. Divers remarked on the effect of railway building in stimulating scientific training among the Japanese. The early railways had been all planned by foreigners. Since then, however, the Japanese had made such progress that now they were building all their own railways. They had excellent facilities in all the sciences naturally connected with railway construction.

It was further remarked that the unpunctual habits of the Japanese were gradually being modified through the influence of railways.

The President thanked Mr. Trevithick for his valuable paper, after which the Society adjourned.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society was held at No. 17 Tsukiji, June 20, at 4 P.M., the President occupying the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

It was announced from the Council that the Rev. Walter Weston of Kōbe, Joseph R. Herod, Esq., of Tōkyō, and Baron d'Anethan of Tōkyō were elected to ordinary membership.

The President also announced the receipt of *Indian Museum Notes* from the Government Bureau, Calcutta, for the library.

Mr. Garrett Droppers then read a paper on the "Population of Japan during the Tokugawa Period."

The President, after thanking Mr. Droppers for his valuable paper, remarked upon the importance of better medical knowledge

and practice, as one of the causes promoting the increase of population. In the early days of the present era people pitted with small-pox were to be seen in all parts of the country. By means of vaccination this disease had been almost extinguished.

In regard to infanticide, Dr. Greene stated that the practice was very common in some parts of Japan, especially the south-western part. He had been told that in Satsuma it was considered no discourtesy to ask the parents at the birth of a child whether they intended to rear it. He also remarked that he had been shown places where, it was said, children were exposed.

Dr. Seymour expressed a doubt as to the accuracy of statistics in Japan, especially in the earlier portion of the Meiji era. At that time a prejudice existed in the minds of the people against answering the questions of census takers, and he thought that frequently the answers given to officials were wrong. To this it was replied that mistakes were probably made, but that they would to some extent offset each other. Since 1871, when the first census was taken, the birth rate and death rate were normal in Japan. As the census was confessedly accurate at present, there was no reason for doubting the substantial accuracy of the earlier years, as the percentage of increase was, on the whole, steady from the beginning.

Dr. Divers wished to emphasize what he considered the capital point of the paper, namely, the difference in the spirit of freedom between the Tokugawa period and the present. In the old regime the people were bound by rigid customs and tyrannical laws; in the modern period they had thrown off many useless restraints and felt the influence of liberty. Hence he thought the natural increase of population.

The meeting then adjourned.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society was held at No. 17 Tsukiji, on Wednesday, Oct. 17, 1894, at 4 P.M.

The Vice-President, the Rev. Dr. D. C. Greene, occupied the chair. The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

It was announced from the Council that Dr. W. P. Wesselhoeft, of Boston, U. S. A., and Rev. C. M. Severance, of Kyōto, were elected life members, and Dr. Maurice Eden Paul, Dr. A. von Wenckstern and Ralph S. Paget, Esq., all of Tōkyō, were elected ordinary members.

A paper was then read on the "Daikoku Mai Ballads." In the absence of the author, Lafcadio Hearn, Esq., the paper was read by Dr. Augustus Wood.

At the close of the paper the Chairman thanked Dr. Wood for reading it. A discussion arose as to the meaning of the words Daikoku Mai. The probable explanation was that they were intended to signify the dance, *Mai*, of *Daikoku*, as the latter enters on the scene with *Ebisu* to recite the story of the ballads.

Mr. Mason remarked upon the great similarity of nearly all Japanese ballad literature. The *Daikoku* ballads seemed to have the essential motive of the ordinary *Gidayu*. Their enormous length was one thing, and they nearly all treated of misfortune, leprosy, and blindness.

The Chairman spoke of the novelty of the subject. In late years no paper had been contributed to the Transactions concerning ballads or folk lore, and he hoped that the present paper would be followed by others in the same field.

The meeting then adjourned.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Annual Meeting of the Asiatic Society was held at No. 17 Tsukiji, on Wednesday, Nov. 14, at 4 P.M.

The Vice-President, the Rev. Dr. D. C. Greene, occupied the chair.

After the preliminary business of the meeting was settled, the Chairman called upon the Rev. Arthur Lloyd to read his paper on the "Development of Japanese Buddhism."

The author stated that as the entire paper was too long to be read in full, he had extracted the substance of the paper in a few pages, which he proceeded to give. He also read a poem upon the life of Nichiren.

Upon the conclusion of the reading the Chairman thanked the writer in behalf of the Society for his interesting contribution. In the study of Japanese religions, he remarked, we find a key to many of the characteristics of the Japanese nation. No other department of investigation throws so much light upon certain obscure elements of Japanese life, nor can the religious situation of the present time be understood unless we carefully study their past religious life.

The regular business of the annual meeting was next taken up. The Recording Secretary for Tōkyō read the annual report of the society as follows:

"The work of the Society has been carried forward successfully, though without special incident, during the session just closing.

"At the last meeting of the previous session an amendment to the Constitution was made whereby the annual meeting was changed from June to November. On account of this alteration the present session has proved to be of unusual length. The number of general meetings held during the year have been eight: in October and November, 1893, and in January, February, April, June, October and November, 1894. The February meeting was held in Yokohama.

"During the year there has been a satisfactory growth of the membership of the Society. Twelve ordinary and five life members were added to the roll.

"Through death and other causes the Society has suffered severely during the year. The death of H. E. Hugh Fraser deprived the Society of a valued member. The Society also regrets the loss of its honorary member, the distinguished philologist, Dr. William Dwight Whitney, of New Haven, Conn., U. S. A. In the death of Prof. W. S. Liscomb the Society has lost an esteemed member and councillor. The departure of Prof. Alexander Tison for America has deprived the Society of his highly appreciated services as secretary of the Society. In the place of Dr. Whitney, Major John Wesley Powell, Director of the Ethnological Bureau of the Smithsonian Institute, has been elected honorary member of the Society.

"The finances of the Society show a prosperous condition of affairs, though there is danger that the balance in hand may be easily reduced in the future on account of the rule relating to the composition of members' dues. The present balance for the session shows an increase of over 500 yen above the balance of last session. The Treasurer's report has been kindly audited by Messrs. Trevithick and Duer. The Transactions of the Society continue to have an increasing sale.

"There were in all nine papers read during the session, the titles of which are given in Appendix A. This record is an excellent one when we remember how the Society has been handicapped by the departure of officers and members during the year. Japan still offers many an unworked mine to the investigator, and it is to be

hoped that the Society will show its usefulness in the future still more than in the past by bringing to light some of the hidden treasures."

This report was duly accepted by the Society, after which the Treasurer and Librarian also read their annual reports.

The meeting then proceeded to the election of the officers for the coming year. The following was the result of the election:

President, Rev. Dr. D. C. Greene.

Vice-Presidents { J. H. Longford, Esq. / James Troup, Esq.

Corresponding Secretary, Garrett Droppers, Esq.

Recording Secretary { W. J. S. Shand, Esq., for Yokohama. / Garrett Droppers, Esq., for Tokyo.

Treasurer, Dr. J. N. Seymour.

Librarian, Rev. W. J. White.

Council: B. H. Chamberlain, Esq.
Dr. E. Divers.
J. Milne, Esq.
W. B. Mason, Esq.
R. Masujima, Esq.
Clay MacCauley, Esq.
A. Wood, Esq.
M. Courant, Esq.
O. Kell, Esq.
M. Wyckoff, Esq.

The meeting adjourned at 5.30 P.M.

Appendix A.

List of Papers, etc., during the Session 1893-4

"Esoteric Shintoism: Proof of its Shinto Origin," by Percival Lowell, Esq.

"The Hi No Maru, or National Flag of Japan," by W. G. Aston, Esq.

"Ma Twan Lin's Account of Japan," by E. H. Parker, Esq.

"A Japanese Co-operative Credit Association and its Founder," by Garrett Droppers, Esq.

"Movements of the Earth's Crust—A Lecture," by John Milne, Esq.

"A Possible Origin of the Water-wheel," by James Troup, Esq.

"The Railways of Japan," by F. H. Trevithick, Esq.

"Population of Japan During the Tokugawa Period," by Garrett Droppers, Esq.

"The Daikoku Mai Ballads," by Lafcadio Hearn, Esq.

"Development of Japanese Buddhism," by Rev. Arthur Lloyd.

Appendix B.

The Hon. Treasurer in Account with the Asiatic Society of Japan for the Seventeen Months Ending Oct. 31st, 1894.

Dr.

To Balance from Last Year	$2,246.31
„ Entrance Fees	85.00
„ Yearly Subscriptions	531.51
„ Non-Resident Life Subscriptions	127.08
„ Resident Life Subscriptions	195.00
„ Sale of Transactions	988.80
„ Interest at Bank	85.48
	$ 4,259.18

Cr.

By Messrs. Meiklejohn & Co. for Printing, etc.		$ 976.84
„ Hakubunsha, for Stationery, etc.		52.90
„ Mr. Droppers's Translators		50.00
„ Rent of No. 17 Tsukiji for Two Years		200 00
„ Illustrations (for Transactions)		102.05
„ Insurance..		75.00
„ Expenses of officers of Council..		31.42
		$1488.21
Balance		
In H &. S. B. Cor. as Fixed Dep.	$1286.25	
" " " Cur. Act.	1411.86	2770.97
In hands of Treasurer.	72.86	
		$4,259.18

E. & F. O.

Tōkyō, Nov., 1894.

J. N. Seymour,
Hon. Treas.

Correct.

Yeend Duer,

F. H. Trevithick.

Japan to China. Whether the name Ainu was used in the original the Chairman did not know, but this could be learned by reference to the book itself, which as a standard Chinese work could probably be obtained in Tōkyō.

Mr. Droppers called attention to the divergent opinion which observers formed of the Japanese people. In the Chronicles of Ma-Twan-Lin the Japanese were spoken of as a people peacefully inclined and easily governed, yet we know that their history is full of bloody internal wars and many authorities have spoken of them as a warlike people.

The Chairman suggested that possibly a people might be easily governed and fond of war at the same time. However that might be it was to be noted that those who had been longest in Japan were slowest in passing sweeping verdicts concerning the Japanese people.

The meeting then adjourned.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society was held at No. 17 Tsukiji, on Wednesday, January 17th, 1894, at 4 P.M., with the President in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

It was announced from the Council that Professor Michel Revon of Tōkyō, Samuel Take, Esq., of Tōkyō, and F. H. Cornes, Esq., of Kōbe, had been elected to ordinary membership, and that Rev. Clay MacCauley had been elected as a member of the Council in place of Rev. W. I. Lawrance, who had left Japan.

Professor Garrett Droppers then read a paper on "A Japanese Credit Association and its Founder."

In the discussion following the reading of the paper the President said that to him the founder of the Hotokusha seemed a sort of early Japanese socialist. Mr. MacCauley stated that he considered there were many instructive lessons for the present in this study of past Japanese social conditions. It showed how human nature was essentially the same throughout the world and that reformers, in whatever situation or country placed, advocated certain necessary human relations as the conditions of a true society.

Mr. Longford remarked how his attention had been first called to the existence of such a man as Ninomiya by the notorious Soma scandal of last summer. In a casual inquiry

which he had made how it was possible that so much wealth had been lodged in a single family, a Japanese student had replied, "Oh yes, the family is very rich, because their estates were managed by the reformer, Ninomiya." Mr. Longford then read an interesting note prepared by himself.

Mr. Tison and Dr. Divers, who also took part in the discussion, inquired about the general influence exercised by the Association. To a question asked by Mr. Taft as to how many members of the association were farmers, Mr. Droppers replied that nearly all were of the farming class.

The President returned the thanks of the Society to Mr. Droppers for his valuable paper and to Mr. Longford for his note, after which the meeting adjourned.

Under the auspices of the Asiatic Society, Professor Milne delivered a lecture at the Public Hall in Yokohama, February 22, 1894, on "Movements of the Earth's Crust."

Mr. Jas. Troup, who presided, said it was quite unnecessary for him to introduce Prof. Milne to a Yokohama audience. His name was as familiar amongst them as a household word. (Hear, hear.) He was connected in their minds with phenomena relating to earthquakes very much as the Clerk of the Weather was connected with another set of phenomena. They sometimes spoke of scientists of Europe making a science; Professor Milne had made the science of "Seismology" all his own; for they might with justice say he had more than any other man made that science. It was with regard to this science that he wal to address them that night, and he was sure they were all very glad to see him.

Professor Milne, who was cordially received, stated at the outset that it was not his intention to speak on the subject of earthquakes; he would only mention them incidentally. He wanted to prove to them that they were all moving. He did not mean to say that they were all rocking about—that would be very wrong. But that the room was being tilted up. All over the world this tilting went on every day, and after the tilting things came back to their upright position. There was a pulsatory movement going on. In the land as in the ocean there was a swell, an undulation, going on. It was too slight for them to distinguish it, but with instruments they detected the

Appendix C.

List of Exchanges.

Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadephia; Proceedings.
American Association for the Advancement of Science.
" Geographical Society, New York; Bulletin and Journal.
" Oriental Society, New Haven; Journal.
Annalen des K. K. Natur Hist. Hofmuseum, Wien.
Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland; London.
Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien; Mitheilungen.
Asiatic Society of Bengal; Journal and Proceedings.
Australian Association for the Advancement of Science.
Bataviasch Genootschap; Notulen. Tidjschrift. Verhandlungen.
Boston Society of Natural History; Proceedings.
Buddhist Text Society of India; 86½ Jaur Bazaar st., Calcutta.
Bureau of Ethnolgy, Annual Report; Washington.
" " Education. Circulars of Information; Washington.
Canadian Institute, Toronto; Proceedings and Report.
China Review; Hongkong.
Chinese Recorder; Shanghai.
Cosmos; di Guido Cora, Turin.
Deutsche Gesellschaft fur Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Tōkyō; Mitheilungen.
Geologicai Survey of India; Records.
Geographical and Natural History Survey of Canada.
Handelsmuseum, Wien.
Harvard University, Museum of Comparative Zoology; Bulletin, Papers, etc.
Imperial Russian Geographical Society; Bulletin and Report.
" Society of the Friends of Natural Science (Moscow) Section of Anthropology and Ethnography; Transactions.
" de Geographia de Lisboa, Boletin; Lisbon.
Imperial University of Japan, College of Science; Journal.
Japan Society; London.
Japan Weekly Mail, Yokohama.
Johns Hopkins University Publications, Baltimore.

Journal Asiatique, Paris.
Musée Guimet, Lyons ; Annales et Revue, etc.
Oesterreichischee Monatsschrift für den Orient.
Observatorio Meteorologico, Monte Video.
Otto Harowitz, Esq.
Peking Oriental Society ; Transactions.
Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain ; Journal, etc.
" " " Bombay Branch ; Journal.
" " " Ceylon Branch ; Journal and Proceedings.
" " " China Branch ; Journal.
" " " Straits Branch ; Journal.
" Dublin Society ; Scientific Transactions.
" Geographical Society ; Proceedings.
" Society, Loudon ; Proceedings.
" " of Edinburgh ; Proceedings.
Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C.; Report, etc.
Sociedad Georgáfica de Madrid ; Boletin.
Société de Géographie ; Bulletin et Compte Rendu des Séances, Paris
" d'Anthropologie de Paris ; Bulletins et Mémoires.
" Neuchateloise de Géographie, Bulletin ; Neuchatel.
Sydney, Council of Education ; Report.
The Library, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, (P. O. Box 100,) U. S. A.
United States Geological Survey.
" " Department of Agriculture.

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Volumes added to the Library during the year are as follows :—

Transactions of Japan Soc., London.

" Murray's Handbook."

" Imperial University Calendar."

5 vols on Agriculture

" Note Historique sur les Diverses Especes de monnaie de Corée."

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THE

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

Revised October 12th, 1893.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

Revised October 12th, 1893.

NAME AND OBJECTS.

ART. I. The Name of the Society shall be THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

ART. II. The object of the Society shall be to collect and publish information on subjects relating to Japan and other Asiatic Countries.

ART. III. Communications on other subjects may, within the discretion of the Council, be received by the Society, but shall not be published among the Papers forming the Transactions.

MEMBERSHIP.

ART. IV. The Society shall consist of Honorary and Ordinary Members.

ART. V. Honorary Members shall be admitted upon special grounds, to be determined in each case by the Council. They shall not be resident in Japan, and shall not pay an entrance fee or annual subscription.

ART. VI. Ordinary Members shall pay, on their election, an entrance fee of Five Dollars and the subscription for the current year. Those resident in Japan shall pay an annual subscription of Five Dollars. Those not resident in Japan shall pay an annual subscription of Three Dollars or a Life Composition of Sixteen Dollars gold or Three Guineas.

Any Member elected after 30th June shall not be required to pay the subscription for the year of his election unless he wishes to receive the Transactions of the past session of the Society.

Any person joining the Society can become a Life Member by the payment of Fifty Dollars; or any person already a member can become a Life Member by

the payment of Fifty Dollars, less Two Dollars and Fifty Cents for each year in which he has been an Ordinary Member.

ART. VII. The Annual Subscription shall be payable in advance, on the 1st of January in each year.

Any Member failing to pay his subscription for the current year by the 30th of June shall be reminded of his omission by the Treasurer. If his subscription still remains unpaid on the 31st of December of that year, he shall be considered to have resigned his Membershipt

ART. VIII. Every Member shall be entitled to receive the publications of the Society during the period of his Membership.

OFFICERS.

ART. IX. The Officers of the Society shall be :—

A President.
Two Vice-Presidents.
A Corresponding Secretary.
Two Recording Secretaries.
A Treasurer.
A Librarian.

COUNCIL.

ART. X. The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council composed of the Officers for the current year and ten ordinary Members.

MEETINGS.

ART. XI. General Meetings of the Society and Meetings of Council shall be held as the Council shall have appointed and announced.

ART. XII. The Annual Meeting of the Society shall be held in November, at which the Council shall present its Annual Report and the Treasurer's Statement of Accounts, duly audited by two Members nominated by the President.

ART. XIII. Nine Members shall form a quorum at an Annual Meeting, and Five Members at a Council Meeting. At all Meetings of the Society and Council, in the absence

of the President and Vice-President, a Chairman shall be elected by the Meeting. The Chairman shall not have a vote unless there is an equality of votes.

ART. XIV. Vistors (including representatives of the Press) may be admitted to the General Meetings by Members of the Society, but shall not be permitted to address the Meeting except by invitation of the Chairman.

ELECTIONS.

ART. XV. All Members of the Society shall be elected by the Council. They shall be proposed at one Meeting of the Council, and balloted for at the next, one black ball in five to exclude; and their Election shall be announced at the General Meeting following.

ART. XVI. The Officers and other Members of Council shall be elected by ballot at the Annual Meeting, and shall hold office for one year.

ART. XVII. The Council shall fill up all Vacancies in its Membership which may occur between Annual Meetings.

PUBLICATION.

ART. XVIII. The published Transactions of the Society shall contain :—(1) Such papers and notes read before the Society as the Council shall have selected, and an abstract of the discussion thereon :

(2) The Minutes of the General Meetings ;

(3) And, at the end of each annual volume, the Reports and Account presented to the last Annual Meeting, the Constitution and By-Laws of the Society, and a List of Members.

ART. XIX. Twenty-five separate copies of each published paper shall be placed at the disposal of the author and the same number shall be reserved by the Council to be disposed of as it sees fit.

ART. XX. The Council shall have power to distribute copies of the Transactions at its discretion.

ART. XXI. The Council shall have power to publish, in separate form, papers or documents which it considers of sufficient interest or importance.

ART. XXII. Papers accepted by the Council shall become the property of the Society and cannot be published anywhere without consent of the Council.

Acceptance of a paper for reading at a General Meeting of the Society does not bind the Society to its publication afterwards. But when the Council has decided not to publish any paper accepted for reading, that paper shall be restored to the author without any restriction as to its further use.

MAKING OF BY-LAWS.

ART. XXIII. The Council shall have power to make and amend By-Laws for its own and the Society's guidance, provided that these are not inconsistent with the Constitution; and a General Meeting by a majority vote may suspend the operation of any By-Law.

AMENDMENTS.

ART. XXIV. None of the foregoing Articles of the Constitution can be amended except at a General Meeting by a vote of two-thirds of the Members present, and only if due notice of the proposed Amendment shall have been given at a previous General Meeting.

BY-LAWS

GENERAL MEETINGS.

ART. I. The Session of the Society shall extend over the nine months from October to June inclusive.

ART. II. Ordinarily the Session shall consist of nine monthly General Meetings; but it may include a less or greater number when the Council find reason for such a change.

ART. III. The place and time of Meeting shall be fixed by the Council, preference being given when the Meeting is held in Tōkyō, to 4 P.M. on the Second Wednesday of each month. The place of meeting may be in Yokohama when the occasion is favourable.

Art. IV. Timely notice of every Geueral Meeting shall be sent by post to the address of every Member resident in Tōkyō or Yokohama.

ORDER OF BUSINESS AT GENERAL MEETINGS.

Art. V. The Order of Business at General Meetings shall be:—

(1) Action on the Minutes of the last Meeting;

(2) Communications from the Council;

(3) Miscellaneous Business;

(4) The Reading and Discussion of papers.

The above order shall be observed except when the Chairman shall rule otherwise.

At Annual Meetings the Order of Business shall include, in addition to the foregoing matters:—

(5) The Reading of the Council's Annual Report and Treasurer's account, and submission of these for the action of the Meeting upon them;

(6) The Election of Officers and Council as directed by Article XVI. of the Constitution.

MEETINGS OF COUNCIL.

VI. The Council shall appoint its own Meetings, preference as to time being given to 4. P.M. on the First Wednesday of each month.

VII. Timely notice of every Council Meeting shall be sent by post to the address of eveay Member of Council, and shall contain a statement of any extraordinary business to be done.

ORDER OF BUSINESS AT COUNCIL MEETINGS.

VIII. The Order of Business at Council Meetings shall be :—

(1) Action upon the Minutes of the last Meeting ;

(2) *Reports* of the Corresponding Secretary.
of the Publication Committee,
of the Treasurer,
of the Librarian,
and of Special Committees ;

(3) The Election of Members ;

(4) The Nomination of Candidates for Membership of the Society ;

(5) Miscellaneous Business ;

(6) Acceptance of papers to be read before the Society ;

(7) Arrangement of the Business of the next General Meeting.

PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

IX. There shall be a Standing Committee entitled the Publication Committee and composed of the Secretaries, the Librarian, and any Members appointed by the Council. It shall ordinarily be presided over by the Corresponding Secretary.

It shall carry through the publication of the Transactions of the Society, and the re-issue of Parts out of print.

It shall report periodically to the Council and act under its authority.

It shall audit the accounts for printing the Transactions.

It shall not allow authors' manuscripts or printer's proofs of these to go out of its custody for other than the Society's purposes.

DUTIES OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

X. The Corresponding Secretary shall:—

1. Conduct the Correspondence of the Society;
2. Arrange for and issue notice of Council Meetings, and provide that all official business be brought duly and in order before each Meeting;
3. Attend every Council Meeting or give notice to the Recording Secretary that he will be absent;
4. Notify new Officers and Members of Council of their appointment and send them each a copy of the the By-laws;
5. Notify new Members of the Society of their election and send them copies of the Articles of Constitution and of the Library Catalogue;
6. Unite with the Recording Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian in drafting the Annual Report of the Council and in preparing for publication all matter as defined in Article XVIII. of the Constitution.
7. Act as Chairman of the Publication Committee, and take first charge of authors' manuscripts and proofs struck off for use at Meetings.

RECORDING SECRETARIES.

Of the Recording Secretaries, one shall reside in Tōkyō and one in Yokohama, each having ordinarily duties only in connection with Meetings of the Society or its Council held in the place where he resides.

DUTIES OF RECORDING SECRETARY.

XII The Recording Secretary shall ;—

1. Keep Minutes of General Meetings ;
2. Make arrangements for General Meetings as instructed by the Council, and notify Members resident in Tōkyō and Yokohama ;
3. Inform the Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer of the election of new Members.
4. Attend every General Meeting of Council, or, in case of absence, depute the Corresponding Secretary or some other Members of Council to perform his duties, aud forward to him the Minute Book ;
5. Act for the Corresponding Secretary in the latter's absence ;
6. Act on the publication Committee ;
7. Assist in drafting the Annual Report of the Council and in preparing for publication the Minutes of General Meetings and the Constitution and By-laws of the Society ;
8. Furnish abstracts of Proceedings at General Meetings to newspapers and public prints as directed by the Council.

DUTIES OF TREASURER

XIII. The Treasurer shall :—

1. Take charge of the Society's Fund in accordance with the instructions of the Council ;
2. Apply to the President to appoint Auditors, and present the Annual Balance sheet to the Council duly audited before the date of the Annual Meeting ;
3. Attend every Council Meeting and report when requested upon the money affairs of the Society, or in case of absence depute some Member of Council to act for him, furnishing him with such information and documents as may be necessary ;
4. Notify new members of the amount of entrance fee and subscription then due ;

5. Collect subscriptions and notify Members of their unpaid subscriptions once in or about January and again in or about June; apply to Agents for the sale of the Society's Transactions in Japan and abroad for payment of sums owing to the Society;
6. Pay out all Monies for the Society under the direction of the Council, making no single payment in excess of Ten Dollars without special vote of the Council.
7. Inform the Librarian when a new Member has paid his entrance fee and first subscription;
8. Submit to the Council at its January Meeting the names of Members who have not paid their subscription for the past year; and, after action has been taken by the Council, furnish the Librarian with the names of any Members to whom the sending of the Transactions is to be suspended or stopped.
9. Prepare for publication the List of Members of the Society.

DUTIES OF LIBRARIAN.

XIV. The Librarian shall:—

1. Take charge of the Society's Library and stock of Transactions, keep its books and periodicals in order, catalogue all additions to the Library, and superintend the binding and preservation of the books;
2. Carry out the Regulations of the Council for the use and lending of the Society's books;
3. Send copies of the Transactions to all Honorary Members, to all Ordinary Members not in arrears for dues according to the list furnished by the Treasurer, and to all Societies and Journals, the names of which are on the list of Exchanges;
4. Arrange with Booksellers and others for the sale of the Transactions as directed by the Council, send the required numbers of each issue to the appointed agents, and keep a record of all such business;
5. Arrange under direction of the Council, new Exchanges of the Transactions with Societies and Journals;
6. Draw up List of Exchanges of Journals and of additions to the Library for insertion in the Council's Annual Report;

7. Make additions to the Library as instructed by the Council;
8. Present to the Council at its November Meeting a statement of the stock of Transactions possessed by the Society;
9. Act on the Publication Committee;
10. Attend every Council Meeting and report on Library matters, if or absent, send to the Corresponding Secretary a statement of any matter of immediate importance.

LIBRARY AND MEETING ROOM.

Art XV. The Society's Rooms and Library shall be at No. 17 Tsukiji, Tōkyō, to which may be addressed all letters and parcels not sent to the private address of the Corresponding Secretary, Treasurer, or Librarian.

Art. XVI. The Library shall be open to Members for consultation during the day, the keys of the book cases being in the possession of the Librarian or other Member of Council resident in the neighbourhood; and books may be borrowed on applying to the Librarian.

SALE OF TRANSACTIONS.

Art. XVII. A Member may obtain at half-price for his own use copies of any Part of the Transactions.

Art. XVIII. The Transactions shall be on sale by Agents approved of by the Council and shall be supplied to these Agents at discount price fixed by the Council.

Curtis.

ESOTERIC SHINTŌ.

By Percival Lowell, Esq.

[*Read Oct. 18th, 1893.*]

Proof of Shintō Origin.

Some of those here to-day may remember that when the year, which has seen so many leave-takings and is soon to take its own, was yet young I had the honor to present to the Society certain distinguished personages not set down in any directory nor even included in the census of the Japanese Empire, yet indigenous to it and deigning at times again to make part of its population. Since then another volume of the Society's Transactions has closed its receiving covers upon those departed spirits, and to bring them once more before you, as I propose to do, it will be necessary first to resurrect them by a word from the archives where they lie so comfortably buried. I summon them because as the ante-resurrectionists present will recall—and I hasten to hope that as to the advisability of doing so there may not be that difference of opinion which the ambiguity of sound in the preposition induced the devout but illiterate old lady when arguing on the slavery question to affirm had always existed upon every subject since the flood. For, said she, just as folk were divided now about slavery, with the slavery people in favor of slavery and the anti-slavery people opposed to it, so had they been about the deluge; there were the diluvians

who were in favor of a flood and the ante-diluvians who were opposed to it—the *ante*-resurrectionists, therefore, may recall that when I introduced those visitants from another world I described them as of pure Shintō parentage, and I promised at some later day to prove the fact to the Society's satisfaction that it might not feel that it had entertained guests unvouched for by their introducer.

The time has now come to fulfil that promise and to show in this exposition of Esoteric Shintō that the subject is not only Esoteric but Shintō. For the sake of those who did not hear the previous papers I may say that the Esoterism lies in the fact that there exists in Japan a cult of god-possession, or practice of divine trances, to an extent probably unequalled anywhere else, and of which not the least marvellous part is that it should have remained unrecognized so long. The possessions are genuine trances and bear a sisterly resemblance to mediumistic trances elsewhere. Besides such temporary incarnations of deity, there are miracles performed in the cult which also require the presence of the gods. Some account of these and of the Pilgrim Clubs which are intimately connected with both was made by me to the Society last spring. Between such account of the phenomena and a theory of their noumena seems the proper place for identification of the deities in the case, the exposition of these personalities naturally dividing itself into the three parts : that they are ; who they are ; and what they are.

Two claimants present themselves for possession of the cult—Shintō and Buddhism. That the cult was, and in a sense still is, practiced by neither but by Both,—as with a certain pious duplicity of meaning we may state the case, since thus Ryōbu may exactly be rendered—does not simplify matters. For Ryōbu being a combination of the two, as its name so candidly confesses, confesses nothing further on the subject.

The importance of the inquiry quite transcends the question of creed. Did it not do so we might perhaps leave it to the tender mercies of church polemics, certain that the guilty, if possibly even the innocent also, would not escape. But it is not simply a question of religion ; it is a question of race. For Shintō is the faith of the people professing it in a peculiarly intimate way. It is a religion, not of adoption but of birthright. Shintō is what the Japanese race believes because it learnt it at the knee of the race-mother ; Buddhism what it was taught to believe when it went to school abroad. If therefore the possession cult be Shintō it is Japanese ; if Buddhist it is only another bit of foreign imitation. The point thus possesses ethnologic consequence.

To determine to which it belongs might seem a simple matter to anyone unacquainted with Japan. Doubtless to a Japanese it would seem easy to say what came of Christian and what of pagan stock in the observances of the western churches ; Christmas-day, for example, commending itself at once as self-evidently Christian,—to the extent even of bearing the faith-name. Yet, as we know, the day is not Christian at all but as lusty an old heathen as ever was; nothing but the Roman Saturnalia, adopted bodily out of the older faith and merely baptized anew to make it seem respectable. Though we wend our way in the morning to church instead of to sacrifice, we hold our saturnalia in the evening in one unbroken tradition from a pagan past. So surely does the holiday survive the holy-day that begot it.

If Christianity can thus appropriate other peoples' property without acknowledgment, Christians at all events will find no difficulty in believing that Buddhism may. And indeed in Japan it has, on a much more thorough scale. For Christians are on principle opposed to purloining ; Japanese Buddhists, also on principle, are not. The principles I refer to are not moral but

psychic ones. They are race characteristics that in the matter of foreign acquisition have helped the one faith and hindered the other. As to appropriation of other peoples' ideas, Aryan folk have always acted with comparative honesty, which would be the more commendable morally did it spring from other motive than mere preference for their own. No nation allows conscientious scruples to keep it from what it wants; but relatively speaking we really like our own things best. In Japan there is no such personal prejudice in favor of oneself. With self-obliterating modesty these folk consider other folks' intellectual property quite good enough for them. Imitation, in short, has been at a premium and originality at a discount. While the other party to the matter, impersonal Buddhism, is of course loftily superior to such ephemeralities as the *meum* and the *tuum*. In consequence after Shintōist Japan had embraced Buddhism, Japanese Buddhism turned round and paid Shintō the same unsolicited compliment. Whatever it came across in the way of popular superstition which struck it as desirable it hastened to enfold, things or people. The result was a rather mixed divine society. There are many gentlemen of questionable pasts in the Roman Catholic Calender of saints, men who, could they see themselves in such company, would open their eyes indeed and probably wink them too. But at Buddhist hands the canonization was even more catholicly complete. They took in the whole Shintō pantheon, as a matter of course; all the gods, that is, of any respectability. They did with them much as William the Conqueror did with the Saxon thanes: left them a titular rank while carefully depriving them of power and prestige. For Buddhism was well aware that, in spite of the saw, a dead lion may prove mightier than a live dog, in the effect it has on other people. Great memories are great instigators; while the belittled sink swiftly into oblivion. In making, therefore, an insignificant present damn its own

significant past lies the quintessence of the art of annihilation. Buddhism acted, if not scientifically, at last artistically upon this principle.

The result was that the common folk found themselves good Buddhists without being quite aware how they became so. They were still allowed to worship their old gods, and they already worshipped so many of these deities that they saw no objection to worshipping the few myriad more with which the Buddhists kindly provided them. This happy family arrangement was rendered the easier by the fundamental congruity between the principles of the Buddhist faith and the character of the Japanese people.

Ryōbu was very popular, because it let in everybody. Roughly speaking it was Shintō in principle and Buddhist in practice. But this diagnosis is due to deduction, not inspection. At first sight Ryōbu is hopelessly mixed. It is introduced here again that it may add in the proper place its not inconsiderable quota to the general perplexity of the subject.

Sufficient as this perplexity is in everything else connected with Japanese customs, it naturally became extreme in the case of so spiritual a matter as the art of god-possession. Not only did Ryōbuists, Shintōists and Buddhists all practise it, but they did so each with their own detail. Distinctive signs of original ownership nowhere appeared. So that although it soon became evident that somebody had taken it from somebody else, one was left quite in the dark as to which was the reprehensible robber and which his lamentable victim.

Direct inquiry elicited worse than ignorance. It evolved much mystifying doubt. For the priestly evidence was bitterly baffling. No sooner was one man's story duly registered than another came along with an upsettingly opposite tale. The sole point in which the tellers approached accord lay in ascribing the art with comparative unanimity each to his own particular faith. The Shin-

tōists asserted it to be Shintō ; the Buddhists, Buddhist ; while the Ryōbusts ascribed it at times to the one but more commonly to the other. A few humble brethren modestly admitted that they did not know.

Where doctors of divinity disagreed in this alarming manner, it was hopeless to try to decide between them. Under such weighty counter-assertions one's own opinion swung balance-wise to settle at last to the lowest level of equi-doubt. And there, so far as mere human help could go, it might have stayed forever in indeterminate suspension.

At this critical dead-point in the investigation, when any advance toward a solution seemed an impossibility, a bit of circumstantial evidence suddenly presented itself to turn the scale. I say presented itself, for it was not through either contending party that it came into court. It wandered in one day unexpectedly and proceeded quite quietly to give most damaging testimony in the case. Indeed its evidence was crucial. Oddly enough this circumstantial witness appeared in the shape of what stands to Shintō for crucifix—the *gohei*.

The acquaintance of the *gohei* is perhaps the first that one makes in Japan. The surprising white zigzags of that strange strip of paper, pendent at intervals from the straw rope along the lintel of some temple-front is sure to catch the foreign eye, with a realistic suggestion of lightning. Indeed, so far as looks go, it might be a flash of that hasty but undecided courser of the skies, caught by chance and then miraculously tethered and tamed. Striking it still is. And that its discontinuities of direction can all be fashioned of one continuous sheet of paper is not the most of its mysteriousness.

Specimens enough, however, one is sure to see ; first without and then within the temple-buildings. For the *gohei* garlands the porch, festoons in frieze the holier rooms and stands the supreme emblem upon the altar.

It is not confined to the temples, the *miya* and the *jinja*, plentifully as these are dotted over the land. Almost every house has its *kami-dana* or Shintō-gods' shelf, a tiny household shrine, nested in some cupboard or recess. And there in the half-light stands the *gohei* again, in the heart of each Japanese home.

Nor is it simply to be seen indoors. Like mankind it inhabits the land. You shall mark it everywhere; now in some quiet eddy amid the traffic of town, now upon the summit of some lonely peak that only in midsummer knows the foot of man. Planted beside the path under a diminutive wayside shrine it reminds the passer by of the presence of the local god.

It does service too, of an agricultural sort. When the growing rice begins to dream of the ear, it begins to dot the paddy-fields, stuck upon a sight stick overlooking the crops.

But strangest of all, you shall chance upon it some fine day riding along in mid-festival procession, perched conspicuously in dignified solitariness upon a richly caparisoned horse's back.

In short it is the omnipresent Shintō symbol. As far as symbolism goes the *gohei* is Shintō.

Its religious significance it would be hard to over-estimate. It is to Shintō what the crucifix is to Christianity and a great deal more; one of those symbols which the modern defenders of the faith take much pains to assure you is only a symbol and no pains whatever to prevent the people from worshipping as a god. As Shintōists are not so much distressed to harmonize their beliefs with scientific sense, being as get unfired by the burning desire to discover the reasons of things, they make small distinction between the *gohei* and the god. In many cases they make none at all.

There are two kinds of *gohei*; the *haraibei* or purifying-*hei* and the *shintai* or god's body. Specimens of

the first may be seen in profusion about any Shintō temple. They are the *gohei* that first greet the devotee, pendent from the sacred straw rope hung at the temple door. And they are the *gohei* that festoon the building's eaves and make frieze to the holier rooms within. To the same class belong the *gohei* of the fields; the ones that so picturesquely dot the growing rice. For they are divine scare-crows or rather scare-locusts, those pests of the paddy-field farmer. They are scare-crows however in an occult sense, for though they resemble gods as startlingly as the more secular monstrosities do man, it is not their looks but their spirituality that is effective. And to judge from their general use they seem to prove as efficacious against the locusts as those about the temple are against the imps.

To the *shintai* or god's body class belong all those set up in shrines or used as the central symbol at religious functions. They are called the god's body, because at times they incarnate deity. They are not permanently the god, but are permanent receptacles for the god whenever he sees fit to descend. At the god's pleasure they are transubstantiated into himself. This transubstantiation is constantly taking place every day. To say that it takes place at the god's pleasure is, however, to put it flatteringly to the god; for it really happens at the will of the worshipper. Every prayer, even the merest momentary mumble, involves incarnation of the *gohei* by the god, and at a moment's call. Just before starting upon his prayer the worshipper claps his hands to summon the god, who forthwith descends into the *gohei* and stays there till by an after-clap the worshipper bids him depart. Thus in any popular shrine it is one continual come and go on the part of the god. What happens exactly when two persons call at overlapping times upon the same god, so that one bids him be gone while the other would still have him stay, is a problem in higher esoterics.

Another instance of the *gohei* become the god is when it is borne in festival procession sitting upon the albino horse. For it is no stick that rides; the god himself sits in the saddle. The horse is the god's own steed of state, kept for his sole use in the sacred stable, one of the holy out-buildings of any well appointed Shintō shrine. In no other way does the god ever go out. The astute may possibly detect in this statement some inconsistency with the one made above about the god always coming and going, but it may be pointed out that in no cosmogony is much consistency expected of spirits. The student should receive humbly such crumbs of congruity as he may get and be thankful.

These are examples of invisible possessions. The god is there though the irreligious would never know it. But there are also visible possessions of the *gohei*. Such occur at the personal god-possessions. In transition to them I may mention a use of the *gohei* not generally known: its christening power.

There are three methods of naming children in vogue among Shintōists. One, the most obvious and the least devout, is for the father to name the child himself. The second in an ascending scale of piety is for the father to select several suitable names for the infant and then submit the choice among them to the god. The father brings the babe to the temple or to the priest, and with him slips of paper inscribed with possible names. Three or five is the usual number of such slips. The priest rolls them up separately, puts them into a bow and then, after due incantation, angles for them with a *gohei* upon a wand. Whichever name the *gohei* fishes out first is the god-given name the child is to bear. Certainly one way, this, of deciding between the merits of the far-eastern equivalents of Tom, Dick or Harry. The ceremony takes place when the infant is a week old. It is not to be confounded with the *miya mairi*, which takes place a month after birth,

and is not our christening at all but akin to the Hebraic presentation of the child at the temple. For at the *miya mairi* the child, named some weeks before, is presented by its parents to its guardian god and formally put under his protection.

The third method of obtaining a name for one's babe is by possession pure and simple. The *nakaza* goes into his trance, the god descends through the *gohei*, and the *maeza* then asks the god what he will have the baby called, to which the god makes reply. This method of baptism is reputed the most holy of the three. It is practised by the ultra devout. Of the population of Japan about twenty per cent, it is estimated, are named by these last two methods, about ten per cent. each.

Now the last of these practices is a case of the visible possessions of the *gohei*. For the incarnation of it by the god may be seen and felt. The *gohei*-wand shakes with his coming and quivers yet as passing through it he slips into the body of the man. Without its mediate influence possession, they say, would not take place. It is therefore not without a certain poetic fitness that it should look so like lightning. It is, if you will, a sort of spirit lightning-rod to conduct the divine spirit into the human one.

Seen massed about the wand it has more the look of some much-flounced dress, something between the virginal ball-dress of a debutante and the prim starched costume of a Nō dance. Indeed in a sense it both was and is a divine dress. Its name signifies cloth, *gohei* meaning august cloth or present, the idea having in course of time developed through a whole gamut of gifts in the concrete into the latter meaning in the abstract. For the *gohei* is the direct descendent of the hempen cloth hung on the sacred *sakaki* (the Cleyera japonica) to do honor to the gods. A relative of this its

ancestor may still be seen in Korea in the shreds of colored cloth attached there to the devil trees; devils and gods being always first cousins in any faith.

From hemp, its material constitution changed successively, first to cotton, then to silk, and finally to its present modest paper, a transformation of substance keeping step economically, it will be noticed, with the progress of the arts. As to its color the earliest mention of it in the Kojiki—recorded therefore as early as any thing in Japan—tells of two kinds, one dark blue, the other white, used simultaneously. Nowadays it is almost always the plain white of ordinary paper; though somctimes you shall sce five *gohei* in a row of yellow, red, black, white and blue respectively. They represent the gods of the five elements, wood, fire, earth, water and metal.

Cloth it was, clothes it has become. For its shape now represents the vesture of the god; of which the god takes possession on descent. Zigzags cut from one sheet of paper fall symmetrically on either side the stick, giving to the thing a distant resemblance to a draped figure. In the Ryōbu the mid-fold stands up straight, clothes-pinned upon the stick and flanging out a little toward the top. This represents the divine neck and head. In the purer Shintō form this top piece is bent down over the rest typifyng conventionally a more perfect pose.

From such conventionality it may be gathered what a part the *gohei* plays in the religious thoughts of the Japanese people. Indeed it is all that is most Shintō, and reversely Shintō is mostly all *gohei*.

Now in the rush of Buddhist spoliation the *gohei* was one of the very few of its possessions which Shintō was able to hold on to. Not that the Buddhists have not adopted, and then adapted, it. The Shingon and Nichiren sects have found it useful and put it to several pleasing variations, but too late to jeopardise its title. Just as in the same way they

took the *torii*, and glorified that in stone and bronze and lacquer. Not only is the *gohei* Shintō but it is admittedly so.

It was this *gohei*-wand that, in conjuring the god, conjured unexpectedly the spirit of the rite itself. For one day it struck me that the *gohei*-wand was always put into the hands of the man to be possessed before the possession came on and was held by him through the trance. At that time I was not aware that it played any more esoteric part in the rite. Having once been struck by the coincidence I began to observe particularly, to mark if there were exceptions to this, to me then empirical, rule. I found none. At every preformance, whether at the hands of Ryōbu, Shintō or Buddhism, the wand appeared as regularly as the possession itself. Other details came and went, but the *gohei* was always there. Upon this I put questions and got innocent admission from the Buddhists that it was a necessary detail of the rite and from Shintō an explanation of the cause. The fact and its reason may be formulated together thus: *the gohei-wand is used in every divine possession-trance in Japan, without exception, as a necessary vehicle for the god's descent.* Whether the possession take place by Shintō, Ryōbu or Buddhist rite, in every instance the *gohei*-wand is put into the hands of the person to be possessed at the time the invocation to the god to descend begins and not till this is done does the god come. Furthermore, the god is believed to come through the *gohei*. It is a case of *post hoc*, because is is a case of *propter hoc*. The *gohei* is the soul of the rite.

To add argument to this one mute fact savors of the superfluous. For the crucial character of this bit of circumstantial evidence is self-evident at once. As if however to emphasize it, both faiths festoon the place where the descent is to be made with other *gohei* pendent overhead, for purification. Both *haraibei* and *shintai* are thus there.

Before the dumb exorcism of his little wand, all the Buddhist pretensions to the cult vanish into thin air. There is nothing left to discuss with; one cannot argue with a wraith. And if one think to strike insubstantiality, he is ware only of the void. Yet to lay the ghost the more effectually it may be well to look at the space it occupied a little longer.

To believers the means to a mystery is the mystery itself. For those who practice such things do not practice them as sciences but as arts. They have inherited the act embodied in certain actions and symbols. To them the latter are an integral part of the former. And from being so in act they become so in fact. For so potent is faith that to believe in a means as essential to an end is by virtue of that alone to make it so.

Now a mystery is not a thing a faith is in the habit of making gratuity of to the first man it meets; especially when it is a mystery of the utmost significance. Every well-organized hierachy has to keep up a certain amount of celestial exclusiveness for purposes of self-preservation. Just because by prolonged devotion it has secured a distant divine recognition is no reason why it should minimize this acquaintanceship to others. Ante-room admission to the favor of the gods is surely as valuable a privilege as a like reception at the hands of the great ones of the earth; and we all know what lustre in their own eyes such threshold intimacy casts upon the favored few, even to the extent of pretending to make light of it to others. Now this divine intimacy is imposing enough in all conscience when it rests simply on the word of the admitted. How infinitely more so when it is confirmed by visible action on the part of the gods themselves! An introduction to such peculiar privilege is not thoughtlessly to be given to everybody. It will not do to present profane outsiders to one's gods; least of all one's bosom foe. Such an act is nothing short of sacerdotal suicide.

popping in and out just to keep a finger in the cosmic pie. One of their favorite methods of doing this is to possess people. Such manifestations of themselves were not, if we are to trust the histories, very uncommon. There are at least three such recorded and, what is peculiarly to the point, with almost the exact detail which distinguishes the possessions of to-day. This is what makes the accounts really important ethnologically. We seem to be looking down that long vista of the past to a trance similar to any taking place about us at the present time.

The first of these of which mention is made took place in the purely heavenly half of the history, that is when the gods alone lived in the land. The occasion was the unfortunate withdrawal of the Sun Goddess into a cave in consequence of the unseemly conduct of her rude brother, the Impetuous Male, the first recorded instance of the *enfant terrible*, and a god very happily named, I think, to express the fact. He was subsequently banished to the moon, not inappropriately perhaps. The displeasure of the Sun Goddess was peculiarly distressing to the company of heaven, because her withdrawal of itself plunged them into utter darkness. They accordingly set about concocting a scheme to lure her out, the execution of which as given in the Kojiki reads as follows.

"They hung all manner of things upon the tree; five hundred jewel-strings of brilliant bent beads to the top branches, an eight-sided looking-glass to the middle ones and dark-blue and white *gohei* to the lowest. Then His Augustness Jewel August Thing took an August *gohei* in his hand and Heavenly Small Roof August Thing made repetition of some August (Shintō) prayers, while Heavenly Hand Power Male God was made to hide beside the August door. Thereupon Heavenly Ugly Face August Thing, using a heavenly vine from the Heavenly Incense Mountain as shoulder

cord to tuck up her sleeves, and making herself a wig of the heavenly *masa* tree and tying up a bunch of bamboo-grass from the Heavenly Incense Mountain to hold in her hand, turned a cask bottom up before the door of the heavenly rock-house, and treading and stamping upon it with her feet became possessed (*kamugakari shite*). And clutching the clothes from her breasts and pushing down the girdle of her skirt she let it fall down to her hips. And the Plain of High Heaven resounded as the eight hundred myriad deities with one accord laughed. Thereupon the Heavenly Shining Great August Goddess, thinking it strange, opened the door of the heavenly rock-house a crack and from within deigned to ask at some length the cause of the uproar. The crack was of course the opening wedge to her luring out."

In the Nihonshoki the legend runs as follows: "Then Thought Combine God, after deeply scheming and anxiously considering, collected many everlastingly-singing birds and set them to sing against each other. Then he caused Hand Strength Male God to hide by the side of the door of the rock. Then Heavenly Little Roof August Thing, the far-parent of Nakatomi, the High Officer and August Jewel August Thing, the far-parent of Imbei, pulling up by the roots five hundred *masakaki* from the Heavenly Incense Mountain, hung five hundred strings of brilliant jewels to the top branches, an eight-sided looking-glass to the middle ones and dark-blue and white *gohei* to the bottom ones; then they prayed in concert. Then Heavenly Ugly Face August Thing, the far-parent of Lord Female Monkey, taking in her hand a spear wound about with *chi* grass and standing before the door of the heavenly rock-house did many ingenious tricks. Then taking some *masakaki* from the Heavenly Incense Mountain she made herself a wig of it, and taking a vine made of it a shoulder cord to tuck up her sleeves. Then lighting a bed of fire, she turned a cask bottom up and stamping on top of it became possessed (*kamugakari su*). Thereupon the Heavenly Shining Great

August Goddess, hearing the sound, cried out;" what is now immaterial, since, her curiosity once lured out, she soon followed herself.

The next mention of divine possession occurs in the Nihonshoki. It is recorded in the reign of the Emperor Sujin, a most unlucky monarch with whom everything went wrong. Of course he attributed this to the gods and determined finally to question them on the subject. So he went into a certain plain and collecting the eight hundred myriad deities, asked to have his fortune told. And "At this time a god descended upon the princess Yamato-tōtōhi-momoso-hime-no-mikoto and said *(kamugakarite iwaku)*: 'Why is the Emperor troubled in spirit because the country is vexed and there is no law in the land! If he diligently worship me and follow my commandments the land shall rest in peace.' The the Emperor inquired and said: 'What god is it that instructs me thus?' And the god answered: 'I am the god that dwelleth within the boundaries of this land, the land of Yamato, and my name is Omono-nushi no-kami.' Then receiving reverently the instructions of the god the Emperor worshipped diligently according to their commandment."

A little after this in the next reign, the reign of the Emperor Suinin, we are told, also in the Nihonshoki, of an image that was suddenly possessed by the god whose image it was.

"In the third month, in the second year of the boar, on the first day, being the day of the monkey, the Emperor taking an image of the Heavenly Shining Great August Goddess from the princess Toyosuki-hime-no-mikoto gave it to the princess Yamato hime-no-mikoto and charged her, saying: 'Search me out a place where I may set up this image.' So the princess took the image and went with it to Totanosasahata. And from thence returning she went round by the land of Omi, and thence turning eastward

she went by way of the land of Mino till she came to the country of Ise. Then the Heavenly Shining Great August Goddess spake and instructed the princess Yamato-hime-no-mikoto saying : 'This land of Ise, this land of heavenly breezes, this land of ever curling waves, this sea-fringed shore, is a delectable land. In this land will I dwell.' So, according to the words of the goddess, was a shrine built to her there in the land of Ise." Such was the founding of the famous shrines of Ise.

But perhaps the most interesting of all the possessions mentioned in either of these books are the possessions of the Empress Jingō recorded more or less in both.

The Empress Jingō was a good deal of a man. She was a great deal more of a man than her husband, though she was only his second wife. For she was empress-consort simply, at first, until she succeeded her husband, who died from want of faith, as will appear later. Masculine in character she was most feminine in looks. The Nihonshoki speaks of her as exceedingly pretty and her father's pet ; which latter fact proves to my mind that she was a women of will, for I have observed that fathers are usually proud of daughters of decision. She it was who conquered Korea, in the histories as least, and did many other manly acts, besides giving birth to the Emperor Ōjin, afterwards canonised as Hachiman, the God of War.

Apparently she was prone to being possessed and ended by being quite intimate with deity. Her chronicle is a curious patchwork, pieced out, however, fairly complete between the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki. The Nihonshoki does some Almanack de Gotha work, and after a few rather dry domesticities, simply kills her husband, without offering us any excuse for the deed except the apparent unimportance of his life. The Kojiki however condescends to tell us how it came about.

"Prior to this (referring to a digression about a certain posthumous name of her son) the Empress was divinely possessed (*kami yori-tamaeriki*, lit. got-god-approached). At the time when the Emperor, dwelling in the Oak Temple in Kyūshū, was about to make war upon the land of Kumaso, the Emperor played upon the august harp and Take-no-uchi-no-sukune went into the place of inquiring of the god (*saniwa*, lit. sand-court) and inquired of them. Then the Empress being divinely possessed (*kangakari shite*) informed and instructed him, saying: 'To the west lieth a land full of all manner of precious things from gold and silver upwards etc., etc.'" This glowing description, of which it were needless here to quote more, referred of all places in the world to—Korea. It is perhaps not matter for wonder that the Emperor proved sceptical on the subject and made light of of the divine information; upon which he was promptly killed by the gods for contempt of court. After which the Nihonshoki resumes the narrative and tells us that the Empress, who seems to have been a pious person, was much grieved at the Emperor's so sudden taking off for doubting the divine word, and resolved, woman-like, to know the uttermost of the matter, a resolve she carried out as follows. "Choosing a lucky day she went into the purification shrine and became possessed (*kannushi to naritamo*). And the way of it was this. Giving orders to Take-no-uchi-no-sukune, she caused him to play upon the august harp, and calling Nakatomi-no-ikatsu, the August Attendant, she made him the inquirer of the god (*saniwa to su*). Whereupon he placed a thousand cloths, rich cloths, upon the top and bottom of the harp and praying, said: 'The god that spake on a former day to the Emperor instructing him; what god was it? I would fain know his name.' When seven days and seven nights had passed the god answered saying:" first what his abode was and then what was his name, and then in reply to further questionings of the *saniwa*, Nakatomi, gave information for conquering Korea,

which was his object from the beginning. The Empress, being duly devout, influenced perhaps slightly by the glitter of prospective jewels, acted on the information and with complete success.

Here then, we have accounts of possessions long pre-Buddhist; their very acconuts being practically pre-Buddhist themselves. For the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki were written less than one hundred and fifty years after Buddhism came to Japan, far too short a time for it to have draped old legends with its own detail. Besides there is not the slightest suspicion that it ever tried to do so. The accounts read as realistically Shintō as one could have. What is more, they read, barring a few archaicisms, as if recorded of to-day. In skeleton the modern procedure is all there. In these old Shintō biblical narratives you see the same features that you mark in the Ryōbu-Shintō trances now. The conservatism is quite far-orientally complete; which is another proof not only that the thing is Shintō but that the Buddhists brought with them from China nothing akin to it. For we may be sure the gods would not have been behind their people in the great national characteristic of imitation, and had there been any foreigners to copy they would assuredly have copied them, and not have stayed starchedly Shintō to the present day.

The verbal evidence of the records is interesting. The words are all pure Japanese. Many of them are yet comprehensible, being a sort of grandfathers to the modern terms. *Kamigakari*, of which *kamugakari* and *kangakari* are euphonic forms, means god-fixed-on. An intransitive verb, it shows the spontaneity of the act. This spontaneity of deity is further dwelt on by tradition. In those good old days the gods descended, it is piously taught, of their own initiative and not as now because importuned of man. Such seems a true mirror of the fact. For at first the act must have been fortuitive and sporadic. It could only

have been later that men learnt to lassoo deity at will. The modern term *kami-oroshi*, causing the god to descend, marks a subsequent business stage in the practise. Indeed this domestication of deity, this taming of once wild trances, is not the least peculiar attribute of the far-eastern branch of the subject. Among every people divine trances have taken place, but to make of the accidental and fortuitous the certain and the regular, to develop the casual into a systematic cult, is Japanese.

The word *kami* which appears both in the ancient and the modern expression is suggestive. For *kami* refers exclusively to Shintō gods; Buddhist gods being always called *hotoke*. *Kami* means "top" or "above," and therefore the supreme beings. It is the same *kami* that means in every day use "above" as opposed to "below"; the *kami*, the hair of the head, because the "top" hair, and the kami that almost sarcastically appears in *o kami san*, your wife, lit. Mrs. Upper, when addressing the middle classes. Even its Sinico-Japanese equivalent *shin* shows the same significance. For it never referred in China to the Buddhist gods. The two characters of which its one is composed mean "declare," "say," whereas the character for *hotoke*, a Buddhist god, means simply "not man". Whether trance-revelation lies hidden in this is another matter.

Another word in the bibles is interesting—the word *saniwa*. The characters with which it is written mean "sand court." What that means has non-plussed the commentators, as Mr. Chamberlain tells us. It has not failed the priests. They explain it satisfactorily, if perhaps ex-post-factorily as the god-interviewer, what is now commonly called the *maeza*. The explanation of the priests is at least explicable. For "sand court" has the same impersonal designation about it, the designation of the place in lieu of the person which is curiously

conspicuous in *maeza*, the "seat-in-front". That it appears to make nonsense in personal English does not imply that it makes nonsense in impersonal Japanese.

I will now give from the Nihonshoki two or three accounts of Kugadachi or the Ordeal by Boiling Water, which will show that the miracles are as old as the incarnations and as purely Shintō. The first of these ordeals was undergone in the reign of the Emperor Ōjin, son to the Empress Jingō.

"In the ninth year (of his reign), in the spring, in the fourth month, the Emperor sent Take-no-uchi-no-sukune to Kyūshū to take account of the people. Now at that time Umashi-uchi-no-sukune, the younger brother of Take-no-uchi-no-sukune, wishing to rid himself of his brother, laid charge against him before the Emperor, saying: 'It has come to our ears, O Emperor, that Take-no-uchi-no-sukune is desirous of possessing Japan and secretly goeth about to stir up the people of Kyūshū against the Emperor. Then when he shall have estranged the land of Kyūshū and called in the Three States (Korea) he purposeth to seize upon Japan.' Hearing these words, the Emperor sent a messenger to Take-no-uchi-no-sukune to put him to death. Then Take-no-uchi-no-sukune made answer to the messenger saying: 'I am not double-minded, but true to the Emperor whom I serve. What is then the crime of which I am accused? And if guiltless why should I suffer death?'

"Now there was living in Iki a certain man named Atae-no-maneko. This man greatly resembled Take-no-uchi-no-sukune. And being troubled in spirit that Take-no-uchi-no-sukune should be put to death without just cause he said unto him: 'All Japan knowth thee to be a true man and a faithful one to our Lord the Emperor. Now, therefore, fleeing hence secretly, get thee to the Emperor and justify thyself before him. And furthermore men say that I greatly resemble thee. So, therefore, in place of thee, will

I die and thus show all men that thy heart is pure before our Lord.' Whereupon he slew himself with his sword.

"Then Take-no-uchi-no-sukune was sad at heart and secretly leaving Kyūshū, took ship and came round by the southern ocean to the port of Kii and landed there. And from thence he came after much trouble to the court of the Emperor and told the Emperor concerning his innocence. Then the Emperor, perceiving some evil thing had been done, called both Take-no-uchi.no-sukune and Umashi-uchi-no-sukune before him. Whereupon each told his own story and there was no way to tell the true from the false. Then the Emperor commanded that prayer should be offered to the Heavenly gods and to the earthly gods and an ordeal by boiling water made (*kugadachi seshimu*). Whereupon Take-no-uchi-no-sukune and Umashi-uchi-no-sukune went together to the banks of the river Shiki and performed the ordeal (*kugadachi su*); and Take-no-uchi-no-sukune was justified by the gods. Then Take-no-uchi-no-sukune, taking his sword, struck down Umashi-uchi-no-sukune and would have slain him, but the Emperor commanded that he should be pardoned and handed over to the Arae family in Kii."

The next example occurred in the reign of the Emperor Inkyō: "In the fourth year, in the autumn, in the ninth month, being the year of the snake, on the first day of the month, being the day of the bull, the Emperor gave instructions and commanded, saying: 'In ancient times the people were ruled in peace and family names were never confused; but now in this, the fourth year since we came to the throne, do the lower and the higher among the people contend with one another and the people are not at peace, either peradventure making mistake, they have lost their proper names or intentionally taking names above their station they have appropriated them and there is no law in the land. Now peradventure it is we who are lacking in wisdom. How then may we correct our mistake?

Do you, attendants, taking counsel together, advise us in the matter.' Then the attendants with one voice answered: 'O Emperor! if pointing out the mistakes and correcting the wrong, the Emperor settles the family names, we, risking death, will tell to the Emperor the truth.' So in the year of the monkey the Emperor gave instructions, saying: 'Lords, High Dignitaries and other officers down to the governors, together have made answer and said: 'Verily the generations of the Emperor and the generations of his people are both likewise descended from heaven. Yet since the days when the three bodies (heaven, earth and humanity) were one, many years have passed and from one name many descendants have spread abroad and taken many family names, and now it is not easy to tell the true from the false. Therefore let all the people bathe and purify themselves and let each take oath before the gods to perform the ordeal by boiling water (*kugadachi seyo*)." So the priest gave orders, saying: 'At the end of the hill called the Amakashi hill let an iron pot (*kugae*) be placed and let all the people be collected and gathered together there. Then shall those that speak the truth go through it unharmed; but those that speak lies shall surely suffer.'

"Thereupon all the people, tying up their clothes by shoulder cords and going to the iron pot, performed the ordeal by boiling water (*kugadachi su*). And those that spake the truth were by virtue of that unharmed; but those that spake lies were all hurt. Therefore did the rest of the liars greatly fear and run away before ever they came to the hill. And from that time family names spontaneously settled themselves and there were no more liars." A result which satisfactorily accounts for the present almost painful veracity of the Japanese people.

A summary sketch of the history of the cult shall bring this paper to a close. At the dawn of history then we find the thing already a part of the nation's mythologic past; and of the very far past too. Almost as soon as the

gods were, they began to visit one another in this spiritual way. They possessed each other first and then when they left the earth to their earthly descendents they kept on possessing them. Then Buddhism was brought into Japan, and eventually through Shintō made the acquaintance of these gad-about gods and so pleasurably that it proceeded to call upon them itself. Three Buddhist sects were thus introduced to the divine society; the Shingon, the Tendai, and subsequently the Nicheren, sects. The father of the Shingon sect in Japan, Kōbō Daishi, or Kūkai as he was known while he existed, was taught it, it is said, by the Emperor Sanga; and the father of the Tendai sect there, Denkyō Daishi by Kamono-agata-nushi-ushi-maru. But the most numerous and earnest practicers of the art were a sect of Shintō formed out of pure Shintō and the Shingon sect of Buddhists, our Ryōbu Shintō so often mentioned. Meanwhile pure Shintō fell upon evil days. The middle ages were its dark ages. It, and the purer forms of occult practices with it, were alike occulted by the dazzling Buddhistic ritual. And so it continued till prosperous times turned antiquary attention to old records, at the end of the last century and the beginning of this. These are the commentators. Scientifically their work is not without unintentional humor; but practically their effect was immense. For to them is due the restoration of the Emperor and the emergence of Shintō from its long eclipse. From a Shintō point of view the Meiji era, Enlightened Peace, is well named. For with its new lease of life Shintō entered again upon its own possessions, not least of which is the possession of the possession cult.

THE "HI NO MARU," OR NATIONAL FLAG OF JAPAN.

By W. G. Aston, Esq.

[*Read November 8th, 1893.*]

In China, the offices of King and High-priest have never been disjoined, as they have long been amongst Aryan peoples; and the religious duties of the Emperor are still regarded as a most important part of his functions. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that, perhaps as an inheritance from the rain-makers, sorcerers or medicine-men of remote antiquity, there has always been claimed for him a supernatural influence over the operations of Nature. If the sovereign is a wise and good man who discharges all his functions faithfully, not only will the country be well governed, but it will be free from such natural calamities as drought, famine, pestilence and earthquake, which are regarded as directly owing to his short-comings. We are told, for instance, in the *Li-ki*, a work compiled in the second century of our era from much older materials, that—

> If in the second month of summer, the governmental proceedings of winter were observed, hail and cold would injure the grain; the roads would not be passable; and violent assaults of war would come. If the proceedings proper to spring were observed, the grains would be late in ripening; all kinds of locusts would continually be appearing; and there would be famine in the states. If those proper to autumn were observed, herbs and plants would drop their leaves; fruits would ripen prematurely; and the people would be consumed by pestilence.[1]

And similar quotations might be greatly multiplied.

When the Chinese began to speculate on the nature of things, they naturally endeavored to assign the Emperor a place in their rudimentary system of philosophy

[1] Legge's *Li-ki*, Vol. I. p. 276.

which should be in accordance with these ideas. It is not at all by way of mere rhetorical flourish that he is likened to the Sun and Moon,[2] or said to form a triad with Heaven and Earth,[3] but because he is regarded as holding a similar position in the economy of Nature. He too is an embodiment of the two great primordial principles the *yin* and the *yang*, in the mutual operation of which this Cosmos has its origin, and he represents more especially the *yang*, *i. e.* the male, bright, active, positive power, as opposed to the *yin*, which is regarded as female, dark, passive and negative. The Sun is the chief visible manifestation of the *yang*, as the moon is of the *yin*. A Chinese modern writer, quoted by Mayers, says—

> As the Sun directs and symbolizes the sovereign ruler, so the Moon is an emblem and director of his consorts and ministers. The Emperor is said to 'call the Sun his elder brother and the moon his sister.'[4]

His ordinary title, 'Son of Heaven,' is obviously the outgrowth of similar ideas.

The use in China of the sun and moon on banners as emblems of sovereignty dates from a very remote period. 'The Hsia dynasty' (B. C. 2205–1766) says a Chinese work,[5] 'exalted brightness (glory) by the sun and moon; the Shang dynasty (B. C. 1766–1122) by the Tiger exalted military prestige; the Chow dynasty (B. C. 1122–255) by the Dragon exalted learning,' and the Chow Li, a more unexceptionable authority, mentions the Grand Standard of the Sun and Moon which was carried before the Emperor.[6]

The exact date at which this practice was adopted in Japan is unknown. We find, however, that as early as A.D. 700 the sun and moon were depicted on the banners displayed before the Imperial Palace on State occasions. The *Wakan Sansai Dzuye*,[7] probably quoting from the *Shoku Nihongi*, says:

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[2] Legge's *Li-ki*, Vol. I. p. 409. [3] Legge's *Li-ki*, Vol. II. p. 256.

[4] Mayer's Chinese Reader's Manual, p. 288. [5] The 司馬法.

[6] Vide Chow Li, Biot's translation, Books XXVII and XXIX, also Schlegel's Uranographie Chinoise, p. 384. [7] Vol. XX. p. 3.

The Emperor Mommu, on the first day of the first month of the first year of Taihô (A.D. 700) held a Court in the Taikyoku Hall, when at the front gate there was set up a flag with the figure of a crow, on the left, flags with images of the sun, of the Azure dragon, and of the red bird, and on the right, flags with images of the moon, of the Dark Warrior and of the White Tiger. The Envoys of barbarous countries formed lines to right and left.[8]

It is clear from the following passage of the *Li-ki*[9] that there was here a direct imitation of Chinese models :—

On the march the banner with the Red Bird should be in front; that with the Dark Warrior behind; that with the Azure Dragon on the left; and that with the White Tiger on the Right; that with the Pointer of the Northern Bushel (Charles's Wain) should be reared aloft (in the centre of the host) all to excite and direct the fury of the troops.

Note by Dr. Legge.—The Red Bird was the name of the seven constellations of the southern quarter of the Zodiac: the Dark Warrior embraced those of the northern, the Azure Dragon those of the Eastern, and the Tiger those of the Western.[10]

The choice and arrangement of these astronomical emblems are connected with one of those wide-spread superstitions regarding the northern region of the heavens, concerning which much curious information has been brought together by Mr. John O'Neill in his remarkable work, 'The Right of the Gods.'[11] Here all that need be said is that in the Far East, the North is the sacred quarter. The Sovereign stands in the North on all state occasions. His palace is in the northern part of the city, and faces the South. The dead are laid out with their heads to the north, and the living carefully avoid this position for

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[8] A similar description is given in the *Yengi-shiki* (901–922). It has been translated at length in Dr. Florenz's Nihongi, pt. iii., p. 12. [9] Legge's *Li-ki*, Vol. I. pp. 91-92.

[10] See the accompanying drawings, Figs. 1 to 5, taken from the 五經圖彙 or illustrations of the five classics, a work compiled by a Japanese writer from Chinese sources. Schlegel describes these figures somewhat differently. Vide his Uranographie Chinoise, p. 384.

[11] London, Quaritch, 1893.

sleep. It is not clear why the Pointer of the Northern Bushel should have been omitted in the above mentioned descriptions of the ceremonial banners in Japan.

In China, in modern times, Benetnash (the Pointer of the Northern Bushel), is figured on a governor's flag, which is accordingly called by the name of this star.[12]

It will be observed that the Dark Warrior is represented (Fig. 2) by a tortoise, which is an older name for that section of the Zodiac. The modern Shintō ceremonial[13] has adopted the four flags indicating the four quarters, under the name of the *Shijin no hata* or *Shijin no hoko*, *i. e.* the flags or spears of the four Kami, giving however only one animal on each.

The name of the Audience Hall mentioned in the above extract is in strict accordance with the ideas which underlie the choice of the sun and moon as emblems of sovereignty. It is the Hall of *Tai-Kyoku* (Chinese *Tai-ki*), *i. e.* the primordial principle from which, according to some Chinese philosophers, the *Yin* and *Yang* are evolved, and the symbol of which may be seen associated with this in Fig. 16.

How comes it that the crow takes the leading position in such illustrious astronomical company? Obviously, this bird is no denizen of an earthly rookery. It can be no other than the *gan-wu* 日烏 or Sun-crow, also called the Golden Crow of Chinese mythology, a bird of a red colour with three legs, which is supposed to have its abode in the Sun. The Crow-banner and the Sun-banner are therefore mere variants of one another. The Sun is frequently depicted with a Crow on his surface, just as the Moon has a hare,[14] the latter being usually represented as pounding in a mortar, under a mythical cassia tree, drugs for the manufacture of the elixir of life. Examples of this may be seen in Figs. 6 and 7, which are taken

[12] Vide Giles's Dictionary.

[13] Vide Shintō Mimoku ruijinshō, Vol. II. p. 11.

[14] See Mayers Chinese Reader's Manual, p. 218.

from the *Sansaidzuye*, Vol. I. pp. 6 and 8, and in Figs. 8 and 9, which are copied from an illustration of Utô, a novel by Kiyôden, representing an Imperial reception in the 10th century.

It may at first sight seem somewhat far-fetched to identify this crow with the *Yatagarasu* of the Jimmu Tennô legend, which is related in the Nihongi [15] as follows:—

The Emperor then endeavoured to advance into the interior of the country, but the mountains were so precipitous that there was no road by which he could travel, and the troops wandered about not knowing whither to direct their march. Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami (the Sun-goddess) instructed the Emperor in a dream of the night, saying:—'I will now send thee the *Yatagarasu*. Make it thy guide through the land.' Upon this the Yatagarasu actually made its appearance, having come flying down from the sky. The Emperor said, 'The coming of this crow is of course in accordance with our lucky dream. How grand! how splendid! Our Imperial Ancestor Ama-terasu no Oho-kami wishes therewith to assist Us in accomplishing our undertaking.'

Heaps of erudite rubbish have been accumulated over this bird by Motoori Norinaga and other Shintoists whose prejudices would not allow them to see anything Chinese in the history of Jimmu Tennô. We, however, need have no hesitation in following the *Wannoshô*,[16] which, on the authority of the *Shiki*, ancient commentaries on the *Nihongi*, says simply that the *Yang-wu* or Sun-crow is the *Yatagarasu*.

If we accept this identification, the meaning of the epithet *yata*, which has puzzled the commentators, becomes clear to us. *Yata* is literally 'eight hands,' or as the same word *ya* or *yatsu* means both 'eight' and 'many,' in ancient Japanese 'many hands.' *Yata-*

[15] Vol. III. p. 11. Shukai edition. See also Chamberlain's Kojiki, p. 136.

[16] A Chinese-Japanese Vocabulary of the 10th century. The definition of *Yang wu* by *Yatagarasu* occurs in the first page of the first volume.

garasu is therefore the 'many-handed crow,' which is quite sufficiently correct for a popular description of the sun-crow with its three claws. And when it is remembered that it came flying down from heaven as a present from the Sun-goddess, and that it was associated with the Emperor, it is tolerably evident that the story of Jimmu Tennô's *Yata-garasu* had its origin in the sun-crow banner above mentioned. It may be objected that the date (A.D. 700, or only 12 years before the compilation of the Kojiki and 20 before that of the Nihongi) on which such a flag is first spoken of scarcely allows time for the formation of this legend. But there is strong reason to believe that these banners were in use from a much earlier period. In 602 we read [17] of painted banners being made by the Heir to the Throne with the permission of the Empress, and the Sei-shi-roku [18] has the following passage, which I translate at length, as it has a bearing on the important subject of the first introduction of the art of painting into Japan:

Ô-oka no Imiki. This family is sprung from a descendant of the Wei Emperor Wen Ti, named An Kikong (安貴公), who came and settled in Japan in the reign of the Emperor Yūriaku (457-479) with a party of four persons. His son Riô, also called Shinki, was a good painter. The Emperor Wohatsuse Waka-sasagi (499-506) admired his talent and granted him the title of Obito. A descendant in the fifth generation named 勲大壹惠尊 was also a skilful painter and was granted the surname of Yamato Yeshi (Japan Painter) in the reign of Tenchi Tennō (662–671). The Empress Shôtoku in 769 granted them anew the title of Ôoka no Imiki from their place of residence. *Hata bumi no Miyakko*, same (descent) as the last.

The above passage occurs at p. 110. The Tsūshō commentary on the Nihongi (from which Dr. Florenz has made his translation) makes a mess of this quotation.

Hata bumi no Miyakko means 'Chief of the Banner-painters' (or perhaps 'Count Banner-painter'), showing

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[17] Nihongi, Shukai Edition, Vol. XXII, p. 9.

[18] A sort of peerage of Japan, compiled A. D. 815.

that one of the duties of this family of artists of Chinese extraction was to paint the flags used for state purposes. It has been already shown that the designs on these flags, the sun-crow among the rest, were of Chinese origin, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that they were introduced by these artists when they came over to Japan in Yūriaku's reign. This would give the sun-crow banner a very considerable antiquity.

A Japanese family claimed descent from the Yatagarasu, though by what intermediate stages of development is not explained. Mr. Takahashi Gorō in his dictionary informs us that Yatagarasu was the name of one of Jimmu Tennô's generals, and Klaproth thinks it probable that the 'corbeau à huit pattes designe la boussole dont Zinmou s'est servi pour se guider dans son expédition.'

The crow, however, does not always appear on the sun-banner, and I have not met with any example of it in recent times. It does not figure on the flags shown at p. 3, Vol. XX., of the *Wakan sanzai dzukai*, which are described as the Mikado no hata, or Imperial ensigns.[19] The sun and moon are here quite plain, and, although alike in the drawings, were distinguished by the former being in gold and the latter in silver. Nor is the crow mentioned by the late Mr. McClatchie in his paper on Heraldry, read before this Society in 1877, in which several instances are cited of the *Hi no Maru* or sun-circle being represented on flags from the reign of the Emperor Takakura (1169-1180) downwards.

In 1859, when Japan was opened to foreign commerce, the need of a national, as distinguished from an imperial flag, became felt, and the *Hinomaru*, as a red ball on a white ground,[20] was appropriated for this purpose, while a representation of the *Kiku* or Chrysanthemum,[21] was adopted as the badge figured on the standard borne before the Mikado when he appears in public. I am inclined

[19] See Figs. 10 and 11. [20] Fig. 12. [21] Fig. 13.

to believe, with a Japanese authority referred to by Mr. McClatchie, that this is not really a Chrysanthemum,[22] but was originally intended for the Sun. Some further evidence however on this point is desirable. The member of petals, sixteen, corresponds to the number of rays which proceed from the Sun figured on the flag of the War Department.[23] This number is not selected at haphazard. It is one of those produced by multiplying two on itself (2^n), of which there are examples in the four cardinal points, the eight *kwa* or diagrams of Chinese philosophy, the thirty-two points of the compass and the sixty-four hexagrams of the *Yih-king*.

The Corean national flag, (Fig. 15), although quite different from the Japanese, has its origin in the same order of ideas. The two comma-like figures entwined on each other in the centre represent the Yin and Yang, while the groups of continuous and broken lines around it are four of the eight *kwa*, for a full account of which Legge's *Yih-king* may be consulted.

Fig. 16, which is taken from a modern Japanese print of a battle fought in 1554, shows the emblem of the *Yin*, *Yang* and *Taiki* (in Japanese *In*, *Yô* and *Taikyoku*) surmounted by a figure of the sun with thirty-two rays—a combination, in short, of the motifs of the present Japanese and Corean flags.

The Dragon represents the *Yang*, and it is probably in this capacity that it figures on the national flag of China.

I have seen a drawing of a Loochooan flag with two white tigers as in Fig. 4, and the tiger is also sometimes figured on flags in Corea as well as in China and Japan. This animal is one of the numerous embodiments of the *Yang*, or masculine principle.

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[22] Fig. 14.

[23] Mr. J. O'Neill suggests that the so-called Chrysanthemum is really the 'Wheel of the Law.' I trust some member of the Society resident in Japan will settle this point, which is an interesting one.

Fig.1. *The Red Bird.*

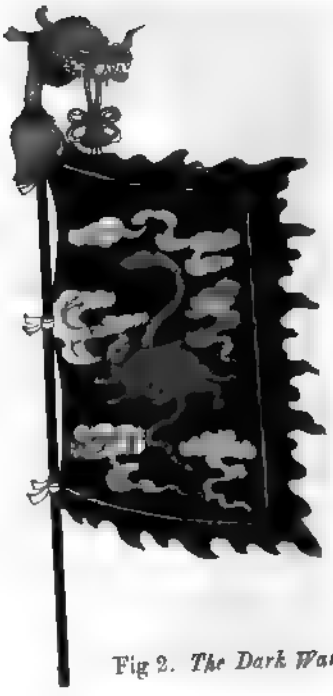


Fig 2. *The Dark Warrior.*

Fig.3. *The Azure Dragon.*

Fig.4. *The White Tiger.*

NOT FOR

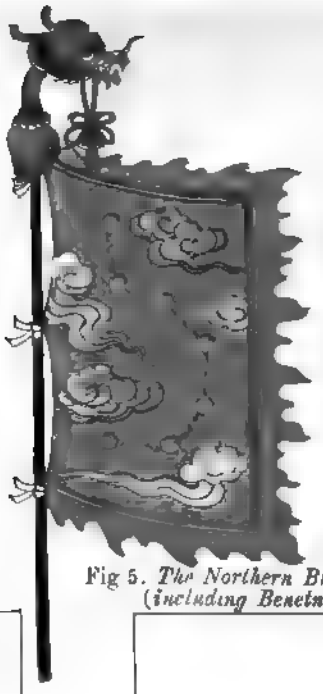


Fig 5. *The Northern Buskel (including Benetnash).*

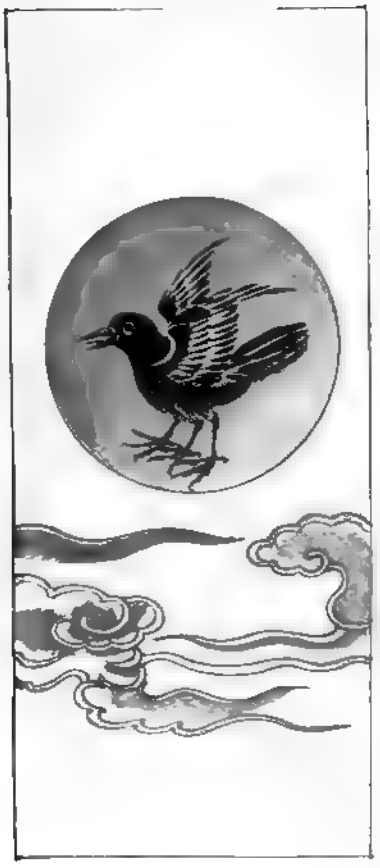


Fig.6. ***The Sun and Sun-crow.***

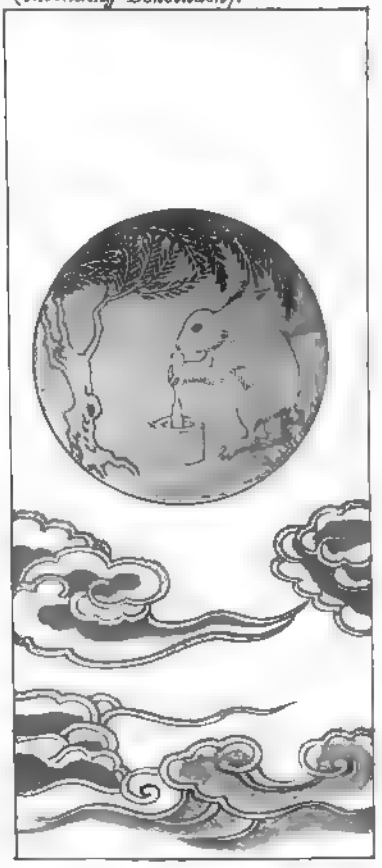
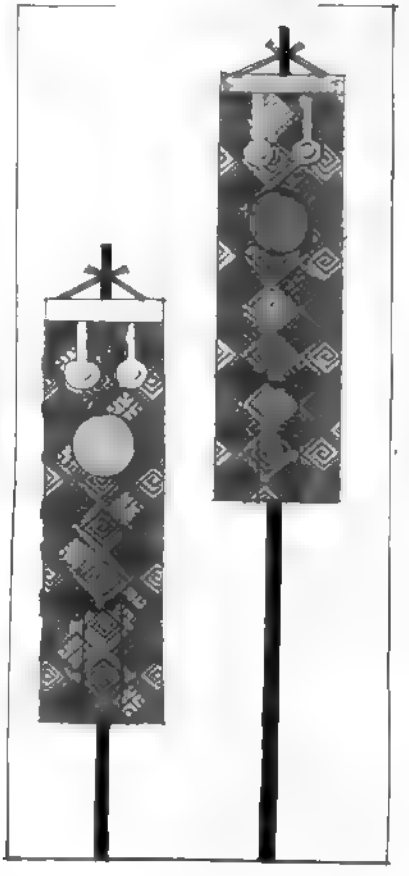


Fig.7. ***The Moon and Hare.***

Fig. 8. *The Sun-banner.*

Fig. 9. *The Moon-banner.*



Figs. 10 *and* 11. *Mikado no Hata.*

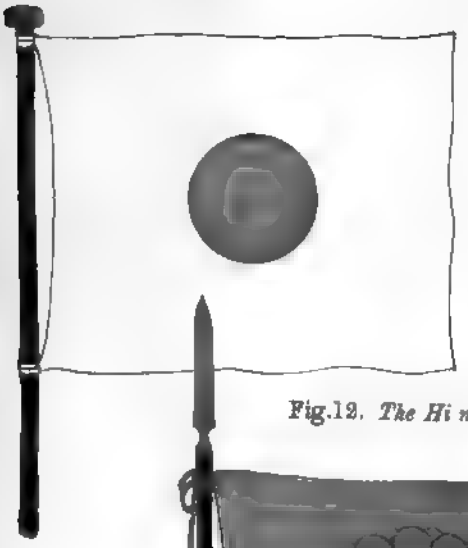


Fig.12. *The Hi no Maru.*

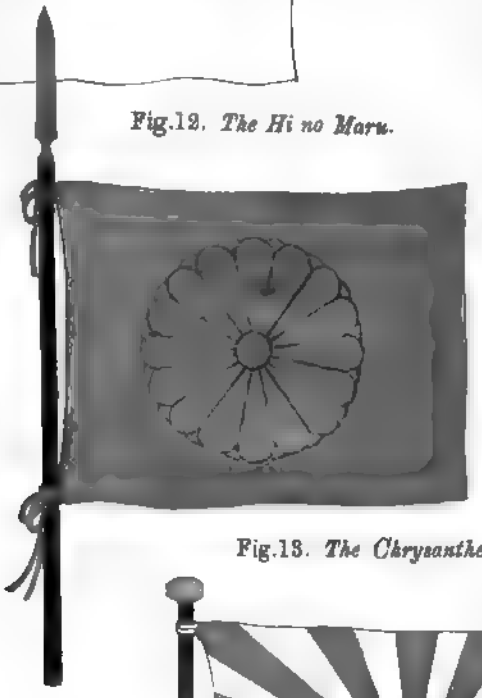


Fig.13. *The Chrysanthemum.*

Fig.14. *Flag of War Department.*

Fig. 15. *Corean Flag.*

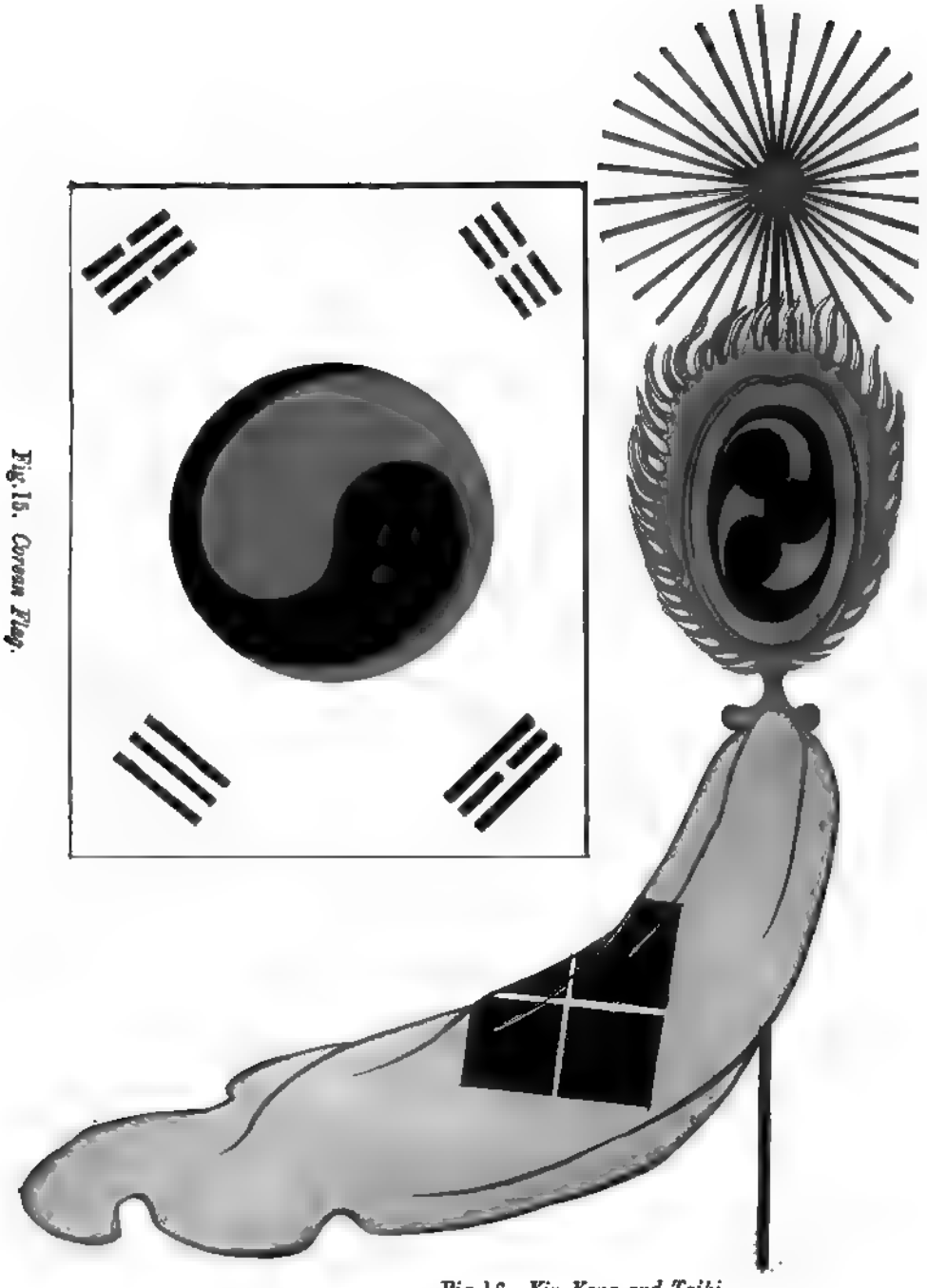


Fig 16. *Yin Yang and Taiki combined with Sun-banner.*

MA TWAN-LIN'S ACCOUNT OF JAPAN UP TO A.D. 1200.

INCLUDING THE JAPANESE CHRONICLES AS WRITTEN DOWN FOR THE CHINESE BY THE JAPANESE IN A.D. 1000.

By E. H. Parker, Esq.

[*Read November 8th, 1893.*]

In the 2nd year of the Wei period King-ch'u [A.D. 238], after the subduing of the man Kung-sun,[1] the female ruler of the Wo sent a high dignitary, Nan-shêng-mi[2] and others to the prefectural city [of Tai-fang, near modern Söul], begging permission to proceed to the Emperor's court to offer their duty. The prefect had them escorted to the capital, when a gold seal and a purple seal-ribbon were conferred upon the female prince, together with the title of "Prince of Wo, friend to Wei." Nan-shêng-mi and his companions were at the same time given the title of *chung-lang-hiao-wei*,[3] together with a silver seal carrying a dark-coloured seal-ribbon,[4] and all were entertained very liberally.

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[1] Kung-sun Yüan 公孫淵, son of one Liu K'ang 劉康, a scion of the Han dynasty, had set himself up as a sort of semi-independent ruler of Liao Tung. The Wei dynasty was that founded by the celebrated Ts'ao Ts'ao.

[2] 難升米. Perhaps there was only one other.

[3] 中郎校尉

[4] The word 綬 has hitherto been translated "sash" in this connection, but it appears to have been a sort of sling appendage to the seal.

In the 1st year of the period Cheng-shï [A.D. 240], the prefect Kung Tsun[5] despatched an envoy to take with him the imperial commands and the seals; he also carried with him an imperial manifesto, bestowing gold cloth, embroidered tapestry, knives, mirrors, and other gay objects. The Prince of Wo state sent an envoy to submit an address expressing acknowledgment of and thanks for the gracious manifestoes.

In the fourth year [A.D. 243], she sent another envoy to offer a number of human beings and local articles.[6] In the 8th year [A.D. 247], the prefect Wang K'i[7] came to take over charge. Pi-mi-hu,[8] the female prince of Wo, had for some time been on unfriendly terms with Pi-mi-kung, the male prince of Kou-nu or Kü-nu[9] state. She accordingly sent envoys or messengers to the prefectural city to explain the reasons why they were at war with each other, and an officer named Chang Chêng[10] was sent at the head of a party to carry an imperial manifesto to her and warn her.

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[5] 弓遵, killed a few years later whilst fighting against the Corean states. The envoy's name is stated by the *Wei Chï* to be 梯儁.

[6] The *Wei Chï* gives full details of the presents. The envoys and suite numbered eight, and the names of one or more in Chinese character were 伊聲耆掖邪聲 (? Iseigi Yashako).

[7] One of the generals sent to North Corea, the first to discover the Pacific.

[8] 卑彌呼. I believe Japanese scholars take this to stand for *hi-me-ko*. I notice that Hepburn gives *hime* as "princess," and also *hime-miko*. As the modern Japanese pronunciation of the three Chinese characters is *himiko*, this conjecture seems a good one. But, in that case, how is it that a male prince is also called *Pi-mi-kung* 弓 or *himikiō*? Possibly the reference is to the rebellion of Prince Inkō 忍熊.

[9] 狗奴, often written 拘奴.

[10] 張政: his title was 塞晉掾史; but 晉 seems a misprint for 曹.

After Pi-mi-hu's death,[11] a male prince was set up instead, but the people were not satisfied, and a civil war ensued; so a female descendant of Pi-mi-hu named Yih-yü,[12] aged 13, was once more made prince, and the country was then at peace. Yih-yü sent an envoy[13] to escort Chêng and his party back, and by the same opportunity offered a number of human beings of both sexes, white and other[14] pearls, and mixed prints.

In the 1st year of the Tsin Emperor Wu Ti's reign T'ai-shĭ[15] [A.D. 265], an envoy was sent with interpreters to bring tribute. In the time of the [Eastern Tsin] Emperor An [A.D. 397-405], the Wo Prince Tsan[16] sent an envoy to court with tribute. In the second year of the Sung Emperor Wu Ti's reign Yung-ch'u [A.D. 421] a manifesto ran:—"The distant loyalty of Tsan of Wo merits notice. Let some office be bestowed upon him." In the 2nd year of the Emperor Wên Ti's reign Yüan-kia [A.D. 425], Tsan again sent an envoy to submit an address and offer local articles. On Tsan's death his younger brother Chen[17] succeeded, and

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[11] The *Wei Chĭ* says an immense tomb was made for her, and numerous slaves slaughtered.

[12] 壹與.

[13] The above surmised Yashako came again as her envoy.

[14] The "other pearls" are described as 青大旬珠 to which the *Wei-chĭ* adds the character 孔.

[15] Mayers' Manual misprints the character 太 as 泰. The Sz-ma family of Tsin had now conquered China.

[16] 讚 This would probably be the Prince or *Mikado* Richū 履中, under whose reign (400-5) recording officers are said to have been first distributed over Japan. Mr. Chamberlain considers Japanese "history" unreliable, previous to this date at least.

[17] See page 233 of my paper on *Early Japanese History*, published in the *China Review* for 1890. Ma Twan-lin seems to have taken this part from the *Nan-shĭ*. Mr. Aston calls 珍 the son of 讚. The three Japanese "Emperors" who succeeded Nintoku [313-299] were all his sons, and consequently there is nothing inconsistent in the text.

sent envoys to offer tribute, styling himself "Commis-" sioner and General Administering the military affairs of " the six states Wo, Peh-tsi, Sin-lo, Jên-na, Fêng-han,[18] " and Mu-han, Generalissimo for the pacification of " the East, Prince of Wo," and begging that this title might be legalised. A manifesto appointed him "Generalis-" simo for the Pacification of the East, Chên, Prince " of Wo State." He then begged for the legalisation of such titles as "Pacificator of the West to " march against the bandits, assistant generalissimo," etc., for thirteen others, of whom Wo Wei[19] was one. A manifesto acceded to this too. In the 20th year [A.D. 443] Tsi,[20] Prince of Wo, sent an envoy to offer duty, and he also was made "Prince of Wo, Generalissimo, Pacificator of the East;" and in the 28th year [A.D. 451] the other "Commissioner and general, etc., of the Six States" [as above] were added as before, and dignities were also conferred upon 23 other individuals recommended by him. On Tsi's death his heir Hing[21] sent envoys to offer duty. In the 6th year of the Emperor Hiao-wu's period Ta-ming [A.D. 462], a manifesto appointed Hing to be "generalis-" simo Pacificator of the East, Prince of Wo." On Hing's death his younger brother Wu[22] succeeded, and styled

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[18] Fêng 奉 is a misprint for Ts'in 秦. All these were Corean, *i. e.* peninsular states. The "East" probably means Ainos.

[19] 倭洨. It may perhaps mean that the whole thirteen were of either the Wo or Wei nation or sub-nation: 洨 may be the same as 濊 in north-east Corea. [20] 濟

[21] Thus Tsan would be the "Emperor" Richiu 履中, Chên his brother Hanzei 反正, and Tsi 濟 his brother Ingyō 允恭. Hing 興 must have been Ankō 安康, whom the Japanese histories call "son of Ingyō."

[22] Wu 武 was the "Emperor" Yūriaku 雄朶, said by Japanese history to have been brother to Ankō. The fact that he is therein styled 武尊 strengthens this view, which, however, is already clear enough. But it must be remembered that all Chinese-aped titles conferred upon Japanese "Emperors" were posthumously and retrospectively done centuries later. Otherwise the *Nan Shī* perfectly accords with Japanese history.

himself "Commissioner, and general charged with the military administration of the seven states" [as above], adding Kia-lo,[23] "generalissimo Pacificator of the East, Prince of Wo."

In the 2nd year of the Emperor Shun Ti's reign period Shêng-ming [A.D. 478], he sent an envoy to say:— "From ancient times till now my ancestors[24] have "girded on their own armour, and travelled regardless "of their ease and comfort over hill and dale to "conquer fifty-five states of Hairy Men in the east, and "have subdued sixty-six states of miscellaneous barbarians "in the west; they have conquered ninety-five states north "of the Sea:[25] the blessings of civilization have been "spread, and the country has been enlarged in every "direction. Successive generations of royal ancestors have "been free from unpropitious years. They passed through "Peh-tsi,[26] and equipped their boats. But Keu-li,[27] "destitute of principle, was covetous of annexing it, "my officers are no more and my father has passed "away.[28] I was just about to raise a great army to

[23] Hiaksai, Shinra, Mimara, Shinkan, Bokan, and Kara (加羅) were all parts of South Corea; but, as I have elsewhere shewn, the Japanese never had any power over Kaoli, Koryê, or *Chinese-owned* Corea in the north.

[24] 祖彌 [should be 禰]. Everything leads to shew that the Scythian-Turks, Japanese, and all other nations having border relations with China, commenced at a very early date to correspond in Chinese, either engaging Chinese secretaries, or [at first rarely] learning Chinese themselves.

[25] 海北 probably refers to what is now called Hokkaidō 北海道.

[26] Hiaksai, the south-western part of the Corean peninsula.

[27] 句麗 of the Kao 高 family, hence called Kao Keu-li, and thence incorrectly Kao-li, Ko-ryê, or Corea.

[28] 臣亡考濟. I can only guess at the last two characters' meaning. Yūriaku's father was murdered by a son named 眉輪, but that has nothing to do with Hiaksai. Japanese history says:— In A.D. 476 Kaoli annihilated "Peh-tsi, killing the king and his son." This seems to have some connection with the "father and elder brother."

"avenge my father and elder brother and prevent them "from completing their success. I am now about to "train up an army in order to avenge the memory "of my father and elder brother. I have ventured to "borrow the princely style with rights on a par with "the three *Sz*.[29] I am also fain to borrow all the rest "with a view to stimulate my loyalty." An imperial manifesto appointed Wu "Commissioner and General in "military charge of the six states [as above, omitting "Peh-tsi] and Generalissimo *in command of* the east." When Wu Ti of the Liang dynasty came to the throne [A.D. 502], Wu was promoted to be Generalissimo *marching against* the east.

The Ch'ên dynasty [A.D. 567–588] was conquered,[30] and so things went on till the 20th year of the Sui dynasty's period K'ai-hwung [A.D. 600], when the Wo prince's family name was A-mei,[31] his personal name To-li-sz-pi-ku, and his appellation A-pei-ki-mi.[32]

He sent an envoy to our Court. His Majesty ordered the officers concerned to enquire into [Japanese]

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[29] 儀同三司; *i. e.* 司徒, 司空, and 太尉. These privileges were first given to one 鄧騭 in the after Han dynasty. The three *Sz* had the right to 開府辟召, like the Roman tribunes. Of course the "Emperor" must have had a Chinese secretary to prompt him.

[30] At this time mushroom dynasties rose and fell in rapid succession in China.

[31] Japanese scholars can perhaps make something out of these words. *Ame* in Japanese may stand for 天, and *Kimi* for 君. *Hiko* is Japanese for "great-grandson," and is also an obsolete word having the sense of "honorable" (the Kojiki uses the characters 毗古 in this sense). I cannot guess at *tolisz*; but *ato-tori* is Japanese for "heir." Perhaps the whole is Mr. Aston's *Ame-no-watarishi-hiko*. The Chinese characters for all the above names are 阿每多利思比孤阿輩雞彌.

[32] The Empress Suiko 推古 reigned from A.D. 593 to A.D. 628, but the reins of state were placed in the hands of her heir the *Ōji* 皇子 Mmayado 廐戶. The Japanese History says that one 大禮小野妹子 was sent on a mission to Sui in A.D. 609.

customs. The envoy said:—"The Wo Prince considers "heaven his elder and the sun his younger brother. "At dawn he goes out to hear matters of government "sitting in state cross-legged. On the sun appearing "he ceases the conduct of business, and leaves it to me "his younger brother."[33] The Emperor Wên Ti said:—"This is most outrageous talk," and admonitions were at once given for it to be altered. The prince's wife's family-name is *Ki-mi mut-kwan*.[34] She has 600 or 700 women.[35] The name for "heir to the throne" is *li-ko-mi to-fut li*.[36] There are no cities in our sense, and there are twelve ranks of inferior officers in the following order: 1. Great Virtue. 2. Small Virtue. 3. Great Benevolence. 4. Small Benevolence. 5. Great Justice. 6. Small Justice. 7. Great Ceremony. [Evidently the title of the above-named envoy.] 8. Small Ceremony. 9. Great Wisdom. 10. Small Wisdom. 11. Great Faith. 12. Small Faith.[37]

Of lesser officials there is no fixed number. There are 120 *Kün-ni*,[38] corresponding to the Chinese *muh-tsai*. Over each 80 families[39] is placed an *i-ni-yih*, like our present village headmen. Ten *iniyih* are under one *kuni*. As to clothes and bedizenments, the males wear jacket-petticoats[40] with very diminutive sleeves. Their shoes

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[33] 云委我弟 seems more likely to mean this than "and therefore he has despatched me here." [34] 雞彌沒官.

[35] Unfortunately the *Kojiki* ends with Suiko, and says nothing about her at all.

[36] 利哥彌多弗利. I resign this to Mr. Chamberlain.

[37] With the characters 大 and 小 prefixed, the Chinese words are 德, 仁, 義, 禮, 智, 信, the last five being the Chinese "five constant virtues" 五常.

[38] 軍尼. This is clearly the Japanese word *kuni*, for which they sometimes use the Chinese character 國, but doubtless 郡 is etymologically the proper character. The Chinese 牧宰 was over a 州. See the Japanese priest's geographical account later on.

[39] I can get no nearer to this than *inaka*, the "country or "villages." [40] 裙襦.

are like sandals, lacquered on the upper face, and bound to the foot; but most of the common people go barefoot and are not allowed to use gold or silver as ornaments, so they often wear a *sarang*,[41] the ends of which are tied but never sewn. They have no hats, simply letting the the hair hang over the two ears. But in Sui times their prince adopted the hat, made up with gay ornamentation and flowers carved out of gold or silver. The women tie up the hair behind, and also wear the above jacket-petticoat. Their lower garments are all braided or trimmed round the edge, and they bind sharpened bits of bamboo together to serve as combs. They make *tatamis*[42] out of straw, and fashion their upper garments out of miscellaneous skins, using patterned skins for trimming. They have bows, arrows, swords, crossbows, long and short spears, and hatchets. Their armour is made of lacquered hide; their arrow barbs of bone. Though they have soldiers, there are no fighting campaigns. Whenever their prince holds a formal court, the cortège and paraphernalia must all be set out. There are about 100,000 families of musicians in the country. The practice is for murder, robbery and rape to be punished with death. Robbery without violence is punished by compensation according to what is taken, and if the thief has no property his person becomes a slave. As for other offences, grave or otherwise, they are punished with banishment or the bastinado. In the trial of cases where a great wrong has been suffered, those who will not confess have their knees squeezed with a piece of wood, or have their necks sawn with the tight string of a very powerful bow. Or small stones are placed in boiling water, and the disputants are ordered to take them out. It is supposed that he who is in the wrong gets his hand scalded. Or,

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[41] 橫幅. This is the term always used in Chinese histories for the Malay or Burmese style of garment. [42] 席.

again, a snake is put in a jar, and they are made to take it out; it being supposed that he who is in the wrong will get his hands bitten. The people are very tranquilly disposed, and but little litigious; there are few robberies or thefts. There are five kinds of musical instruments,—guitars, harmoniums, and flutes. Most of the women tattoo the arm, touch up the face, and ornament the body. They dive into the water after fish. They have no written character;[43] they merely carve wood or knot cords. They are Buddhists, and it was only after obtaining the Buddhist *sutras* from Peh-tsi that they had written characters.[44] They understand the art of divination, and are still greater believers in wizards and witches. On the first day of the first moon they invariably have shooting games and drink wine. The rest of their fête-days are much as in China. They are fond of such games as chess, draughts, and dice. The climate is soft and warm, vegetation blooming even in winter. The land is fat and rich. There is more water

[43] This seems to mean they do not make use of the Chinese written character.

[44] In the introduction to Giles' Chinese dictionary, I have advanced the theory that the Japanese derived the idea of their *Katakana* from the *Önmun* of the Koreans, who again derived their syllabary through Buddhist missionaries from the Sanskrit. I believe Mr. Aston considers the Korean *Önmun* to be of much later date than the *Katakana*. But there is a total uncertainty as to when the *Önmun* really was invented, and by whom. The usually received theory is that it was introduced by a bonze named Syêl Chong 薛總 in the 9th century. But a Korean named Yi-ik-seup writes somewhat flippantly in the Korean repository to shew that it was the fourth King Syei Chong 世宗 of the present Li or Ngi dynasty in the 15th century who invented it. As all the Indo-Chinese alphabets were formed from Sanskrit or Pali about this time, I see no reason to reject my previously expressed view that Hindoo bonzes also invented a syllabary for Pêh-tsi or Hiaksai, whence the idea was communicated to Japan, who derived the whole of its civilization, through South Corea, from China and India, and whose priests subsequently improved upon the Corean syllabary.

than dry land [in the insular group]. They hang small rings upon the throats of cormorants[45] and make them go into the water to catch fish, of which they will [each] take over a hundred in one day. They are not in the habit of using dishes or bowls, but they make use of large leaves instead. They use their fingers for eating. Their disposition is frank, and they are refined in manner. The women are more numerous than the men. In marriages they do not take women of their own clan-name,[46] otherwise those of either sex who take a fancy to one of the other marry. When the woman enters her husband's house, she must first bestraddle fire,[47] after which she may see her husband. The women are neither lewd nor jealous.[48] The dead are shrouded in a double coffin, and the relatives and guests approach the corpse singing and dancing. Wife, children, and brothers wear white as mourning. The nobles leave the body to lie in state for three years, but the commoners divine a day for sepulture. When the burial takes place, the corpse is placed on a boat which is dragged along the dry land; or sometimes a small cart is used. There is a Mount Asu,[49] from whose rocks fire without reason shoots up to the skies, which they are wont to consider a prodigy; hence they sacrifice and pray to it.[50] There is a sort of "wishing pearl,"[51] of a

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[45] It would thus seem that the Chinese owe at least one idea to the Japanese.

[46] The *Kabane* is apparently meant. How is it Mr. Chamberlain does not touch on this point in his *Things Japanese?*

[47] This is also a Chinese custom as described in my *Comparative Chinese Family Law.*

[48] This holds good still. However lax they may be, the Japanese women have singularly little lewdness in their composition. As to jealousy, it always depends upon whether the man is worth being jealous for. I leave this point to Sir Edwin Arnold.

[49] 阿蘇山, in Japanese Aso-san.

[50] I believe Mr. Kanaoki, or Kataoki, is now engaged in at least inspecting it. [51] 如意寶珠.

darkish tinge, as big as a hen's egg, which shines at night. They are said to be fishes' eyes.[52]

Shinra and Hiaksai both consider Wo a great country with many precious things, and look up to it accordingly. Embassies are constantly passing from one to the other.[53]

In the 3rd year of Tai-yeh [A.D. 607], the Prince To-li-sz-pi-ku[54] sent a tribute mission to Court. The envoy said:—It having been heard that the *Bodhisattva*[55] Son of Heaven west of the Sea approves of the rise of Buddhism, a mission is sent to do obeisance in full court, and a score or two of *Sramana*[56] have come besides to study Buddhism. The state epistle ran :— "The Son of Heaven "from the place where the sun rises sends a letter enquir- "ing after the welfare of the Son of Heaven of the place "where the sun sets," etc., etc. The Emperor was displeased when he read this, and said to the President of the Sacrificial Court :— "Do not bring before me again any "barbarian letters which are lacking in propriety." The next year his majesty sent the Hanliu P'ei Shï-ts'ing[57] on a mission to Wo state. He crossed over to Peh-tsi, reached the island of Chuh[58] whence he could see Tan-lo[59] state south. He passed Tu-sz-

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[52] In Peru quite recently the eyes of some marine monster have been taken out of mummies hundreds or thousands of years old, still looking quite fresh and still smelling of sea-water.

[53] For the Relation of the Korean States with Japan, see my papers on *Early Japanese History* [*China Review*, 1890], and *Race Struggles in Korea* [*Japan Asiatic Society's Transactions*, Vol. XVIII].

[54] This [see above] must be Mr. Aston's [*Wa*] *Ta-ri-shi Hiko*, the syllable changes bring historically quite regular in their nature. This man must be identical with the *Ta-li* mentioned above. I suppose 小野 would be *Kono*, and 妹子 would be *Imoto* in Japanese.

[55] Chinese *p'usa*[*t*] : Japanese *bosatsu*.

[56] Chinese *shamên*, Japanese *shamon*.

[57] 文林即裴世清. Probably equivalent to the modern Hanlin.

[58] 竹島. Modern sounds would be Tsukushima or Chikushima.

[59] 耽羅; an old name for Quelpaert 濟州.

ma[60] state in the middle of the ocean; then east to Yih-chï[61] state, and then to Chuh-sz[62] state; then east to the Ts'in prince state,[63] where the people are the same as in China. He took it to be I-chou,[64] but was unable to solve the riddle.

Then he passed a dozen or more states, and got to the sea shore. From Chuh-sz eastwards all were dependent states of Wo. The Wo prince sent the Small Virtue Ho Pei-t'ai[65] with a suite of several hundred persons, having their paraphernalia set out, drums beating, and horns blowing to come and welcome him. Ten days later the Great Ceremony K'i-to-p'i[66] with a following of over 200 horsemen, gave him a formal reception outside the walls.[67] On arrival at their capital, the king came to bring tribute of local articles to Shï-ts'ing. After this relations were broken off.[68]

In the 5th year [A.D. 631] of the T'ang Emperor T'ai tsung's reign-period *Chêng-kwan*, they sent an envoy to Court. The Emperor commiserated the distance [they had come], and commanded the office concerned not to insist upon annual tribute. He sent the magistrate of Sin-chow[69] Kao Jên-piao[70] to go and preach a homily

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[60] 都斯麻 Tsushima.

[61] 一支 Iki.

[62] 竹斯 Chikushima are the Japanese sounds; perhaps Chiku-zen-Chikugo.

[63] 秦王國: This would seem to be part of Korea. See my account above sited.

[64] 夷洲; in ancient times said to be far east of Ningpo somewhere in connection with Wo [*i. e.* Japan].

[65] 何蠻鞋. [66] 奇多毗.

[67] All these eight words are contained in the two Chinese words 郊勞.

[68] The Japanese History says, however, that, during the same year, their own envoy was sent back with P'ei Shï-ts'ing, and also a number of students for the Sui Empire.

[69] 新州 in Shan Tung. [70] 高仁表.

to them; but as he could not settle amicably the dispute with the prince about the forms to be gone through, he declined to read out the manifesto and returned.[71]

Some time after this, [Japan] changed over to Shinra,[72] and an envoy submitted a letter.[73]

In the first year of Yung-hwei [A.D. 650], the prince Hiao-têh mounted the throne, and took the reign style of "White Pheasant."[74] He offered amber and cornelian. At this time Shinra was being overborne by Kao-li and Pêh-tsi, so the Emperor Kao Tsung bestowed an imperial-sealed letter upon him, ordering him to march out troops to the rescue of Shinra. Before long Hiao-têh died, and his son T'ien-fêng-ts'ai[75] succeeded. On his death his son T'ien-chï succeeded, and the following year his envoys along with some Ainos came to Court.[76]

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[71] If reference will be made to my paper on *Early Japanese History*, it will be seen that the Japanese enovy left in 630. The Japanese History adds that Kao *Piao-jên* (as they inversely called him) did not return until 634, when he was escorted as far as Tsushima 對馬 by a party in charge of one 吉士雄麻呂 [? Kichi Yūmaro].

[72] It is true that Shinra was master of the whole Korean peninsula about now, but I do not find anywhere confirmation of the statement that Japan acknowledged Shinra's supremacy. In A.D. 650, according to the old *T'ang Shu*, the Japanese living in Hiaksai all surrendered to the Chinese.

[73] This is not very clear; the original runs: 火之更附新羅使者上書.

[74] This is fairly correct. The "Emperor" Kōtoku 孝德 reigned from 645 to 654, but he only adopted the style 白雉 in the 甲寅 year, which was 650.

[75] 天豐財. I suppose some such sound as *Ametoyo-tomi*; but the Japanese call him Saimiō, 齊明. It was in fact the abdicated Empress 皇極 resuscitated under a new name. It is difficult to guess whence the Chinese name comes.

[76] Mr. Herbert Allen mentions Ainos in charge of the Japanese at the Chinese Court on page 58 of the N. C. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. III, in A.D. 659, but as Tenji 天智 did not begin his reign until 668 it must be 669.

Awada returned to the Chinese Court, and begged to have the classics given to him in common with other Confucianists. Chao Yüan-mêh,[89] the Assistant Teacher of the Four Gates, was commanded to approach the Banquetting Office for teachers. He [Awada] offered large rolls of cloth as presents to them, and every one presented him with various objects and books to go back with. His Assistant-Courtier[90] Chung-man Mu-hwa[91] was unwilling to go, and changed his family name and personal name to Ch'ao Hêng. He filled several offices about the court, and was well known to his [Chinese] friends. In the long run he returned to Japan. On Shōmu's death, his daughter, Hiao-ming, succeeded, and adopted the reign style of T'ien-p'ing Shêng-pao.[92] In the 12th year of T'ien-pao [A.D. 753], Ch'ao Hêng

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ter 用. She was succeeded in 715 by her other son, who reigned under the style Genshō 元正. He was succeeded in 723 by Mommu's son Shêng-wu 聖武 or Shōmu. "White Tortoise" is apparently a Chinese mistake for 神龜, a reign style adopted by Shōmu in imitation of the Toba-Tartar Emperor Hiao-ming Ti, the founder of whose dynasty was also called Shêng-wu. The double imitation is only too evident. These Tobas had captured some Japanese and settled them in Tartary.

[89] 趙玄默. [90] 副朝臣

[91] This is sufficiently confirmed by the Japanese History, which says that in A.D. 716 Abe no Nakamaro 阿部仲麻呂, a 下道眞備 whatever that may be, and a bonze named 玄昉 remained in China to study, and that the former changed his name to 朝衡. The first 仲滿麻華 are evidently *Chung-ma-hi* or Nakamaro. Mu-hwa was a Botsukai name. This is also apparently Rein's *Shimotsu-michi-no-makibe;* for 仲 is also pronounced *michi*. This last man spent 19 years in China and invented the *Katakana* [according to Rein].

[92] Shōmu had already taken the new reign style 天平 in the 6th year of his reign. It was continued with various additions throughout his reign, and also his son and successor 孝謙 [called by the Chinese "his daughter" 孝明] who only took the addition Shêng-pao in his or her 7th year. These changeful double styles were again in imitation of the then prevailing Chinese fashion.

once more came to Court, and during the period Shang-yüan [760-2] he was promoted to be a cavalry aide-de-camp and General of Annam.[93]

Shinra was now obstructing the [northern] way to China by sea, so tribute was brought to Court by way of Ming-yüeh Chow [Ningpo] instead. On Hiao-ming's death, Ta Ch'ui[94] succeeded. On his death Shōmu's daughter An-kao-ye was made prince.[95] On her death Pêh-pih succeeded.[96] In the first year of Kien-chung [A.D. 780], his envoy the Taoist Hing-nêng[97] submitted local articles. "Taoist" is used as a family name of the office he held. Hing-nêng was a good writer;[98] his paper resembled a seal [*i.e.* silk)[99] but was more glossy, but no one could read his writing.

In the last year of Chên-yüan [A.D. 804] the prince, called Hwan-wu,[100] sent an envoy to Court. His student

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[93] Possibly in attendance upon this general, or possibly the words 安南 may refer to his duties in part of Japan. But see his ship-wreck in Annam later on.

[94] 大炊 [pronounced I suppose *Ōkashiki*] was the personal name of Hiao-K'ien's successor 淳仁 in A.D. 758.

[95] 安高野姬. I suppose the Japanese would call this *Yasumi-Takanoshi*. The Japanese History says Hiao-K'ien came to the throne *again* in 765 under the style 稱德.

[96] 白壁 was the personal name of Shōtoku's successor 光仁 in 770. [97] 興能.

[98] Here is proof that the *hiragana* was in vogue then. Other extracts confirm this.

[99] 璽; evidently a misprint for 璽, for the old T'ang Shu has the other form 譜.

[100] Kwammu 桓武, 782-807. The Japanese History says Abe-no Naka-maro died in China in 770, having held there the title of 祕書監. I think the Japanese poet who so often figures in Chinese *belles lettres* under the name of 晁監 must be this Ch'ao-[*hêng* the *Mi-shu*] *Kien*, especially as the Chinese poet 王維 writes an ode to the 祕書晁監. A recent number of the *Shên Pao* said that 晁卿 returned from China to Japan in the reign 713-42 with Li Pêh's poems: 晁 is pronounced like 朝.

Küh Mien-shï [101] and the bonze [102] K'ung-hai [103] wished to remain behind to study, and over 20 years later the envoy Taoist Kao Hiai [104] begged that Mien-shï and the others might all return, to which the Emperor assented.

After that Noh-loh [105] succeeded, and after him Ts'o-ngo. The next was Fou-ho [106] [Chun-ho] the next Jên-ming. It was in the 4th year of K'ai-ch'êng [A.D. 839] that he again sent tribute. Next came Wên-têh [Buntoku], next Ts'ing-ho [Seiwa], next Yang-ch'êng [Yôzei], and next Kwang-hiao [Kôgô].[107] This was in the 1st year of Kwang-K'i [A.D. 885].[108]

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Amongst the islands of the eastern sea there are also the three petty princes of Sie-ku, Po-sie, and To-ni.[109] To the north is Shinra [East Corea], to the north-west Hiaksai [West Corea]. South-west leads to Yüeh Chow [Ningpo]. There are silk, floss, and remarkable jewels.[110]

In the 1st year of the Sung reign Yung-hi [A.D. 984], a Japanese priest named Tiao-jan [111] came across the sea to China with five pupils, and submitted ten specimens of

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[101] 橘允敎 I suppose this would be Tachibana Benzei.

[102] 浮屠 *bodzu*, the origin of the word *bonze*.

[103] 空海 (Kūkai or Kōbō Daishi), is mentioned in Junna's reign as having been ordered to welcome a relic of Buddha to the Mikado's palace.

[104] 高階眞人

[105] 安殿 succeeded his father Kwammu in 806 as Heizei 平城; and Saga 嵯峨 succeeded his brother Heizei in 810. Noh-loh 諾樂 must be the first.

[106] 淳和 is a misprint for 淨和 [Junna 824-33]; and 仁明 is Nimmiō [834-51].

[107] These forms are all correct. Kōgō's reign was 885-7.

[108] From the remarks made at the end by Ma Twan-lin, it is evident that all the above was reported to China independently of the history of Tiao-jan, afterwards brought over.

[109] 邪古, 波邪, 多尼. I have no idea what these can be.

[110] This looks like a piece of odd information gathered from some special source. [111] 奝然

copper vessels, and also a volume each of Japanese officials, and of this year's annals.[112] Tiao-jan was dressed in green, and he said his family name was T'êng-Yüan,[113] and that his father was a *Chên-lien*,[114] which in his country meant an "official of the fifth rank." Tiao-jan was good at the *li* form of written character, but he was ignorant of spoken Chinese, and could only give written answers to the questions put to him touching Japanese manners. His Majesty summoned him to an audience, and was very gracious, presenting him with a purple robe. His Majesty, understanding that the kings of Japan had borne but one family name [115] for generation after generation, and that all the Ministers' offices were hereditary in certain families, said to his Prime Minister :—"These are island barbarians, and yet "their dynasty goes back to remote antiquity,[116] whilst their "Ministers also inherit office in an unbroken succession. "This is simply the ancient way of doing. The T'ang "dynasty's Empire was dismembered, and the Five "Dynasties of Liang, Chow, etc., enjoyed even a more "limited dominion. It is sad to think how few of "our official families can boast of a long hereditary "line !"

There are a good many Chinese books in their country and Tiao-jan's present visit resulted in his

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[112] 今年代紀 Perhaps this means "history."

[113] 滕原. This is the Japanese Fujiwara 藤原, the noble family which "ran" the Mikados for several centuries. The Japanese call this priest *Tōnen* or Chōnen.

[114] 眞連: Perhaps Mr. Chamberlain can explain this. There used to be an old title called 大連 in Japan.

[115] How is it Mr. Chamberlain does not tell us something of the Mikado's clan names ?

[116] As I have pointed out in my paper on *Early Japanese History*, there is no reason whatever to doubt the antiquity of the Japanese dynasty. What is certain, however, is that the whole of their retrospectively given Chinese names are fictitious and their early "history" is mere tradition.

further obtaining the Classic of Filial Piety, and also the New Construction of the Classic of Filial Piety by Prince Yüeh, No. 15, both picked out in gold, with red silk facings, and having crystal rollers. The "Filial Classic" was the one annotated by Chêng.[117] "Prince Yüeh" was Chêng,[118] Prince of Yüeh and son of T'ang Tai-tsung. The "New Construction" means the edition compiled by the Memorial Secretary and Civil Army officer Jên Hi-ku[119] and his colleagues. Tiao-jan also applied for a printed copy of the Great Tibetan Sûtras, and the Emperor ordered it to be given him.

In the 2nd year of Yüan,[120] he went back to his country in the junk of a merchant belonging to Ning-hai District in T'ai-chow Fu, and a few years after this he sent the son of his younger brother to submit an address of thanks with tribute separately of Buddhist *sûtras* and local articles.[121]

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Special Addendum.—Tiao-jan's written statement says that in Japan there are the Five Classics and the Buddhist *Sûtras*. Also Pêh Kü-i's collection [of Poems] in 70 chapters, all obtained from China. That their land is suited to the five cereals, but that there is not much wheat. That for trading purposes they use copper cash inscribed "Coins of K'ien-Wen."[122] They rear water-buffaloes and drive [flocks of] goats. There are many rhinoceroses and

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[117] 鄭玄. [118] 貞. [119] 任希古.

[120] 元; there is some omission or some mistake here. It must be 985.

[121] An extract from the Supplement to the History of the Five Dynasties says that in the 1st year of Twan-kung [988] Tiao-jan, *king* of Japan, sent his younger brother's son to offer an address of thanks in person, also sending separately tribute of conchs, a gold saddle and bridle, copper and iron lamps [? or stirrups], and red silk girths, saddle-cloths, etc.

[122] 乾文大寶. I cannot find this reign.

elephants.[123] A good deal of silk is produced, and charmingly fine delicate fabrics are woven. They have both Chinese and Corean musical instruments. The seasons and climate are much as in China. The east limit of their state joins on certain islands in the sea inhabited by barbarians, who have hair both on their faces and bodies. The Yuk[124] islands to the east produce gold, and other islands in the west produce silver, which are government monopolies. The family name of the king is Wang,[125] and there have been 54[126] or 64 of them in succession up to now.[127] All offices, both civil and military, are hereditary in the families.[128] According to the records of their history,[129] their first lord was styled Ami-no-mi-naka-nushi-no-kami.[130] After him came T'ien-ts'ai-yün-tsun,[131] and after him they are all called *tsun*.[132]

[123] This pious yarn cannot be true.

[124] 奧島; evidently the Oki group. See 隱伎 later on.

[125] 國王以王爲姓: This is for Mr. Chamberlain to explain.

[126] "54 or" seems to be an error.

[127] From the mythical Jimmu (B.C. 660) to Kwazan (985-6) would be 65 of them.

[128] Minamoto, Fujiwara, Tachibana, etc. [and later Tokugawa].

[129] 年代紀所記. See above.

[130] 天御中主: I give the Japanese translation, as the Chinese characters are mere rubbish, meaning nothing in Chinese.

[131] 天材雲尊, Neither this nor the next nine agree with Mr. Chamberlain's translation of the *Kojiki*.

[132] 尊. I think this title is merely in imitation of that given to the different "successors" of Buddha. Mr. Chamberlain translates it *Kami*. No doubt the ancient Japanese may have called their past and deceased Emperors *Kami*, but the Chinese character *tsun* must have been fitted to the idea *Kami* at a comparatively late date. Mr. Chamberlain in his *Kojiki* translates it "deity." None of the ten ridiculous names which follow are given in Mr. Chamberlain's *Kojiki*, which begins with five "heavenly deities" beginning with *Ame-no*, etc. But the last of the ten, namely *Kuni-no-toko-tachi-no-kami* follows the fifth "heavenly deity" of Mr. Chamberlain, and is the first of the seven "divine generations" of the *Kojiki*. My Japanese Student's History 日本略史 begins history

Tennō, next Ankō Tennō, next Yūriaku Tennō,[151] next Kenzō Tennō, next Ninken Tennō, next Muretsu Tennō, next Keitai Tennō, next Ankan Tennō, next Senkwa Tennō, next *Ame-kuni-oshi-haruki-hiro-niha* Tennō,[152] also called Meimei [Keimei] Tennō. In the year Jên-shên [A.D. 552] Buddhism was first preached from Pêh-tsi country.[153] This was the first year of the Ch'êng-shêng period of our Liang dynasty.[154] The next was Dakkai [Bidatsu][155] Tennō, next Yōmei Tennō.

He had a son named Shōtoku[156] Taishi aged thirteen, who could explain the words of ten people speaking at once. At seven years of age he became a convert to Buddhism at the Bodai[157] Monastery, and expounded the *Shêng-man Sūtra*,[158] on which occasion it rained *Mandâra*[159] flowers from heaven. This was during the Sui reign of K'ai-hwang [A.D. 580-601]. He sent an envoy across the sea to China to beg for the *Saddharma Pundarika Sūtra*.[160] The next was Sūjun Tennō, the next Suiko Tennō, who

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151. Ma Twan-lin omits Seinei Tennō between Yūriaku and Kenzō: the others are correct.

152. The Chinese characters are all correctly given, up to this monarch 天國排開廣庭, *alias* 欽明 Kimmei, misprinted 鉉明.

153. This is precisely confirmed by the Japanese History.

154. Perfectly correct.

155. 達淵 misprinted for 敏達; all the others correct down to Yōmei.

156. 聖德太子. Neither the Student's History nor the *Kojiki* mentions this son. But the former mentions Yōmei's son Mmayado or Mmaya 廐戶 begging his father to pray, and Mr. Chamberlain mentions a son *Uhe-no-miya-no-mma-ya-dono-to-mimi*.

157. 菩提

158. This passage is quite correctly quoted from the *Sung Shī* as 堅鬘經, but other extracts call it 勝鬘經.

159. 天雨曼陀羅華.

160. 法華經. Yōmei reigned from 586 to 587, Sūjun from 588 to 592, and Suiko from 593 to 628. Or perhaps the dates are 589-90 and 591-629. I have a query on the subject in my notes.

was the daughter of Keimei[161] Tennō. The next was Shumei Tennō, the next Kōgyoku Tennō, the next Kōtoku Tennō, in the 4th year of whose reign-period "White Pheasant" one of the disciplinists came to explain Buddhism to China.[162] He remained three years, and received the *King-yüh-lun* from the Buddhist Hüen-chung.[163] This was in the fourth year of the reign period Yung-hwei [A.D. 653]. The next was *Ame-toyo-tomi-shige-nichi-tarashi*[164] Tennō, who sent the priest Shidō[165] at the head of a party to China in order to beg for a copy of the Mahayâna Law for teaching purposes. This was in the third year of the period Hien-k'ing [A.D. 657]. The next was Tenji Tennō, the next Temmu Tennō,[166] the next Jitō Tennō, the next Mommu Tennō,[167] the first year of whose reign Ta-pao was the first year of the Chinese Ch'ang-an, when he sent a Taoist named Awada to China to apply for books, and the disciplinist Tao-ts'z begged for *sûtras*.[168] The next was A-pi[169] [Gemmei] Tennō, the next *Fan*

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161. Again misprinted,—this time 歆明.

162. 津師道照佛法至中國: I am rather doubtful of this translation.

163. 從三歲僧玄重授經律論. I cannot make head or tail of this. It looks as if the celebrated Hüan Chwang 玄奘, who returned from India in A.D. 645, was alluded to in some way.

164. 天豐重曰足姬. The Japanese rendering is a pure guess of mine. The first three characters have already been given once, and the second three shew that a woman is meant. Compare *Okinaga Tarashi*:—It is remarkable that twice over the *Mikado* Saimiō should thus be ignored, and we may be sure that the Chinese record is correct: that is that Tiao-jan gave it as in the text.

165. I guess at the accepted sound of 智通.

166. Kōbun is again left out. See above, note 77.

167. This time Ma Twan-lin has got it right, the mysterious *mikados* Tempu and Sōfu being omitted. See back.

168. 律師道慈求經: I find this passage in the *Sung Shi*, so that it must be given correctly. But I cannot reconcile this translation with the two translations given a few lines back.

169. See back: the character 閉 is right this time.

Tennō,[170] the next Shōmu Tennō, in the first year of whose reign "*Precious* Tortoise," a priest named Chêng-Yüan-fang[171] was sent to court. This was in the the fourth year of K'ai-yüan[172] [A.D. 716]. The next was Kōmei Tennō, again a mistake for Kōgen, daughter of Shōmu Tennō, reign period T'ien-p'ing Shêng-pao [749], which was the middle of our reign period T'ien-pao [742-756]. She sent an envoy and a priest to China to ask for the Inner and Outer Classics and the Commandments.[173] The next was Ōkashiki (*i. e.* Junnin) Tennō. The next was Takano[174] Tennō, daughter of Shōmu Tennō. The next was Shirokabe[175] Tennō, who sent two priests named Reizen and Kōga[176] to China to worship the Wu-t'ai Shan[177] and study Buddhism. The next was Kwam-mu Tennō, who sent Fujiwara Kudzuno[178] with Kūkai Daishi,[179] and also the bonze Ch'êng from the Yen-lih Monastery, to China,[180] in order to visit the T'ien-t'ai Shan priest

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170. 贩天皇 there must be some mistake.

171. The Japanese History says that in 733 the priest 玄昉 returned from China. This of course is Ma Twan-lin's 正元昉. See Note 91. 寶龜. Last time it was "*White* Tortoise." It should be 神, "Divine."

172. But the 1st year of Holy Tortoise was A.D. 723.

173. Hwang Ti's Inner Classics 18 chapters; Outer Classics, 37 Chapters. I do not know if the 傳戒 are the Ten Commandments of the Nestorians, or what they are.

174. See back, Yasumi-Takanoshi.

175. I guess at the sound for "white wall."

176. 璧仙行賀

177. The celebrated Mountain Monastery in Shansi to which all devout Buddhists go.

178. 藤元 (*i. e.* 藤原) 葛野. I guess at the two last sounds.

179. 空海大師 the inventor of the *Hiragana*, *alias* Kōbō Daishi.

180. The Japanese History says that in A.D. 788 the *Mikado* presented the name of 延曆寺 to an educational monastery founded by the priest Saitō 最澄, who is evidently the Chinese 僧澄.

Ch'uan-shī.[181] This was just in the first year of Kwan-i-Yüan-ho [A.D. 806]. The next was Noh[182] Tennō and the next Noh-loh Tennō, the next Saga Tennō, the next Junna Tennō.

The next was Nimmiō Tennō. This was during our Chinese reigns K'ai-ch'êng [836-840] and Hwei-ch'ang [841-846]. He sent a bonze to China to worship at Wu-t'ai.[183] The next was Buntoku Tennō. This in Ta-chung [A.D. 847-860]. The next was Seiwa Tennō, the next Yōzei Tennō, the next Kōgō Tennō, who sent a bonze named Tsung-jwei[184] to China to preach the faith. This was in the 1st year of Kwang-k'i [A.D. 885]. The next was Nin-wa[185] Tennō. This was during the period Lung-têh [A.D. 921-3] of our [Posterior] Liang dynasty. He sent K'wan-kien[186] and other bonzes to Court. The next was Daigo Tennō. The next was Tenkei[187] Tennō. The next was Fêng-shang [Murakami] Tennō.[188] This was

181. 正觀義元和元年也. The two characters *Kwan-i* seem misplaced, and perhaps should belong to the previous sentence 詣天台山傳智者 which is itself lacking in clearness. Possibly it should be "to visit Ch'uan-chï and Kwan-i," etc.

182. 諾 seems to be the same as 諾樂. See back.

183. A Japanese priest called 圓珍, and another (perhaps the same) called 圓載上人, are supposed to have visited China about now, but my references are uncertain. Also an envoy of the Fujiwara family.

184. 宗睿. I suppose Sōyei in Japanese. I can find no other mention of him.

185. Uda 宇多 Tennō's reign began during his father's reign period 仁和.

186. The date is wrong. Uda reigned from 888 to 897. I cannot find mention in Japanese History of K'wan-Kien 寬建. On the contrary, it says that an envoy destined for China did *not* go, on account of the civil war which was then overthrowing the T'angs.

187. Shujaku 朱雀 in the 2nd year of his reign took the style 天慶.

188. 封上 misprinted for 村上 (A.D. 947-968). It will be noticed that the fickle Japanese now began to disuse the sonorous Chinese

during the [Posterior] Chow period Kwang-shun [A.D. 951-4]. The next was Reigen Tennō, who is now Abdicated Over-Tennō.[189] The next is Shou-p'ing Tennō. the present prince.[190]

This makes 64 generations in all.[191]

In the metropolitan province Ki-nai,[192] there are five divisions, Yamashiro, Yamato, Kawachi, Idzumi, and Settsu. There are in all 53 *kuni*[193] in it. In the Tōkaidō there are Iga, Ise, Shima, Owari, Mikawa, Tōtōmi, Suruga, Idzu, Kahi, Sagami,[194] Musashi, Awa, Kadzusa, Shimōsa, and Hitachi,[195] fourteen *shiu* in all, having 126 *kuni*. In the Tō-san-dō there are eight *shiu*, namely Ōmi, Mino, Hida,

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reign styles. Perhaps the *Kwambakus* or mayors of the palace, who began under Uda, were responsible for this.

189. 太上天皇. Abdication had for many centuries been the rule rather than the exception in Japan.

190. 守平 was the personal name of the *Mikado* 圓融, 970-984.

191. It is curious that the Student's History makes no mention of the priest Tiao-jan, who, as we have seen, belonged to the Fujiwara family of *Kwambakus* 關白, or Shōguns 將軍, as they were later called, and who, as we have also seen, was supposed by one Chinese, writer to have been the prince of Japan himself. At this time 藤原賴忠 or, as I suppose the Japanese would call it, Fujiwara Yoritada. was Regent. Perhaps the Japanese historians are too vain to admit that a member of the semi-royal family of Fujiwara went to China. The next Japanese *mikado* Kwazan 華山 himself became a bonze; and his mother was, as usual, a Fujiwara.

192. 畿內 I presume that河內 and和泉 are intended for Kawachi and Idzumi. The others are correct in Chinese character namely 山城, 大和 and 攝津. The word for "divisions" is 州 *shiu*.

193. 郡

194. In another Chinese extract Sagami is written 相摩, and I once supposed it was Shimōsa. See *Early Japanese History*.

195. 東海道: 伊賀, 伊勢, 志摩, 張 [how is this?], 參河, 遠江 [how?], 駿河 [how?], 伊豆, 甲斐, 相模 [how?], 武藏 [how?], 安房 [how?], 上總 [how?], 常陸 [how?] These names can be identified from their alternative names as given by Mr. Satow, such as En-shiu, Sun-shu, etc. (Jap. As. Soc. Trans., Vol. I).

Shinano, Kōdzuke, Shimotsuke, Mutsu, and Dewa,[196] having 122 *kuni*. In the Hoku-riku-dō there are seven *shiu*, namely Wakasa, Echizen, Koga, Noto, Etchū, Echigo, and Sado [Island],[197] having twenty *kuni*. In Oki the San-indō[198] there are eight *shiu*, namely, Tamba, Tango, Tajima, Inaba, Hōki, Idzumo, Iwami, and [group of islands],[199] having 52 *kuni*. The San-yō-dō has eight *shiu*, namely, Harima, Mimasaka, Bizen, Bingo,[200] Oki, Suwō, and Nagato,[201] containing 69 *kuni*. The Nankai-dō contains six *shiu*, namely Kii, Awaji [Island], Awa, Sanuki, Iyo, and Tosa,[202] having 48 *kuni*. The Sai-kai-dō has nine *shiu*, namely Chikuzen, Chikugo, Buzen, Bugo, Higo, Hiuga, Ōsumi, and Satsuma,[203] having 93 *kuni*. There are also three groups of islands,—Iki, Tsushima, and Tanega,[204] each with two *kuni* under it. The above are what are called the Seven Circuits, containing 3,772 villages,[205]

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196. 東山道: 近江 [how?], 美濃, 飛騨, 信濃, 上野, 下野, 陸奥 [how?], 出羽. All these names are interesting as shewing the different degrees in which the Japanese borrowed and engrafted Chinese sounds and characters.

197. 北陸道: 若狹, 越前, 加賀, 能登, 越中, 越後, 佐渡.

198. 山陰道.

199. 丹波; 丹彼 [?後], 但馬, 因幡, 伯耆, 出雲 [?how] 石見, 隱伎.

In a previous note I have assumed that 奧烏 is Oki. In another Chinese extract Tango is written 丹哥.

200. In another Chinese extract, quoted in my paper on early Japan, Bingo is written 蓬哥.

201. 小陽; evidently for 山陽, 播摩, 美作, 備前, 備後, 安藝, 周防, 長門.

Mr. Satow gives Bit-chiū, which is evidently 備中 and has been omitted by Ma Twan-lin.

202. 南海道, 伊紀, 淡路, 河波, 譖 [?讃] 耆, 伊豫, 土佐.

203. 西海道; 筑前, 筑後, 豐前, 豐後, 肥後, 曰向, 大隅, 薩摩. Ma Twan-lin has omitted Hizen.

204. 一伎, 對馬, 多褦. Mr. Satow omits this last from his list (J. A. S. Journal Vol. I.)

205. 鄉: I suppose this would be *mura*.

414 post-stations,[206] and 883,329 taxable polls.[207] Beyond the taxable polls. There is no exact record [of the people].

All the above is from Tiao-jan's memorandum. Now, we find that our own histories have recorded that in the Sui reign K'ai-hwang, and the T'ang reigns of Yung-hwei, Ch'ang-an, T'ien-pao, Yüan-ho, and K'ai-chêng, the fact has been recorded of envoys having come with tribute, all which accords with Tiao-jan's memorandum. During Ta-chung, Kwang-k'i, Lung-têh, and the [Posterior] Chow reign of Kwang-shun, priests were sent to China, but the T'ang Shu and the Five [Ephemeral] Dynasties' History have failed[208] to record the facts. During the T'ang reign Hien-hêng, in the 23rd year of K'ai-yüan, the 12th year of Ta-lih, and the 1st year of Kien-chung, on the other hand they came with tribute, but it is Tiao-jan who does not record the facts.

In the 5th year of Hien-p'ing [A.D. 1002] Chow Shï-ch'ang,[209] a trader of Kien-chow [Foochow], was blown over to Japan in a storm, and stayed there seven years before he got back, when he returned with a Japanese named Fujiki Kichi.[210] Both had audience of His Majesty. Shï-ch'ang exhibited some specimens of his Japanese friend's attempts at making repartee couplets, but the language was stereotyped, shallow, and of no merit whatever.[211] The man was dismissed with some presents.

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206. 驛 *eki* or *shukuba*

207. 課丁.

208. Not quite so, as shewn in notes above.

209. 周世昌.

210. 滕木吉: I suppose I am not far wrong in the Japanese sounds.

211. The *Shên Pao* recently published a leading article on the feebleness of Japanese poetry. Of course no nation destitute of tones can ever master Chinese rhythm, any more than Englishmen pronouncing ancient Greek in the ridiculous way we do can appreciate modern Greek accentuation.

In 1st year of King-têh [A.D. 1004] a Japanese priest named Tsih-chao [*i. e.* Tsih-jan][212] came along with seven others to Court. Shokunen did not understand spoken Chinese, but he knew the written character, and was a wonderfully clever calligraphist. Conversation with him was carried on entirely with pencil and paper.[213] The Emperor commanded that he receive the appellation of Yüan-t'ung[214] Ta-shï, and presented him with a purple square-cut robe.[215] In the 4th year of T'ien-shêng [A.D. 1026] it was reported at Ming-Chow [Ningpo] that T'ai-ning Fu[216] in Japan had sent a man with tribute of local articles; but as he was not provided with an address from the Japanese Government, the Emperor ordered them to be declined, and from that date they have not sent tribute to Court. Through our southern traders at times Japanese productions find their way to China. In the 5th year of Hi-ning [A.D. 1072] a priest named Ch'êng-Sün[217] came to T'ai-Chow, and stopped at the Kwoh-ts'ing[218] Monastery of T'ien-t'ai,[119] and wanted to stay. The authorities reported the facts, and his majesty ordered him to be sent to the Palace [then at Nanking]. Ch'êng-sün offered a silver incense-burner, *mukorossi* berries, white glass, five scents, crystal, red sandal, amber-mounted telling-beads, and dark-coloured

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212. 寂照, a misprint for 然. I suppose Shokunen would be his Japanese name.

213. In Korea, Annam, and Japan this must still be done by those who write Chinese but cannot speak those languages.

214. 圓通大師: Japanese Yendō Daishi. I have a note of his having left Japan in 1002.

215. 方袍

216. Probably one of the *Daimiōs*. There are only three *Fu* in Japan—Kyōtō, Tōkyō, and Ōsaka. Where is 太宰府?

217. 誠尋

218. 國清寺

219. Mr. Consul Cooper visited T'ien-t'ai in 1884-5.

staffs. The Emperor Shên Tsung quartered him, as being a man from afar and one of monastic profession, in the K'ai-pao Monastery,[220] and gave each of the priests who came along with him a purple square-cut robe. From this time all those who came with tribute of local articles were priests. In the 1st year of Yüan-fêng [A.D. 1078] an interpreter priest named Chung-hwei [221] was sent on a mission hither. He was presented with the title of Mu-hwa Ywai-têh Ta-shï.[222] Then it was reported from Ming-chow that a letter had been received from the Japanese State Department,[223] and that the Chunghwei party was being sent back with the envoy Sun Chung.[224] Two hundred pieces of coloured satin were brought as tribute, and also 5,000 ounces of quicksilver. The chief authority at T'ai-chow suggested that, as Sun Chung was a sea-going merchant, and the presents brought as tribute were differently circumstanced from those of other countries, he might send back a letter of acknowledgment and return objects in his own name, giving them to Chung-hwei to carry with him back east. This was approved.

In the 5th year of K'ien-tao [A.D. 1169], tribute of local articles was sent *viâ* Ming-chow.[225] In the 3rd year of Shun-hi [A.D. 1176], some Japanese were blown over by a storm to Ming-chow and were short of provisions. The Emperor ordered them to be supplied. Besides these, there were a hundred more who had begged their way along to Lin-an [in Hangchow Fu]. The governor was ordered to supply them with the wherewithal to get to

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220. 開寶寺.

221. 仲回.

222. 慕化懷德太師, i.e. the Reverendissimo who yearns for civilization and is grateful for kindness.

223. 太宰府.

224. 孫忠 apparently a Chinese.

225. 附明州綱首貢方物. I cannot quite understand this sentence.

Ming-chow, and have them entertained there until an opportunity should occur for their returning by some junk to Japan. In the 10th year [1183], 73 men were blown over to Hwa-t'ing Siu-chow [near Shanghai]. In the 1st year of Shao-hi [1190], some more were blown up to T'ai-chow.[226] The Emperor ordered that their cargo should be looked after and allowed to pass free;[227] that a junk should be bought, and that all their property should then be returned to them; and that they should be supplied in addition with a compassionate allowance of rice at nominal rates.[228] In the 6th year of K'ing-yüan [A.D. 1200] some of them came to P'ing-Kiang [in Chêh Kiang], and in the 2nd year of Kia-t'ai [1202] to Ting-hai District [Ningpo]. Imperial orders were given in both cases for them to be supplied with money and rice and sent home with the first favourable wind.

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It thus appears that Wo men had their first communications with China in the After Han Dynasty [A.D. 25]. The histories say that from Tai-fang[229] to Wo State by water, coasting along Chao-sien country [then including modern Newchwang], then turning south, then east, across three seas, and past seven states, it was a total distance of 12,000 *li* before the capital of their country was reached.

Another statement was that from the borders of Loh-lang province [North Corea] and Tai-fang province [Central Corea] alike it was 12,000 *li*; it was east of Kwai-ki [Ningpo], and not far from Tan-êrh [Hainan]. Their land was very distant from Liao Tung, but very near to Min-chêh [Foochow and Ningpo]. But it is certain that the first arrivals in China came by way of Liao Tung;

226. Another T'ai-chow. Almost opposite Chinkiang.
227. 見行貨物免抽.
228. 常平米
229. Near Seoul.

hence this roundabout course, until the Six [230] Dynasties and Sung, when most of them came with tribute by the southern route, across the sea, and also to do trade with us, for which they never came by the north, evidently holding that Liao Tung was not part of Chinese territory.[231] The *Notices of the Three Dynasties* says that during the period Yung-hi [984-7] the priest Tiao-jan brought tribute, went back to Japan, and afterwards submitted an address of thanks. A description of his travels hither runs :— "I regard the setting sun, and journey west over 100,000 "*li* of inexhaustible waves. I watch for the monsoon "and return east, gliding over thousands upon thousands "of [watery] mountain peaks." What a distance! A description of his travels home runs :—"Towards the "end of summer I relax my cable at T'ai-chow [Chêh "Kiang], and in the early spring I reach the outskirts "of my metropolis." Yet how near! He goes on to say :— "Then by the beginning of the next spring "I reached my old town, where those dressed in sombre "garments joyfully awaited me, whilst earls and marquesses respectfully welcomed me." So that, however near Japan may be from east Chêh Kiang, it must have taken him nearly half a year to get to the capital.

230. Five?

231. For a long time it ceased to be so.

A JAPANESE CREDIT ASSOCIATION AND ITS FOUNDER.

By Garrett Droppers.

[*Read 17th January, 1894.*]

A year or more ago, while looking into the subject of land tenure in Japan, I met with an interesting form of credit institution existing in the agricultural districts of the country. As so often happens, the side issue proved more attractive than the main topic. I traced the institution to its founder and succeeded in bringing to light the main facts of the life of Ninomiya, a reformer who lived and died within the Tokugawa period, before the policy of seclusion had been abandoned by the Japanese Government. The laws of a country, while by no means unimportant, are after all only the conditions of activity; the capital and interesting point is what men have accomplished under these laws. I therefore followed with pleasure the career of Ninomiya, the real inspirer of the credit associations, known as the Hotokusha, now widespread in certain districts in Japan and promising to be of still greater importance in the future. In giving the story of the life of Ninomiya I have preserved, as far as possible, the language of his Japanese biographers.

Ninomiya Kinjiro, or since his death called Ninomiya Sontaku, was born July 23rd, 1787 (4th year of Temmei), in the small village of Kachiwagama-mura in Ashigara-Kami-gori, Sagami, in the domain of the Daimyō of Odawara. His parents were poor and of humble station.

When he was about five years of age, a flood caused by an overflow of the Sakawa swept away much of his father's property and left the family poorer than ever. Nine years later, when the boy was only fourteen years of age, his father died, leaving the children and their mother in extreme destitution, and as Kinjiro was the eldest, the burden of supporting the family fell upon him. It is related that the youngest child was sent to an aquaintance to be brought up, but it was too young and feeble to be separated from its mother and pined away. Kinjiro reflected for a time and finally said: "Mother, the little thing cannot live without your care. Let us take it back and I think I can earn enough for all of us." The mother took back the child and from that time Kinjiro worked harder than ever in the field and on the mountain side, gathering hay and wood, which he sold in the neighboring town. He spent his evenings in twisting rope, and also managed to devote a portion of his time in learning to read and write.

After two years of great toil his mother died; thus he and his two brothers were left with nothing but a hut, and as they were too young to live alone the two younger children were adopted by one relative while Kinjiro went to live with another. The latter, a hard and parsimonious man, noticing that Kinjiro studied every evening until midnight, reproved him for wasting oil; thereupon the youth determined to provide his own oil. He sowed rape seed (*natane*) on the bank of a stream, and having exchanged this for oil he again went to his studies. But his guardian still found fault with him, so Kinjiro darkened his light and continued his studies secretly.

His great object at this time was the restoration of the former property of his father. He cultivated a small piece of neglected land and raised a tiny crop. This he continued to do for some years, until he finally saw that he was able to support himself. He returned to the old

hut and began to cultivate the land. Though quite alone he succeeded in slowly improving the place, and after several years of arduous toil he saw the old homestead restored. His success, while not in any sense extraordinary, was satisfactory to him and he felt that he had won the esteem of his neighbors. He married, and at that time looked for nothing farther than to live the life of a simple farmer.

About the same time the government of Ōkubo, Daimyō of Odawara, fell into financial straits. The territory was large and the revenue abundant, but the chief minister (*Karo*), Hattori Jurobei, had been extravagant and had accumulated debts to a large amount. He was pressed on all sides by his creditors, and despairing of means of escape, he was about to resign when some one mentioned to him the name of Ninomiya. He, it was suggested, might be able to restore the tottering finances of the province. Hattori was pleased with this suggestion and sent a request to Ninomiya to take charge of the revenue. The latter at first refused, but finally after repeated solicitations consented. He left his wife to take charge of the household and removed to Odawara, where he was to undertake the management of the government revenues. He then began a series of reforms for which he became famous. He cut down all the expenses, he abolished all needless luxury, and laid down the principles of the *Bundo Ho*, that is, saving from the income of one year a certain percentage to be devoted to productive purposes. He carefully audited the debts of the government, summoned the creditors and requested a temporary postponement of their claims. He labored incessantly from day to day, and after five years of great effort he saw every creditor paid and a balance of 300 ryo in the treasury. He presented this sum to Hattori, who was much pleased and wished to reward him with a share of it. But Ninomiya, instead of accepting the

money for himself distributed it among the vassals, saying that his success was due mainly to their coöperation and loyalty. Thus he left Odawara as poor as when he entered it and returned home.

His practical sagacity and disinterested activity had not escaped the notice of Ōkubo, the Daimyō of Odawara, who was a very enlightened man. He wished to recommend Ninomiya to an official post, but at this time the spirit of caste was so strong that he did not dare to advance him. But he thought that if only some difficult enterprise could be found which no one else could do, it might serve as a pretext for giving Ninomiya a higher position.

One of the relatives of the Daimyō Ōkubo was a *hatamoto*, Utsu by name, who possessed an estate in the province of Shimotsuke. One of the towns within his territory was Sakuramachi, once a flourishing place, but now sunk into poverty and lethargy. The people were slothful and wasted their substance in gambling. The fields were no longer cultivated, the taxes were unpaid, and the revenues were slowly declining. The Daimyō was troubled and asked Ninomiya to attempt the task of restoration, but he begged to be excused from such an undertaking, alleging that a mere farmer was unable to accomplish it. However after much persuasion he obeyed. In the 4th year of Bunsei (1821) he visited the town and after carefully studying the situation made a report to the Daimyō. He declared that merely to give these people money to relieve their wants was useless. He suggested that they should adopt a system of saving, be it ever so little, each year. A portion of the produce of the land should be set aside, say one fourth of the first year's crop, and made into a kind of capital fund which should be used to cultivate land the following year.. Thus by degrees new land could be brought into cultivation and the wealth of the people gradually increased. Under no circumstances should the people spend more

than the amount agreed upon. Thus they would solidly increase in prosperity from year to year, their income and capital growing together.

The Damiyō Ōkubo approved of these plans, and Ninomiya, again leaving his wife in charge of his household but taking his eldest son with him, removed to Sakuramachi. He had a serious work before him, for people accustomed to idleness are not easily reformed. His first duty was to make himself thoroughly familiar with every detail, the disposition of various classes, the qualities of the soil, the waste land, etc. He lived in a very frugal manner, believing that his own example was necessary to prove his sincerity to these people. He labored in the field among the peasantry and was never behind anyone in doing a day's work.

The first results were slight. The habits of indulgence and sloth were so deeply impressed upon the people that it was almost impossible to change them. Many disliked his exacting methods, and certain inferior officials circulated slanders which were intended to reach the ears of Ōkubo, who happily, however, paid no attention to them. In spite of all drawbacks Ninomiya resolutely prosecuted his laborious work, and after three years saw his efforts crowned with success. It is related that he displayed excellent qualities of management in bringing the people up to his standard, rewarding those who did faithful work while he rebuked those who shirked.

The success of Ninomiya in restoring the fortunes of Sakuramachi did not escape the notice of the neighboring towns and villages. For instance Aokimura, a village in Hitachi, had suffered reverses until the people were extremely poor. The headman of the village and others were dispatched to Ninomiya to learn his secret of restoring prosperity. Ninomiya listened to their account and gave them practical advice. A more celebrated case, however, occurred soon afterward. Karasuyama, a town in the

province of Shimotsuke, had several years before suffered a decline. The population had decreased and the ground was badly cultivated. A certain Buddhist priest, by the name of Yeno, a very kind and sympathetic man, took pity upon the people and endeavored to infuse courage into them. The essence of religion, he thought, was to relieve the distresses of mankind, and so he did not hesitate to engage in secular affairs. He even undertook to clear the land like a farmer, though he was often ridiculed for assuming unpriestly functions. His work however bore fruit, and the people were slowly improving when the famous famine of the 7th year of Tempo (1836) occurred and reduced the people to the verge of starvation. The priest now could do nothing. At this time he heard of Ninomiya at Sakuramachi and he determined to call upon him and get his advice. Ninomiya replied that he was busy and could not speak with him. Yeno, however, was resolved not to return until he had seen Ninomiya, so he quietly waited all night at the door-step. The next morning Ninomiya, seeing the priest still waiting, was vexed and asked him to be shown into the house. The priest told his story, to which Ninomiya replied, "Every man has his own business to attend to. It is the duty of a priest to administer consolation to his people and not to mix himself in political and social matters, which are properly the duty of the Daimyō and his ministers. It is kind of you to sympathize with the distresses of the poor but a mistake to engage in secular affairs. The people of Karasuyama interfere with each other's business at every point and it should be the aim of the Daimyō and his ministers to introduce measures of relief at once. Now go, and tell them what I have said." The priest had no reply to make, so he returned and repeated these words to one of the ministers, Sugenoya. The latter was surprised to hear these bold opinions expressed and repeated them to the Daimyō. He was likewise astonished,

but he recognized their truth and he despatched Sugenoya with a letter to Ninomiya, bidding him to come to Karasuyama, to teach the people and introduce methods of reform. Ninomiya replied: "I am now engaged at the command of my lord, Ōkubo, and I cannot change without the consent of my lord. If the Daimyō of Karasuyama will apply to Ōkubo and get his permission, I am ready to do what I can. As however it will take time to despatch a messenger to Odawara and get an answer, I give you this sum of money to help you in the interval." With these words he presented Sugenoya with 200 ryo, and this amount, though small, was sufficient to prevent people from starving.

The famine of 1836 was one of the most extensive and destructive that had occurred for many years in Japan. The people in some cases were forced to eat grass and even the bark of trees. Riots broke out in various parts of the country and there was much destruction of property. The Daimyō of Odawara, hearing of the pitiable state of things in Karasuyama, requested Ninomiya to assist the people as far as possible. Sakuramachi had by this time recovered some of its former prosperity and had a considerable store of grain on hand. Ninomiya was able to gather about 2000 ryo worth of rice and millet, and having packed it into bags he had it transported on packhorses to Karasuyama. The horses, it is said, made a long train, and it is easy to imagine with what feelings the starving people saw the loaded animals approach. Huts were built for the poor, where the food was distributed. The riots ceased and the people were quieted. The Daimyō and his ministers were surprised at the efficient measures of Ninomiya and began to take an interest in his economic system. Upon their request he explained his method to them. With his assistance they put it into practice. The land was cleared, the spirit of industry revived, and in spite of much opposition the ministers succeeded in restoring Karasuyama to prosperity. From this time Yeno-

and Sugenoya regarded Ninomiya as their great leader in practical economics and morality. After some years Yeno died and the enemies of Sugenoya succeeded in a plot against him. He was thrown into prison, where he died, and from this time, it is said, the fortunes of Karasuyama steadily declined.

We are apt to think that the Tokugawa period was a time of absolute government in Japan, that the people were submissive and docile and never indulged in acts of lawlessness, that it was one long interval of quiet, unruffled by any spirit of rebellion or disorder. Such a view, however, is hardly tenable. The annals of those times recount numberless riots and turbulent outbreaks. In the old régime of Japan, as under the old monarchy in France, there was a species of "irregular and intermittent" lawlessness which was particularly rife in a time of famine. At such a time riots and mobs are frequently mentioned and the police, or, at least, what then corresponded to the police, were either incapable or unwilling to quell them. The Japanese author Bakin gives some very picturesque accounts of riots that occurred in Tokyo during a period of scarcity. Most of the rioters were poor and wretched mortals whose hostility was directed against the rice merchants and speculators. Similarly, in the life of Ninomiya, we find that he was frequently summoned in time of famine because the ministers were unable to deal with the rioters. He generally adopted efficient measures, not only to feed the poor while the famine lasted but to provide for future emergencies. It was his conviction that if only people were willing consider the matter and take proper precautions, not only famines but all extreme poverty might be banished from the face of the earth, and the system that he elaborated in his later years, the Hotokusha, had among other things this object in view, to prevent the danger of all extreme misery either from poverty, or sudden accident, or calamity, such as famine.

The famine of 1836 extended through the provinces of Sagami, Suruga, and Izu; Odawara, the government seat of the Daimyō Ōkubo, suffered terribly. Ōkubo was at this time in Yedo, but hearing of the distress and rioting in Odawara he determined to send for Ninomiya and to urge him to go to the devastated districts. He despatched a messenger to Ninomiya, who was at this time in Sakuramachi, with a letter which merely stated that the Daimyō wished to speak with him. Ninomiya replied: "I am busily engaged in fighting a famine here, and if my lord only desires to consult with me he must come to me; I cannot go to him." Ōkubo hearing this reply acknowledged his mistake and explained the cause of his summons, whereupon Ninomiya immediately left Sakuramachi and proceeded to Yedo. Ōkubo was fond of him and wished to take this opportunity of honoring him and of giving him higher rank. He therefore presented Ninomiya with the *Asagamishimo*, a garment only worn by *samurai* on ceremonial occasions when they were in the presence of their lord. Ninomiya however refused the gift, saying, "To me this is a useless garment. I supposed when I was summoned that my lord wished to discuss measures of relief for the people. But I was mistaken. This gift I cannot even cut up and divide among the poor." Ōkubo then intended to give Ninomiya the rank of *samurai*, as it was not the custom in the feudal times of Japan to entrust important matters of government to anyone of low rank. But this honor Ninomiya also refused, and the Daimyō seeing him determined finally desisted. Ninomiya therefore demanded permission to open the stores of rice in and about Odawara and to use them at his discretion and also obtained 1000 ryo from his lord. He at once proceeded to Odawara, where he found the officials discussing what could be done to alleviate the distress. He explained his mission and asked for the keys to the store-houses of rice, but they refused to deliver them since they had not as yet received orders to

that effect from their lord. It is likely, too, that they did not fancy giving up keys to a man like Ninomiya, who in their opinion must be a mere upstart. Ninomiya replied, "This is no time for preaching but for practice. The people are starving. If you doubt my word let all of us go without food until you get advice from his lordship whether I have authority or not." The officials either were convinced or thought his methed too drastic; at any rate they delivered the keys to him and allowed him to distribute the rice. Ninomiya was indefatigable in his efforts to help the starving people. He organized a system of relief, and it is said that over forty thousand people were assisted. His reputation spread throughout the surrounding provinces.

Ninomiya hoped as soon as the danger of famine was over to establish his economic system within the domains of the Daimyō Ōkubo. But the death of Ōkubo at this time in Yedo interrupted his plans. He regretted the loss of his Daimyō extremely, for Ōkubo had steadily favored his plans. According to the will of the Daimyō, the ministers were to carry out the system of Ninomiya, so they asked him to draw up a plan which they could consider at length. He accordingly drew up a plan and submitted it to them, but as he expected, it was rejected on the ground that it was too radical. He determined therefore to return to Sakuramachi and continue his efforts to build up the industries of that place. He had made a deep impression upon the people of Odawara, and many inhabitants of that district who wished to learn his system visited him in Sakuramachi. He explained his methods as patiently and carefully as possible, and in the course of time he had a large number of disciples. Nowhere is his memory revered more than in this district. The traveler may even to-day see monuments erected in his honor by his followers, extending in all directions from Odawara, but particularly in the Hakone region. His influence might have been even greater but for the opposition of the ministers. The

prosperity of the people increased steadily after 1836, but the jealously of the officials was so great that in 1846 the people were forbidden to visit Ninomiya, and soon afterwards his system was abolished in this district by the Odawara government. It was not until the time of the Revolution that his followers dared to reëstablish the Hotokusha in this region.

There are several other accounts of Ninomiya's reforms in various parts of Japan, but we have time to speak of but one more. This reform was made in the province of Iwaki in the domain of the Daimyō Soma. This daimyate had at one time been very prosperous, but toward the end of the 17th century the taxes were increased so as to bear very severely upon the people. As a result many fields were thrown out of cultivation, the people became poor and the public indebtedness increased. At the time when Ninomiya was in Sakuramachi, this domain of the Daimyō Soma was governed by two excellent ministers, Kusano and Ikeda. They set to work to reform the budget and stimulate industry when the famine of 1836 occurred and left large numbers of people destitute. The ministers hearing of the work of Ninomiya both in Sakuramachi and in Odawara determined to question him. Kusano, who was then over seventy years of age, visited Ninomiya and after long discussion and much persuasion finally induced him to go to Soma and study the details of the domain on the spot. Ninomiya carefully went into the history of the district, wrote a very lengthy report in which he analyzed the whole income and expenditure, made recommendations as to the treatment of the waste land, etc., and finally suggested a plan that was to be fully carried out in not less than sixty years. The ministers adopted his system, and in spite of many difficulties and obstacles, put it into practice. The result was that at the time of the opening of Japan to foreigners, the Soma domain was one of the most prosperous in Japan.

Soon after this Ninomiya was called to Yedo by the Tokugawa government and given a position under the *Dai Kwan* (the chief official of a domain directly governed by the Shogun). But the official rules did not allow him sufficient play for his work and after a time, though still nonimally connected with the government, he resigned his position. He lived quietly at Yedo, devoting most of his time to teaching a few disciples who were strongly attached to him. The government put great trust in him and frequently sent him to places impoverished either by sudden accident, as flood or famine, or by slow decay. At these times he displayed great insight and generally effected a definite reform. I have omitted many of these cases, thinking that those mentioned give a sufficiently accurate account of his work and capacity.

For the most part, however, he lived in Yedo. Here we find him in the 3rd year of Kaei (1853) when he was sixty six years old, busily engaged in making clear his doctrines to his disciples. He had hoped to devote the rest of his life to his followers, when the Tokugawa government requested his services in behalf of the district called Nikko Shinden—lands belonging to the Nikko temples. The people of this domain had become poor and shiftless, much of their land had run to waste and the Shogun's ministers were desirous that Ninomiya should personally superintend the work of restoring this domain to its former prosperity. The task was no easy one, and he was now no longer young, but he decided to undertake it. He called some of his followers and said that probably he would not live to finish his work, but be hoped that, in case of his death, they would carry it to completion. He then began a preliminary investigation of his undertaking and while thus engaged became ill. His appetite failed and he was unable to walk. His disciples urged him not to go, but as soon as his strength was somewhat restored, he determined to push on. He made final

arrangements with regard to his property, settled his family affairs, and in May, 1853, started for Nikko. After settling matters with the officials, he began the work of inspecting the different villages, whose lands he was to improve. The season was hot, the region mountainous; his friends and the officials urged him to wait until autumn, but he refused and throughout the summer he continued his work. He even refused a *kago*, thinking that by walking he could better judge the real condition of the land. In less than three months he had visited eighty-nine villages, some of which were situated in valleys, others on mountains. The work was extremely fatiguing and he never afterward fully recovered his strength. He memorialized the government and suggested a plan which the officials carried out. In the next two years over five hundred *cho* of waste land was brought into cultivation and there was a definite improvement noticeable. But he never finished his task. In the third year of his work he suddenly became extremely ill, and lingering some months he finally died on the 20th of October in the 3rd year of Ansei (1856). He was buried at the Niorai Ji, Imaichi, Shimotsuke.

Ninomiya was a self-educated and, in the best sense of the word, a self-made man. He did not belong to any school of learning, as men of his influence in Japan generally did. He was accustomed to say that he was a student of Nature. He was familiar, however, with some of the most important works of the Chinese classics. When fourteen years of age we know that he studied the *Daigaku* of Confucius, and from that time he devoted a portion of every day to reading. Even when he was extremely poor and worked early and late, he sacrificed a few moments daily to his mental culture. Still he was in no sense of the word a learned man. He had, however, an excellent natural sagacity. What he once learned he never forgot, but made it part of his intellectual endowment. He used to say "the true way of living is not so far and mysterious as we often

suppose. We do not need great learning to understand the true way, but we learn it naturally, if only we open our minds. Books, teachers, and records are not as important as observation. Men will not open their eyes and hence they walk in the dark." On another occasion he said: "I attach less importance than others to books written in past ages. The greatest and most fundamental book ever written is Nature and it is open to us at any time. Nature is always accessible to us and is impartial in her teachings. Why should we thrust aside such a storied volume for the books of men?" In one of his poems he says: "Noiselessly, patiently, Nature goes on repeating her unwritten lessons to men." He also called Nature the "first and greatest father of us all," and he constantly regarded it much as a child would regard its father.

This leaning upon Nature furnished him also with a key to his economic reforms. He said: "If we rely upon Nature we need have no fear for the recovery of our country, for she constantly heals and repairs. Yet we look to Nature, the parent of us all, not as an idle boy looks to his father, but as an industrious boy looks to his father, kind, yet severe in punishment, and eager to recognize his boy's merits. Nature will give no benefit without labour." He believed that there existed in Nature certain fixed and systematic laws, and if we work according to these laws she will surely remunerate us. And because nature rewarded so liberally the efforts of man he always felt under a sense of obligation to her. In the same way he felt under obligation to his ancestors, to the Emperor and his ancestors, and to all his countrymen—in other words the social organization of the present. He defended the principle of dividing people into ranks on the ground that the higher the social position of a man the more he ought to have a sense of responsibility to his fellow men. He once said, "My principles are especially helpful to those who are rulers."

II.

It is now necessary to consider what the precise character of Ninomiya's reforms was. What were his doctrines and what did he seek to establish? At the outset let us say that the Hotokusha, as it exists to-day, is not wholly the work of Ninomiya. He did, indeed, teach the outlines and lay down certain principles, but he had but little time for founding associations or propagating his theories among the people at large. He left these matters for the most part to his disciples, to whom he never wearied of giving advice or other assistance. He himself tells us when the first ideas of the Hotoku entered his mind. In a talk with a certain Fukuzumi, one of his earliest and most devoted followers, after giving an account of the hardships of his boyhood, he said: "I was very much astonished when I was called by my lord to restore the prosperity of his estate. He gave me liberal praise for my past conduct, though until then it had never occurred to me that I had done any thing particularly good in working to restore my father's house. But being greatly commended by my lord because I had so faithfully performed my duties as a citizen, I began to see that even an insignificant person, like myself, might contribute materially to the general welfare and prosperity of his country. From that time I saw how homely daily labor, which most people think of only as a disagreeable task, might be made to have a high meaning in it, and I determined to devote all my energies to the service of others. I felt sure that there must be some way of relieving the distress of the poor, some measure of providing for the future of people. The result was that I gradually elaborated the Hotoku system."

Before giving a detailed account of the Hotokusha I wish to describe the earlier form of Ninomiya's system, as carried out in Sakuramachi, Nakamura and other places. This is the nucleus of the Hotoku measures and was widely known as *Fukoku Ammin Ho*, or the Means of National

Wealth and Prosperity of the People. The purpose of this system was to increase the revenue of the sovereign and at the same time to establish on a firm foundation the income of the people. We must remember that the measures of Ninomiya were undertaken at a time when the whole government of Japan was a feudal system, and loyalty to the sovereign was the basis of all civic virtues. Hence the revenue of the sovereign (daimyō) was a matter of supreme importance, and any diminution in the fortunes of the people was regarded as a calamity not only for its own sake, but because it was reflected in the wealth of the ruler. The taxes were for the most part paid in kind, almost invariably in the form of rice. In some provinces they were low and absorbed not much more than one-third of a farmer's crop, but in other provinces they absorbed as much as three-fifths or even more. It is clear therefore that whatever measures were undertaken to revise prosperity, the share that was to go to the sovereign must be carefully calculated, as any uncertainty about it might mean ruin to the people. In all matters pertaining to the organic structure of society Ninomiya could not be an innovator; he accepted this as a matter of course. He reformed without revolutionizing.

The preliminary work in the *Fukoku Ammin Ho* consisted in establishing a *Bundo Ho*, freely interpreted, a method of determining a standard of living. Let us suppose Ninomiya was called upon to introduce economic reforms within a domain. He made careful estimates of the average yield (mainly of rice) that the land produced, or that the land easily could produce. To get accurate figures on this point he frequently spent a long time, often visiting every village of a given domain. He then calculated the land-tax of the district, and this formed as we have seen a considerable fraction of the whole product. The difference between these two amounts was the *Bundo Ho*, that is, the amount that was fixed for the use of the people. Out of this amount it was always provided that

a certain fund should be set aside for, what may be termed, social purposes, or purposes of mutual benefit, such as poor relief, famine relief, public works, or any form of future production. How this fund should be employed, the disposition of its various parts, was settled by the *Goson Shiho*. Literally, the meaning of this term is *measures for village and country*. Its broader meaning, however, applied to the rules for putting to work the reserve fund of the *Bundo Ho*. We know that during the Tokugawa period it was the policy of the government to establish store-houses of rice, not only to furnish people with food in time of famine but also to have reserves in time of war. Ninomiya therefore did not have to invent an entirely new system in his setting aside a share of the produce of each year, but only to adopt and extend a system already widely known. The *Goson Shiho* did not of course contemplate the storing of rice for military purposes, or even primarily for charity, though it could be used for charitable purposes if necessary. The main object was to keep a capital fund which could be used either for equalizing or extending industry from year to year, and it will readily be seen that the sacrifice of the people, though perhaps great at first, became less and less as the reserve fund grew. Under the *Fukoku Ammin Ho* the standard of living for each household was in reality limited, or at least there was a maximum of expenditure beyond which the household could not go. Each person contributed a certain share toward establishing a mutual benefit fund, from which he received no direct personal return, except in so far as better social conditions were an advantage to him. It was, however, a fixed belief of Ninomiya that such social expenditure was really of immense advantage to all.

In the Hotokusha, Ninomiya endeavored to amplify and systematize the central truths of the *Fukoku Ammin Ho*. The word itself implies his meaning, *Ho* signifying compensation, and *toku*, gifts. He wishes to emphasize

the point that each one, in proportion to his position in life, is under obligation to render services in return. What is man by himself, or by his own efforts? He is feebler than the animal, and civilized man, standing alone, is certainly weaker than the savage. We are strong because of social wealth bequeathed to us by the virtue of our ancestors, our state and our parents. Thus, each one of us is under obligation to render services in return for all that has been given to us. "What posterity will be," says Ninomiya, "depends upon what we do to-day." He had no place in his sytem for the wretched individualism that characterizes our nineteenth century. He had little more than contempt for the theory that a man has a right to all the weath he can accumulate under system of free contract, and he insisted on the doctrine that much of what we possess is not owing at all to our own industry or to our own virtue, but to the social system established by our predecessors. He would doubtless have agreed with the words of the poet:

> "Alas, not yet thy human task is done!
> A bond at birth is forged; a debt doth lie
> Immortal on mortality. It grows—
> By vast rebounds it grows, unceasing growth;
> Gift upon gift, alms upon alms, upreared.
> From man, from God, from nature, till the soul
> At that so high indulgence stands amazed."

He would, in other words, not only have denied that individual human selfishness under the guise of competition conduces to the benefit of all, but he would have ascribed the misery, the neglect, the poverty of people to this self-same selfishness. What is curious too is that he did not regard the mutual relation of people, their obligation to each other, with any religious feeling, but as a sober fact that any one would acknowledge who had a mind open to the nature of things about him. The Hotokusha was founded by a sober social

reformer, not by a man who thought he had a religious message to give to the world. In all matters pertaining to what he thought was religion he followed the custom of the country.

It must not be supposed, however, that the Hotokusha is mainly devoted to the economic interests of society. A just distribution of wealth is one of the objects aimed at, but it is after all only an element in the system. What the Hotokusha really aims at is such an arrangement of society as will at once elevate and satisfy the individual. Truth-speaking, honesty, sincerity, industry, are all enjoined. The Hotokusha is also, what I have termed a coöperative credit institution, but only in the sense that coöperation in the opinion of Ninomiya was necessary to realize a true society.

It would require too much time to show the development and changes which the Hotokusha has undergone in Japan. Even to-day the different associations have different rules, in order to adapt themselves to the peculiar circumstances of each locality. The latest and perhaps best system of rules have been adopted in Anbara-gori, Saruga (Shizuoka in Shizuoka-Ken). These rules were revised by the most enthusiastic and persevering of Ninomiya's disciples, and we may therefore suppose that they give the essential purpose of the Hotokusha better than any other body of rules.

I.—Object of the Hotokusha.

The great aim of the Hotokusha is to realize a true social life. In order to attain this object, it must give relief to those who suffer, to the poor, to orphans (Art. X, 2); it must reward members who have displayed extraordinary industry or performed meritorious actions, worthy of particular note (Art X, 2); it must seek to improve the customs of the people and to further social morality (Art. VII, 5); it must give aid to farming villages in distress (Art. XI, 3) and cultivate waste land (Art.

X, 2); it must facilitate methods of irrigation (very important in a rice growing country) and promote the planting of forests (Art. VII, 5). It also aims in the local divisions to construct roads, dikes and aquaducts. Moreover it aims to loan capital to such members as are in need of it (Art. XI, 3), to dispatch teachers to various places to explain the principles of the Hotokusha (Art. XV). It also proposes to pay interest on special deposits (Art. XI, 2).

II.—Resources of the Hotokusha.

The resources of the *Hotokusha*, called the *Hotokukin*, are divided into two parts, viz., the property owned by the association and the active funds. The property owned by the association is known as the *Dodaikin*. It serves the purpose of giving permanence and stability to the association and at the same time identifying its interests with those of the locality. About one-half of the *Dodaikin* is called the Principal Property and consists of *Ta* (rice or wet land), *Hata* (dry cultivated land), forest land, public bonds and other securities. The other half is called the Reserve Money (*Jobikin*) and consists of money deposited in banks of secure companies. As indicated by its name, it serves the purpose of supplementing the other funds (loans, remuneration, etc.) in time of necessity. The active funds (*Shiyokin*) consist of the loanable capital[1] (the regular[2] and special deposits[3]), the funds for the special remuneration[4] of members, and gifts.

III.—Methods of Obtaining, Employing and Collecting the Hotoku Funds.

The funds of the Hotokusha are obtained from five sources; viz., the Dodaikin, Contributions, General Deposits, Special Deposits and Thank Offerings.

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[1] Kashitsukekin. [2] Kanyukin. [3] Betto-Kanyukin. [4] Shoyokin.

(*a*) The Dodaikin is derived in various ways, as for instance grants from the government, advances from the central association or other associations, or the contributions of members. As already stated, the Dodaikin is composed of the property owned by the association and the reserve. It is employed for supplementing the loan funds and for special remunerations.

(*b*) The Contributions are payments made by members or non-members, together with the profits of the Dodaikin. They are (Art. X, 2) used for the following purposes:

1.—Special remuneration to members for any excellence, as determined by the reports of the branch associations.

2.—Relief to members who have suffered from any unusual calamity.

3.—To assist branch associations in need of funds.

4.—To provide expenses for the recovery of waste land.

5.—To provide for the ordinary expenses of the association.

(*c*) General deposits are derived from voluntary payments by members. All members are expected to save something, if possible, above the ordinary expenses of living, and such savings may be put with the General Deposits of the association. On quitting the association members can draw out the principal.

(*d*) Special Deposits are deposits made either by members or non-members, for a fixed period (generally 6 years), and drawing interest at the rate of 5 %. Together with the general deposits they may be employed as loans for the following purposes:

1.—When a branch association desires a loan, either for its own purposes, or for one of its members, or for the building of roads, for the repair of dykes or aqueducts or for the assistance of a village in distress.

2.—When a member desires capital for a definite purpose, or,

3.—For the relief of people in time of famine, or of bad crops.

(*e*) Thank-offerings are payments made by members who have received a loan from the association. When his loan has been repaid in annual installments, each member is expected to pay an additional sum equal to one year's installment. This additional sum is called a Thank-offering and is carried to the Dodaikin of each year.

What loans shall be made out of the Deposits must be settled at the meetings of the association, and in all important cases the President, the Vice-president, Chairman and Members of the Board of Management must be consulted. In making loans to individuals the paper must receive the endorsement of two individuals, generally members, as guarantees, and if necessary, security may be required. Loans are repayable in installments; say in 5, 7 or 10 years. Loans made out of the Special Deposits must be repaid within 5 years. Loans made out of the Hotokukin draw no interest, but the thank offering paid at the maturity of a loan is equivalent to a high rate of interest.

IV.—Officers and Organization of the Hotokusha.

The organization of the Hotokusha is provided for as follows: Meetings of members (*Kaigi*), President (*Shacho*) Vice-president (*Fukushacho*), Teachers (*Kyoshi*), Chairman of the Board of Management (*Kanjicho*), Board of Management (*Kanji*), Inspectors (*Junkai-in*).

(*a*) There are two kinds of meetings, general and regular. The general meeting is held twice a year, in the spring and in the autumn, and all the members are expected to be present. The regular meetings are held once a month and all the officials are expected to be present. Temporary meetings may be called when matters to be decided quickly come to hand. At the meetings officers are to be elected, and all matters

pertaining to the repayment of installments are to be considered, as well matters pertaining to loans. As far as possible at the general meetings the followings subjects are to be discussed:

1.—The principles of Hotoku.

2.—Improvements in cultivation.

3.—The development of industries and the increase of production.

4.—Advancement of commercial morality.

5.—The practice of frugality and the relief of people in distress.

6.—The reclaiming of waste land and improvements in irrigation and forestry.

7.—Measures for advancing social customs and morality.

(*b*) The President oversees the business of the association, and presides at the meetings. The Vice-president assists him and in necessary cases takes his place.

(*c*) It is the duty of the Teachers to explain the Hotoku principles to all who are interested, and to animate and encourage the members. There are generally two.

(*d*) The Board of Management keeps the accounts of the Association, is responsible for the cash and transacts the details of the business. It keeps three kinds of cash-books, one for the Dodaikin, another for the Contributions, and another for the Deposits. It also at stated periods makes out a report of the present condition of the Association, and sends a copy to the Central Association. The Chairman of the Board of Management is the head of that body and acts as a medium between it and the President or Association.

(*e*) Inspectors visit the various branch associations in the smaller villages and observe the condition of things. They make reports to the President, through the Board of Management, suggesting criticisms or bestowing praise as the case may be.

All the above mentioned officers receive no salary, but are supposed to perform their duties from a sense of honor.

The President, Vice-president, Chairman and members of the Board of Management and Teachers are elected at the general meetings of the Association, for a term of two years. Inspectors are appointed by the President and Vice-president.

V.

An association in generally established for a term of 60 years. If, however, from any cause it is dissolved before the expiration of this period, its business is to be entrusted to the Central Association, or the Principal Hotokusha of the next province. The General and Special Deposits shall be paid in full to members; but the Contributions, the profit of the Dodaikin and Thank Offerings shall not be divided, but deposited with the Central Association or the Principal Association of the next province. In case the Association is revived the money shall be returned. All these rules are in operation in the principal associations, and the branch associations do not essentially differ from them in any point, except in the extent of business. It is also a rule that any number of men more than seven may establish an association.

VI.—Principal (Bunsha) Central (Honsha) and Branch Associations.

The relation of the branch associations to the principal association is indicated partly by the very terms. The branches receive money assistance from the principal association, and the principal association in turn controls and supervises the affairs of its branches, and accordingly has authority to dispatch inspectors to them. The officers of the branch association are expected to be present at the meetings of the principal association. The principal association also assumes in all cases the work of dispatching

teachers, and in case of the dissolution of branch associations supervises the accounts, and takes charge of the Dodaikin.

The central associations often do not differ much from the principal. Sometimes there are several principal associations united under a single branch association, and in that case the latter may contribute funds to assist the former. Sometimes, however, the central association has its own branches and there appears to be no distinction between central and principal. Generally the latter send reports of their condition to the former. According to the orginal intention of the founders the central association was to have been a bond of union between a number of principal associations, but in too many cases this intention was not fully realized.

VII.—Members.

Any adult is admitted to membership who does not fall under the following heads:

1.—Anyone who is irreligious, *i.e.* despises the gods or providence (*kami*), or who shows want of respect to the Government.

2.—Anyone who is a bankrupt because of his idleness or extravagance.

3.—Anyone who pretending to work for the good of others is actuated by self-interest.

Members are expected to practise frugality. Whatever can be saved above their usual means of livelihood is to be devoted to the Association, either in the form of contributions or deposits.

Above all each member must show by his conduct that he is thankful for the gifts of the gods (*kami*), of his sovereign and of his ancestors. He should be industrious and economical and maintain the standard of his house. Above this standard he should contribute as much as possible to social purposes.

All members have the right of casting a vote at the meeting of the association. They also have the right of borrowing, according to the conditions prescribed. But in all cases such loans must be proved to be used for productive purposes.

Members may quit the association at any time. They must, however, repay all loans made to them before they can withdraw. They can take with them all their deposits without interest, except the special deposits which draw interest.

Several points are to be noticed that distinguish the Hotokusha from most credit associations. In the first place, the officers receive no salary for their work. This is but natural, as Ninomiya wished to emphasize the importance of performing social labor gratis. This is a point of resemblance between the Hotokusha and the Raiffeisen Loan Associations of Germany, though the latter make a point of paying clerks. Gratuitous services of this description have been of great use to society in all times, and there can be no doubt that the future may see a revival in this direction. A second point in the Hotokusha is that it neither demands nor pays interest, nor does it expect anything more in most cases than personal security for its loans. The Thank Offering, amounting to a year's installment of the loan, is indeed equivalent to a considerable rate of interest. Still it is not interest and the difference is insignificant. Ninomiya wished as far as possible to keep the idea of profit or dividend out of the Hotokusha. Likewise to demand security in every case would defeat the ends of the association. It frequently happens that the most deserving people are the poorest, and the people most worthy of a loan are least able to give security. In both these respects the Hotokusha bears a certain resemblance to the Raiffeisen Loan Associations, though the latter always demands the payment of interest. In many points it is clear that the Hotokusha

was adapted not to modern but to feudal times, when Japan was closed to foreigners. The storage of rice and other grains is an example in point, though it is by no means certain that the system of storing grain may not be revived at some future date. However, the necessity for the system is certainly not so great in these times, when foreign trade is so extended.

Lastly, as to the extent and influence of the Hotokusha. In the Appendix will be found statistics as to number and wealth of the associations, and from these figures an idea of the influence of the Hotokusha may be formed. The present, however, is hardly a time for a rapid advance of such an institution. Our century is a time of individual enterprise, of self-interest and the desire for wealth. It is hardly likely that an institution based on precisely opposite motives could have an extraordinary success. What the history of the Hotokusha might have been had Japan remained closed to foreign influences must be left to the imagination. We must not forget, however, that the good accomplished by an institution like the Hotokusha cannot be measured merely by the amount of its pecuniary transaction. A small gift to a starving person is of immense value, and a trifling assistance of money to one who has suffered from a flood may be the means of restoring him to prosperity. Above all there can be no doubt that this association serves the great purpose of uniting the interests of people, of drawing the social bonds closer, and of establishing, in some slight degree, a brotherhood of man.

APPENDIX I.

LIST OF WORKS ON NINOMIYA AND HOTOKUSHA.

1.—*Hotoku Kun* (The Hotoku idea); by Ninomiya.

2.—*Ninomiya-O no Riyakuden* (Short Life of Ninomiya); by Fukuzumi.

3.—*Ninomiya-O no Yawa* (Night Talks by Ninomiya); by Fukuzumi.

4.—*Fukoku Shokei* (True Way to Wealth); by Fukuzumi.

5.—*Hotoku Tebiki Gusa* (Guide to the Hotoku); by Fukuzumi.

6.—*Hotoku Naiki* (Inner Interpretation of the Hotoku); by Fukuzumi.

7.—*Hotoku Gwaiki* (Outer Interpretations of the Hotoku); by Saito Takayuki.

8.—*Zen Aku Oho Kan*; by Fukuzumi.

9.—*Hotoku Gaku Yuken Yu*; by Fukuzumi.

10.—*Hotoku Ki* (Story of the Hotoku); by Tomita Kokei.

11.—*Hotoku Fukoku Ron* (Essay on the Means of Wealth); by Okada Rioichiro.

12.—*Hotoku Gaku Seika Dan* (An Account of Domestic Economy According to the Hotoku); by Okada Rioichiro.

13.—*Kwappo Keizai Dan* (Essay on Practical Economics); by Okada Rioichiro.

14.—*Musoku Ken O Ichidai Ki* (Story of My Father); by Okada Rioichiro.

15.—*Hotokai Kessha Mon Do* (How to Organize the Hotokusha); by Fukuzumi.

16.—*Keiyen Teikun Shu* (Household Instruction); by Fukuzumi.

17.—*Hotoku Kessha Kisoku* (Regulations of the Hotokusha); by the Hotokusha.

18.—*Hotoku Dodaimai Kiyaku* (Rules for Rice Storage); by Nakagami Kisaburo.

19.—*Shinyo Kumiai Ho* (Credit Associations); by Nakagami Kisaburo.

20.—*Hotoku Kunka* (Songs of the Hotoku); by Ando Saishiro.

21.—*Hotoku Kessha Ho* (How to Organize Credit Associations); by Ando Saishiro.

22.—*Ninomiya O Doka Kai* (Commentary on Ninomiya's Poems); by Fukuzumi.

23.—*Hotoku Kun Shakuji* (Commentary on Ninomiya's Precepts); by Fukuzumi.

24.—*Honkio Riyakuzu Setsu* (Diagrams of Hotoku Principles); by Fukuzumi.

25.—*Hotoku Michi Shirube* (Guide to the Hotoku).

26.—*Shinyo Kumiai Ron* (Credit Associations); by Hirata Tosuke.

27.—*Dai Nippon Teikoku Hotoku* (A Monthly Magazine of the Hotoku), published since the 25th year of Meiji, 1892.

APPENDIX II.

LIST OF CENTRAL, PRINCIPAL, AND BRANCH ASSOCIATIONS AS REPORTED BY THE HEAD OFFICE IN SHIZUOKA IN 1890.

SURUGA NISHI HOTOKUSHA (HOTOKUSHA OF WESTERN SURUGA).

Membership	1,221	
Dodai Kin	650	yen.
Money for social utility	900	"
Contributions	11,220	"
Total	12,770	yen.
Branches	25	
Membership	698	
Dodai Kin	60	yen.
Money for social utility	449	"
Contributions	8,310	"
Total	8,819	yen.
Rice Stores	82	koku.

SURUGA HIGASHI HOTOKUSHA (HOTOKUSHA OF EASTERN SURUGA).

Membership	800	
Dodai Kin	1,897	yen.
Money for social utility	1,200	"
Contributions	354	"
Total	3,451	yen.

Dry land owned by the Association	2 cho 2 tan.
Branches	26
Membership	860
Money for social utility	4,450 yen.
Dodai Kin	5,860 "
Contributions	15,304 "
Total	25,614 yen.
Rice Stores	117 koku.
Millet Stores	58 "
Cultivated dry land and forest	4 cho 8 tan.

SHIZUOKA HOTOKUSHA (HOTOKUSHA OF THE CITY OF SHIZUOKA).

Membership	109
Dodai Kin	31 yen.
Money for social utility	123 "
Contributions	944 "
Total	1,098 "
Rice stores	30 koku.

SHUNTO-GORI HOTOKUSHA (HOTOKUSHA OF THE DISTRICT OF SHUNTO).

Membership	2
Dodai Kin	24 yen.
Money for social utility	3 "
Contributions	855 "
Total	882 yen.

TOTOMI HOTOKU YENJOSHA (CENTRAL ASSOCIATION OF TOTOMI).

Principal Associations	6
Branch Associations	92
Central Association, Dodai Kin	3,304 yen.
Principal Association, Dodai Kin	2,414 "
Branch Association, Dodai Kin	67,497 "

TOTOMI HOTOKUSHA.

Members	214	
Dodai Kin	9,938	yen.
Money for social utility	4,996	"
Contributions	2,968	"
Deposits	6,274	"
Total	24,170	yen.
Branches	166	
Dodai Kin	5,178	yen.
Money for social utility	19,138	"
Thank Offerings	7,187	"
Deposits	3,162	"
Contributions	28,057	"
Total	62,722	yen.
Rice stores	744	koku.
Millet stores	47	"
Barley stores	15	"

OSUMI-GORI HOTOKUSHA.

Number	17	
Membership	456	
Dodai Kin	217	yen.
Money for social utility	317	"
Contributions	6,661	"
Total	7.195	yen.
Rice land	1	tan.

ASHIGARA-KAMI-GORI HOTOKUSHA.

Number	5	
Membership	305	
Money for social utility	61	yen.
Contributions	1,723	"
Total	1,784	yen.

ASHIGARA-SHIMOGORIHOTOKUSHA.

Number	10	
Membership	355	
Dodai Kin	5,719	yen.
Thank Offerings	902	"
Contributions	5,194	"
Other amounts	779	"
Total	12,594	yen.
Rice stores	3	koku.

ODAWARA HOTOKUSHA.

Number	3	
Membership	93	
Dodai Kin	5,671	yen.
Money for social utility	190	"
Total	5,861	yen.

HIGASHI YASHIRO-GORI HOTOKUSHA.

Number	2	
Membership	60	
Dodai Kin	2,229	yen.
Money for social utility	25	"
Total	2,254	yen.

TAKATA-GORI HOTOKUSHA (IZU).

Membership	32	
Money for social utility	250	yen.
Contributions	750	"
Total	1,000	yen.

SHIDARA-GORI HOTOKUSHA (MIKAWA).

Number	16	
Membership	275	
Hotoku Kin	1,391	yen.

HIGASHI-KAMO-GORI HOTOKUSHA (MIKAWA).

Number	4	
Membership	129	
Hotoku Kin	162	yen.

ISE HOTOKUSHA.

Number	9
Membership	253
Hotoku Kin	927 yen.
Rice and dry land	1 cho 3 tan.
Houses	7

IWASHIRO HOTOKUSHA.

Number	7
Membership	518
Hotoku Kin	629 yen.
Rice	20 koku.

Another account states the total result in 1890 as follows:

Number of Central Associations	4
Number of Principal Associations	6
Number of Branch Associations	608
Membership of Central Associations ...	4,902
Membership of Principal Associations ...	2,667
Membership of Branch Associations	11,411
Total sum of the Dodai Kin	110,692 yen.
Total sum of money for public utility ...	32,767 "
Contributions	84,205 "
Thank Offerings	14,082 "
Hotoku Kin	15,195 "
Rice stores	246 koku.
Other grain stores...	156 "
Land	8 cho 7 tan.

These figures are only approximately correct. In no case are they above the correct figure, and the total as given is probably considerably below the real amounts. It is difficult to get accurate accounts from certain districts. The authorities report that they find it quite impossible to get answers from all the associations.

NOTE ON NINOMIYA SANTOKU.

By Joseph H. Longford, Esq.

[*Read 17th January 1894.*]

When reading, during the course of last summer, the details of the notorious Soma scandal, and especially those contained in the anonymous confession purporting to be made by one of the participators in the frauds that had been committed on the Soma family, I was much struck by the great wealth that that family must have possessed to have admitted of even the suggestion of such gigantic frauds, as were alleged to have been perpetrated without discovery, being made with any hope of obtaining the public credence. The family is to-day well known to be one of the most prosperous among the territorial daimios, not of the very front rank, who are now in the peerage; the family mansion occupies a large space in the best quarter of Tōkyō, directly facing the Houses of Parliament, a site too valuable to be retained as merely the residence of a private gentleman if he was in the least degree suffering under any pecuniary embarrassment. And yet the so-called confession detailed, it will be remembered, in a very precise manner, thefts and frauds to the extent of over two million silver yen which were said to have been committed on the head of the family by dishonest stewards without, not to say discovery, but even suspicion, during the short

period of ten years. Was it probable or even possible, I asked a Japanese scholar, that any Japanese family, outside the limited circle of the few well known great plutocrats of the Empire, and not engaged in trade, at the present day, possessed even an approach to this wealth? "Oh yes," I was told; "most certainly the Soma family not only might but probably did possess it, for they had, at one time, in their service the great physiocratic economist, Ninomiya Santoku, and they profited by his teaching during his life time, developing their estates to the utmost and bringing their administration to a high degree of economic perfection, and also by, both before and since the Revolution, abstaining from every extravagant or ostentatious expenditure, and they therefore no doubt possessed very large accumulations." I had never before heard of the existence of Ninomiya, but very little inquiry soon showed me that, long before Japan was opened to foreigners, long before even the elements of foreign science or philosophy could have been known here, she possessed a practical economist and philosopher, self-educated and risen from the very humblest rank, whose work and teaching were not unworthy to be compared with those of Turgot, who is the acknowledged parent of flourishing coöperative societies now doing great good in many important agricultural districts in Japan, whose work is the subject of a fairly extensive literature, and whose name is still venerated wherever that work is known. His life was from early youth down to its close at a good old age one of ceaseless activity, characterized not only by the most untiring industry but by honesty, intelligence and austere self-denial, and merit alone raised him from a poverty-stricken peasant to be confidential adviser, not only of the chief of his own clan, but even of the Shogun, in an age when the feudalism that in its strictest form prevailed throughout the whole empire seemed to place an insuperable bar in the way of

the advancement of any one, no matter how deserving, from the class in which he was born.

Societies founded by Ninomiya exist at the present time, principally in the provinces adjacent to Tōkyō; Sagami, Suruga, Idzu, and Totomi. Their professed object is to advance the well-being of the farming class especially, by inculcating frugality and industry, and by helping its members with loans to be used solely in productive work. The principal doctrine is that merit should be rewarded with merit, that it should be every one's earnest effort to repay what he has gained by the merit of others with correspondingly adequate service on his own part. What we have gained most from are nature, the Emperor, and our ancestors. The latter we repay by keeping up the family line. To the Emperor, we render loyalty and pay taxes; but what can we do to reward nature for all she has done for us? Nothing better than to develop what she has given by more extensive and improved cultivation, by opening up land hitherto unused, and improving the cultivation and production of that which is already in use, and by so doing promote the general welfare of humanity at large. This can only be done with the aid of capital, and though each individual farmer may, by the practice of great industry and intense frugality, succeed in saving a little capital, his own individual efforts in that direction must always be limited, and it is besides not to the advantage of the community at large that the standard of living should be lowered to a scale which would be no more than sufficient to support life. But in each community there must be some who, by moderate frugality, are able to save some small amount each year. The societies take charge of these sums as deposits, and from them loans are made, not on material or substantial, but on personal, security, to members whose characters and industry are well known to all the other members of the society and can be thoroughly relied on. The borrowers

are not burdened by the payment of immediate, though in the end they pay what is rather a heavy, interest, and are able to devote themselves to the prosecution of the productive work for which the loan has been made, unhampered by continuous payments without diminution of the whole debt. No one is admitted into the societies whose character is not thoroughly tested. No loans are made to avoid the consequences of idleness or extravagance, though the claims of misfortune are recognised. Spend-thrifts, irreligious or disloyal persons, or those whose sole object is clearly only their own welfare, are excluded from membership. All must be actuated to some extent by the idea of promoting, in no matter how small a way, the welfare of his fellow members, and through them that of humanity at large. These societies are still, as compared, with the entire Empire and population, insignificant, but they are, at the same time, fairly numerous and widely distributed, and apart from their moral effects there can be little doubt that their further development would be of immense benefit to the agricultural classes at large, not only owing to the high degree of morality in all aspects that is demanded from their members, but in saving the struggling and deserving farmer from the clutches of pitiless usurers by granting loans in case of need on mere personal security repayable by easy instalments. Farmers in Japan have been and to a great extent still are as great sufferers at the hands of usurers as were their compeers in Germany and Ireland in past days. There are few countries in which they are so exposed to the risk of the sudden destruction of all their crop and farming stock—buildings, cattle and implements—by earthquake, storms, floods or fire as they are in Japan, and to relieve the consequences of such unavoidable misfortunes, the local usurer is their sole resource. Occasionally, where the destruction is widespread and sufficiently extensive to attract outside attention, the Government comes to their

assistance; but where, as is the case in the far greater number of instances, only one or a few closely neighbouring families are the sufferers, loss must be borne in silence and repaired by individual effort. Japan possesses now a very excellent system of national and private banks, which have undoubtedly rendered immense service both to trade and to the encouragement of thrift and saving, but the advantages of these banks have as yet almost entirely failed to reach the classes of peasant proprietors and small tradesmen in the country districts. During the year that has just passed, all the banks, both in Tōkyō and Osaka, were suffering from an absolute glut of capital at their disposal for investment, so much so that considerable reductions were made in the rate of interest allowed on fixed deposits. Government bonds bearing only 5 per cent interest were at the same time above par, and yet it is well known that borrowers among the agricultural classes were obliged to pay from 10 to 20 per cent interest on loans raised on the security of their land. In districts where societies, founded on the principles advocated by Ninomiya, have been established, they have to the extent of their limited means supplied the want of banks; but in the greater part of the empire the small farmer is still only too often the helpless victim of the grinding tyranny of the usurer, a bondage far worse and more hopeless than any to which he had to submit in the most oppressive periods of feudalism. It is difficult perhaps for us, with our ideas of the Japanese character in commercial matters, to believe that societies which make loans merely on personal security can continue to flourish in the long run, but precisely similar societies have done so in Germany, and it is to be remembered that these loans are made only to persons whose characters are well known and to members of a class who above all others are averse to change of occupation or residence. They have hitherto flourished under these conditions in Japan, and there can

be little doubt that their further extension would be of immense benefit not only to the farming classes throughout the empire, but to the people in general by the lesson which they would afford of the advantages of thrift, honesty, and self-reliance.

Curtis.

ON A POSSIBLE ORIGIN OF THE WATERWHEEL.

By James Troup.

[*Read April 11th, 1894.*]

In almost every part of the country districts of Japan there may be seen a primitive-looking contrivance, called *battari*, used for the hulling of rice. It may be shortly described as a water-lever, with a stamper at one end. A representation of it is given in Fig. 3, attached to this paper. The name *battari* probably is the same word as that used to express the sound of the slamming of a door, the falling of a lid, or the like, and contains the same root as the onomatopoetic adverb *bata-bata*, used to describe the sound of a thing rapidly falling. The stamper, as is seen in the sketch, works in a mortar, containing the rice being hulled. The other end of the lever,—which is usually little more than a roughly-shaped log,—is hollowed out, (Fig. 3-A), somewhat in the form of a box; but, in place of there being an upright side to the box at the extremity of the lever, the hollow of the box slopes up gradually, from the bottom, to the level of the upper edge. A small stream of water is led so as to fall into the box, which, while the lever is in a horizontal position, and the stamper resting in the mortar, receives the water. The weight of the water brings down the end of the lever having the box, and consequently raises the other end having the stamper. No sooner is the box down than the water escapes from the sloping end of the box. This end of the lever, being thus again lightened, rises, and the stamper at the other end comes down into the mortar with force sufficient to perform its work in hulling the

rice. As represented in Fig. 3-B, there may sometimes be seen a regularly constructed box at the end of the lever, in place of the hollow in the log.

A number of years ago, in the province of Settsu, near the road leading from the village of Arima to the town of Sanda, the writer remarked a curious modification of the above contrivance. In place of the box at one end of the lever and the stamper at the other, there was, in this case, a box at each end of the lever; and, when the box at one end was filled with water and descended, the lever, in place of returning to its former horizontal position, went round so as to bring the other box under the stream of water. The lever thus received a rotatory motion on its prop, or axis; and the stamper was worked by a prolongation of the axis of the lever, in which pegs were inserted to raise the stamper, in the manner shown in Fig. 4,—and as may be seen in the ordinary rice-mills in the country.

It is said that this contrivance, unmodified, may be seen at work, at the present day, in the province of Jōshū; but I have not seen it there.

The above suggested the idea:—Might not this contrivance have, in process of time, led to the development of a waterwheel? Some years afterwards, the writer had an opportunity of presenting such a notion to the eminent authropologist, Tylor, who enquired:—Was there ever to be seen, in this country, (what would constitute the next stage in such a development,) a similar contrivance with a second lever attached at right angles to one as now described? This led the writer to take the opportunity, when in the mountainous districts of the country especially, to note whether such a thing was to be seen. In the course of excursions in different localities, the original *battari* was frequently noticed,—but, for years, no such modification of it, such as that now suggested, was met with. In the autumn of last year,

however, in the province of Jōshū, as the tourist descends from the Konsei Pass into the valley of the Tone-gawa, —there, sure enough, was to be seen a modification of the *battari* such as was looked for. The lever with the box at each end had had added to it another lever, at right angles, and the additional lever had also a box at each end, attached to it; but these were not full-sized boxes,—they were merely light shallow structures,—little more than flat boards with raised rims round the edges, and the additional lever itself was not a substantial beam like the main lever, but a much lighter piece of wood. The additional light lever, in fact, served no other purpose than to assist the main lever in getting round so as to place its boxes under the stream of water. The arrangement is represented in Fig 6.

But, further, the day following, and still in Jōshū, what might be termed the intermediate form of this machine was met with. The additional light lever, in this instance, was not furnished with boxes. It had merely a flat board attached to each end, on which, as the machine turned round, the water fell,—thus assisting the rotatory motion. Fig. 5.

And, later on, what might be termed the further development of the machine was met with. In this case, the second lever had assumed the same proportions as the first, and was duly furnished with a full sized box at each end, like the first lever. There were now also two stampers, one to correspond with each lever,—or, more properly, pair of levers. (Fig. 7.) And, as if to make the thing complete, the same afternoon were to be seen similar machines, with three, and with four pairs of levers, —and with six and eight boxes attached. (Fig. 8.)

To convert the last-named into what we understand by a waterwheel, there only remained to add bars between the arms of the levers, to strengthen the construction, and support the boxes, or buckets, as we call them. It was

somewhat singular to note, however, that, even in the case of the wheel with eight buckets, no such supporting bars were added; although, in the same district, there were to be seen in operation both over-shot and under-shot waterwheels of various sizes, and of improved forms of construction. The presence of the primitive *battari*, in its several stages of development, along with those wheels, all at work in the same river valley, suggests the reflexion: —Does the mind of man, then, in the development of his inventions, act as nature does in the evolution of forms of organic life? "All forms," the naturalist says, "do not necessarily advance, . . . there can now be simple organisms still existing."

As is well known, we may still see, in this country, a lever worked, as in Fig. 2, by human labor, in the hulling of rice. This may, perhaps, be taken as the form of the *battari* before water-power was called into requisition to assist human labor in this species of work; and the more primitive mallet and mortar, as represented in Fig. 1, as prior to that again. The order, therefore, of the figures, as given in the annexed sketches, Nos. 1 to 8, is suggested as that of the stages in this development.

The waterwheel is usually looked upon as having had its origin in connexion with the work of the irrigation of the fields. On the shadoof of the Nile valley, "for irrigation," says Tylor,* "it was mechanically an improvement . . to set a gang of slaves to turn a great wheel with buckets or earthen jars at its circumference, which rose full from the water below, and as they turned over emptied themselves into a trough at a higher level. But when such a wheel was built to dip in a running stream, then the current itself would turn the wheel, and thus would come into existence the noria or irrigating waterwheel often

* Anthropology, Chap. viii.

mentioned in ancient literature, and to be seen still at work both in the East and in Europe. By these or some similar steps of invention the waterwheel was made a source of power for doing other work, such as grinding corn, instead of the women at the quern or the slaves at the treadmill, or the mill-horse in his everlasting round. As the Greek epigram says: 'Cease your work, ye maids who labored at the mill, sleep and let the birds sing to the returning dawn, for Demeter has bidden the water-nymphs to do your task; obedient to her call, they throw themselves on the wheel and turn the axle and the heavy mill.'"

This wheel was introduced, it would appear, into Japan many centuries ago. The compiler of the "San-sai-dzue" thus speaks of what he takes to refer to the introduction of this water-wheel into this country. The Nihon Koki, he says, states that "In the sixth year of Tenchō, (A. D. 829,) the following Imperial rescript was issued:—'We have heard that it is the practice generally followed in China, in places where it is inconvenient to have aqueducts, to use wheels, driven by the hand, by the foot, by oxen, or otherwise, for the purpose of raising water in time of drought, and that this practice is found to be very convenient. Now the people of Japan have no contrivances of this sort, and so suffer on account of the drought. Let instructions be given, and let such implements be constructed among the people, and thereby the labor of the husbandman be assisted.'" The carrying out of this edict was entrusted to the Dainagon, Yoshimine Yasuyo, son of the Emperor Kwammu, who accordingly caused such water-wheels to be constructed by the people of the different provinces.

The irrigating water-wheel, thus introduced from the Continent of Asia, may be seen at work in Japan at the present day. Examples of it occur on the Tenryu-gawa, below Lake Suwa; and, in at least one instance there, a wheel, constructed on exactly the same principle as those

there used for the irrigation of the rice-fields, is employed at one and the same time for driving the machinery of a modern silk-filature, and for raising water from the river for the purposes of the filature.

There would not seem, however, to be any good reason for supposing that the same result, of a water-wheel, may not have been arrived at by two different ways. The steps leading to such result seem gradual ones, in both cases; and, as far as the uses are concerned to which the wheels are put in this country, these seem, even down to the present day, to have preserved, to some extent, their distinctive characteristics. Whether or not the *battari*, or anything corresponding to it, actually exists on the Continent of Asia, I am unable to say.* It is represented, I believe, in some Japanese drawings of Chinese subjects; but it is impossible to tell, without further information, whether this is a correct representation of the fact, or an error on the part of the artist. But even if a contrivance like the *battari* does exist on the Continent of Asia, this circumstance would not invalidate the theory that the water-wheel generally used for rice-mills, in the country districts here, is a development of such a contrivance.

NOTE.—As was requested at the meeting where this paper was read, the conjecture may be hazarded that the wheel developed from the *battari* is the original overshot waterwheel in this country and perhaps elsewhere; while the irrigating waterwheel may undoubtedly be taken as the original undershot wheel. A sketch of the latter, taken from the illustration given in the San-sai-dzue, is given in Fig. 9.

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* Since this paper was read, the writer has learned that the waterlever is common in the North of Korea, and therefore probably elsewhere on the Continent of Asia.

Fig.1. *Kara or Oki-gara (Tsuki-usu).*

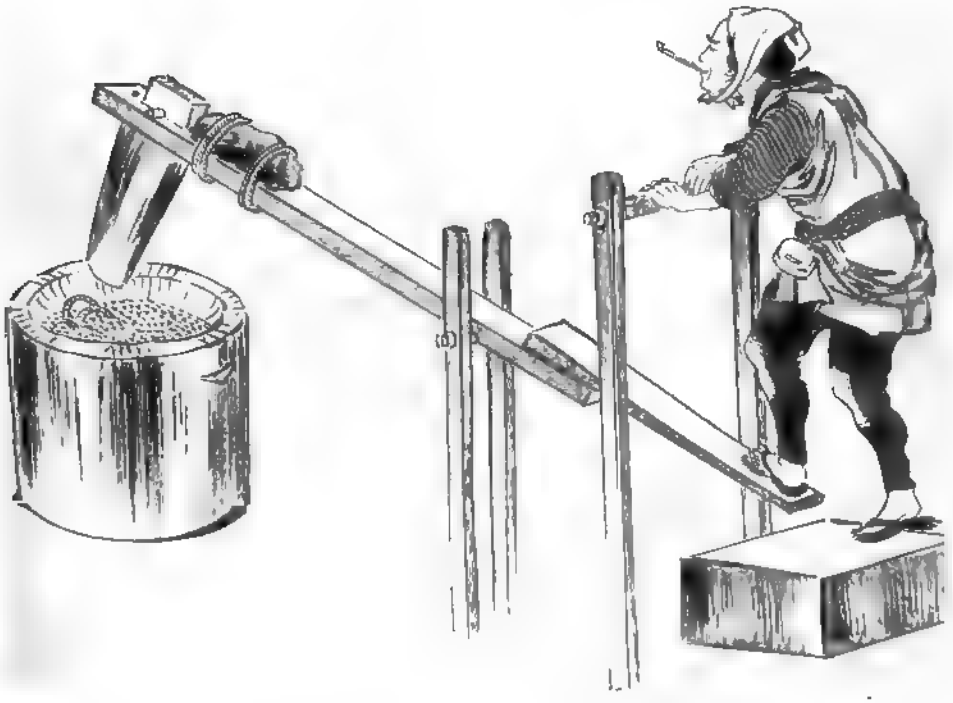

Fig.2. *Fumi-gara (Fumi-usu).*

Fig.3. *a. Battari.*

Fig.3. *b. Battari.*

Fig.4. *Baltari.*

Fig 5. *Battari.*

Fig.6. *Battari.*

Fig.8. *Midzu-guruma.*

Fig.9. ***Midzu-guruma (irrigating Water-wheel).***

THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE RAILWAY SYSTEM IN JAPAN.

3 FEET 6 INCHES GAUGE.

By Francis H. Trevithick, Esq., M.I.C.E., &c.

[*Read April 11th, 1894.*]

The Empire of Japan consists of a number of islands, extending from north-east to south-west about 1,250 miles; and its breadth varies from 75 to 150 miles. The name of the main island is Honshiu, and it occupies the central position, with Shikoku to the south, Kiushiu to the west, and the Hokkaido to the north. Railways have been constructed in these four Islands, and extensions are being carried out, and are under consideration.

This paper is compiled principally from the yearly reports issued by the Railway Bureau. These reports being translated and published by the *Japan Mail*. The last report was for the year ending 31st March, 1893; so the principal features and returns are in most cases to that period.

The country is hardly suitable for an extended railway system. It is volcanic and hilly, the centre being occupied by ridges whose peaks attain heights of from 7,000 to 10,000 feet and whose spurs extend to the coast. The celebrated mountain of Fuji, an extinct, or dormant volcano, is a cone of 12,365 feet high, in an almost isolated position near the coast. Rivers are numerous but not of great length. They are generally subject to violent floods,

either in early Summer from the melting of snow on the mountains, or in Autumn from general heavy rains. In many places the beds of the rivers are above the level of the surrounding country, and the breaking of the banks in flood-time occasions great destruction of property and ruin of agricultural land by deposit of sand and gravel.

The climate varies as regards the Winter, only slight falls of snow occurring south of the central mountains, while on the north-west a fall of eight feet may not be considered uncommon, and every year some trains are not run, and others are delayed through the effect of snow, besides a large sum is expended yearly in keeping the lines clear as long as possible. In all districts the Summer is hot.

Although the evident advantages of constructing railways in Japan had been, it is said, conceived by the then Government in the latter days of the Tokugawa Régime, there is, however, no record existent in proof of this allegation.

After the restoration the question of the necessity of the speedy introduction of railways occupied the attention of the Ministers of State, it was not until the year 1869 that the proposal was approved of by the Emperor, and His Majesty ordered a plan to be laid out for carrying out the scheme. Railways met, however, with such strenuous opposition from the large party which always endeavoured to impede any progress towards Western civilization, as well as with other difficulties which retarded the introduction of railways into England, and other countries, that it was only in the year 1870, that, thanks mainly to the persistent and enlightened efforts of Mr. (now Count) Ito, at that time Assistant Vice-Minister, and of Mr. (now Count) Okuma, then Vice-Minister of the Home and Finance Departments, that this great step towards the opening up and development of the country was eventually started.

It was decided to make a trunk line from Tōkyō to Kyoto, the new and old capitals of the Empire, by the Nakasendo route, and thence to Ōsaka and Kōbe, with branches to Yokohama and Tsuruga, and to complete the whole in from three to five years.

The work on the line between Tōkyō and Yokohama was begun in April 1870, and that between Kōbe, and Ōsaka in November of the same year.

In the words of congratulation addressed to Messrs. (now Counts) Ito, Okuma, and Sangi, on the occasion of the opening of the line between Tōkyō and Yokohama in September, 1872, His Majesty said:—"We express our great satisfaction for the undeviating obedience to our will for the introduction of railways, and the overcoming of all opposition and difficulties, and the consequent completion of the work we witness to-day." These words may convey some idea of the times in which this work was carried out.

The section between Ōsaka and Kyōto was commenced in December, 1873, and completed in February, 1877, when His Majesty opened the line between Kyōto and Kōbe. As the times did not seem in favour of further extension, several years were spent in simply maintaining the 40 or 50 miles of open lines, and while the railways were thus circumstanced disturbances occurred at Saga and Hagi, followed by the Formosan Expedition, and the Satsuma Rebellion. During this interval the Government being fully occupied in dealing with these momentous matters, were not able to give attention to railways. As for the people, they were yet not in a position to form an opinion as to their advantage or otherwise, so to wait anxiously was the only thing the railway authorities could do.

In April, 1878, the Government decided upon the extension of the line from Kyōto to Otsu, and when this was about completed it sanctioned the proposal for the

construction of the Tsuruga line in October, 1879. In April, 1882, the Government approved the scheme of extending the Tsuruga line from Nagahama to Sekigahara, upon the completion of which, it further sanctioned in August, 1883, another extension from the latter town to Ogaki.

From this it may be noted that the revival of railway extension began in 1878, but by no means to any active extent, as may be judged by the fact that some 5 or 6 years were spent in making less than 50 miles of railway.

At the close of 1883 the construction of the Nakasendo Railway was decided on, and the following remarks upon the Trunk Line between Tōkyō and Kyōto being altered from the Nakasendo to the Tōkaido may be of interest.

In 1870, when the construction of railway lines was first contemplated by the Government and a general plan of the future railway system was decided on, it was determined that a trunk line should run between Tōkyō and Kyōto by the Nakasendo; but considering the requirements of the times and discriminating as to the proper order of carrying out the work, it was resolved first to commence operations on the Tōkyō-Yokohama, and Kōbe-Ōsaka sections, the latter being subsequently extended as far as Kyōto and afterwards to Ōtsu. Later on a line was laid between Tsuruga and Ōgaki. At this time it had been proposed to run the trunk line between the two capitals along the Nakasendo, and in August, 1883, it was decided that the line should be constructed along this route. About the close of the same year, the Bonds for the Nakasendo Railway Line were placed on the market. Next year, work was commenced, on the one hand, between Ōgaki and Nagoya, and, on the other, between Takasaki and Yokogawa. But in order to reach the middle sections of the Nakasendo, the difficult pass of Usui had to be cut through in the east, while in the

west the large rivers of Ibi, Nagara, and Kiso had to be spanned, and great difficulties were met in transporting necessary materials, apprehending therefore much waste of time in procuring those materials, it was found necessary, for the purpose of facilitating transportation to construct in the west a line from the port of Naoetsu to Ueda in the Province of Shinano, and in the east one from Taketoyo to Nayoga in the Province of Owari. Not only was the laying of these lines a necessary step for the carrying on of work in the middle portion of the Nakasendo, but they were in themselves valuable for the purpose of facilitating trade in the respective localities, Accordingly the proposal for the building of these lines was submitted to the Government, and an order for the construction of the Naoetsu line was obtained in March, 1885, while sanction for the Taketoyo line was obtained in June the same year. These lines were at once commenced. In the course of the following year, when a working survey of the middle portions of the Nakasendo had been completed, and the general plan of the route considered, it was discovered not only that there were serious obstacles requiring an enormous expenditure of money, but that the speed of the trains would have to be reduced so much as to greatly enhance the working expenses, and that consequently the line when constructed would not fulfil the practical purposes of a railroad. It was, therefore, concluded that it would be better to run the line along the Tōkaido, thus connecting the Tōkyō-Yokohama line with the Nagoya line. The matter was fully reported to the Government, and in July of the same year instructions were received to the effect that operations on the central portions of the Nakasendo road should be discontinued, and that a line should be constructed along the Tōkaido. Work on the new line was commenced in the end of the same year, 1886. In January, 1888, instructions were also issued

for the construction of a line connecting Otsu with Nagahama along the eastern shore of Lake Biwa, and operations on that line also were at once begun.

According to calculations made at the time when the construction of the Nakasendo trunk line was decided upon, the distance between Takasaki and Ogaki was estimated at 220 miles, the cost being set down at Yen 20,000,000. The total amount to be actually transmitted to this Department after the issue of the Nakasendo Loan was fixed at Yen 18,220,000, which was the sum to be realized by the issue of the loan. From this amount Yen 458,000 was to be set aside as an auxiliary fund for the construction of the line between Tsuruga and Ogaki. Consequently the amount that remained for employment on the Tokaido line between Yokohama and Ogaki (including the Taketoyo line) and on the Takasaki-Naoetsu line, was represented by about Yen 17,760,000. The length of lines that has been laid with this amount of money is 368 miles in all. Comparing this length with the 220 miles of the Nakasendo, an increased mileage of 60 per cent is arrived at. Comparing the actual cost with the original estimated sum of Yen 20,000,000, we find a decrease of nearly 13 per cent.

If to this we add the 48 miles of the Kobo line (which runs along the eastern shore of Lake Biwa), the total distance of lines constructed reaches 416 miles, which is an increase of 95 per cent over the originally projected distance of 220 miles. The total cost will be represented by about Yen 18,000,000 a decrease of 10 per cent as compared with the estimated cost, Yen 20,000,000.

Besides the lines thus far alluded to, there remains the Yokosuka line, with a total length of 11 miles. Adding its length to the above mentioned figures, we get a total of 427 miles. The cost of this line was Yen 450,000, which when added to the above mentioned amount of Yen 18,000,000, raises the total to Yen 18,500,000.

From the year 1884 a turn took place and a period of activity set in. Several hundred miles were constructed within three or four years, and the final consummation of the programme originally laid down was accomplished in the year 1890, the trunk line, together with all the branches, amounting then to the total length of 540 miles. That 20 years were spent in completing this work does not indicate great speed in construction, but it will probably be seen that this tardiness was in consequence of the times, and that it was unavoidable.

In a word, the three years from 1870 to 1873 were a period of activity. The Tōkyō–Yokohama Section was begun in April, 1870, and completed September, 1872; a distance of 18 miles. The Kōbe–Ōsaka Section was commenced in November, 1870; the extension to Kyōto was taken in hand in December, 1873, and it was opened in February, 1877, by the Emperor; a distance of 47 miles and a further extension to Ōtsu was completed September, 1879, making this line 58 miles. From 1874 to 1877 was one of extreme dullness, ending finally in a complete stand still. In 1879 affairs became a little improved. The construction of the Tsuruga-Ōgaki Section was begun in May, 1880, and completed in July, 1884, a distance of 49 miles. In 1884 the sudden change set in favouring activity and speedy progress, and this has continued, although since 1890 the Government Railways have not increased in mileage. The Takasaki–Naoetsu Section (Usui-toge excepted) was commenced in October, 1884, and completed in December, 1888, a distance of 110 miles. The Yokohama-Ōgaki Section of 258 miles was constructed between August, 1885, and April, 1889; Ōfuna–Yokosuka Section of 10 miles, commenced in January, 1888, and completed July, 1889. The Ōtsu–Nagahama Section of 48 miles, commenced in February, 1888, completed July, 1889. And the last Section of the Government Lines, connecting Karuizawa Station with Yokogawa Station over the Usui-

toge on the Abt Railway System, was begun in March, 1891 and opened to the public April 1st, 1893, having a distance of 7 miles. Total length of open lines being 558 miles.

This completes an outline of the Government Railways, and now the Private Railways must be considered.

A short mineral railway was constructed in Iwate Ken to supply fuel and iron-ore to the puddling furnaces, built at Kama-ishi. The line was made in 1879, and the gauge, 2 feet 9 inches, laid for the most part with flat footed rails weighing 35 lbs. to the yard, spiked to cross-sleepers, and with fished joints. The gradients are heavy, the ruling gradient being an incline of 1 in 31 for two miles, on which are curves of five chains (330 feet) radius. The three engines were manufactured by Messrs. Sharp, Stewart & Co. in England, and are four-wheeled coupled saddle tank engines, having a wheel-base of 5 ft. 9 inches; the diameter of the wheels 2 ft. 6 inches; the cylinders 1 ft. 6 inches stroke, and 1 ft. diameter, and having a working pressure of 150 lbs. to the square inch. The weight of each engine fully loaded with coal and water is 18 tons 15 cwt. As the working of the mines proved a failure, it was discontinued, and the rails and engines are now used on the Hankai Railway (Ōsaka to Sakai). The Hokkaido Railway runs from Temaya (Otaru) to Sapporo and Poronai.

A few years back, the Government being willing to sell the coal mines in the Poronai District of the Hokkaido, also the railway, a company was formed and bought from the Government the mines and railway, and it is now known as the Tanko Railway, and is one of the private lines having a mileage of 20$4\frac{3}{4}$ miles.

There is another private line in the Hokkaido, which was constructed to carry sulphur from the hills to the river, called the Kushiro Railway Company. It was opened for carrying passengers on the 1st September, 1892.

The first charter to a private company was issued in November, 1881 (11th month of the 14th year of Meiji), and it was called the Nippon Railway Company, and in accordance with the conditions agreed upon, the Railway Bureau was entrusted with the work of construction. This accounts for the remark, "a time of greater activity," though still, so far as Government railways were concerned, the advance was slow. The Railway Bureau having constructed the line to Mayebashi and Aomori, besides branches, the conditions agreed upon in 1881 were finally cancelled, and the Nippon Railway Company took over the whole control of the management, and of further extensions, also such officials who although working for the Company were on the books of the Railway Bureau, had either to resign, or return to the Government Railways. This change took place on the 1st April, 1892.

In connection with this first Railway Charter, it is well to note a circumstance concerning which there appears to be some misapprehension. It may be generally supposed that the roads of the Japan Railway Company were surveyed and built by the Company itself, whereas the truth is that up to the moment when these lines were ready for traffic, the Company had nothing to do with them beyond furnishing funds. The whole work was carried out by the Railway Bureau. The position of the Japan Railway Company was indeed a very happy one. It received from the Government the right to construct and own railways in certain populous districts; it received also a guarantee of 8 per cent. upon all its subscribed capital; and finally, the whole trouble and responsibility of surveying and constructing the lines was assumed by the Railway Bureau, the Company stepping in and undertaking the management when everything was completed. The days are past when associations of capitalists can hope to obtain such privileges. The Japan Railway Company was, in

a sense, the pioneer of private railway enterprise in this country, and it reaped a reward that looks large by the light of existing conditions.

The charter of the Nippon Railway Company is for 99 years; although the guarantee of 8 per cent on the capital by the Government is for 15 years only.

The charter of the Hankyo Railway Company is for 50 years; of the Iyo Railway Company for 17 years; of the Ryomo Railway Company for 20 years; of the Mito Railway Company for 20 years.

As might be expected after the generous terms granted by the Government to the Nippon Railway Company the spirit of railway enterprise grew quickly with the people, and public opinion was soon in favour of the promotion of railways by private companies, and companies sprang into existence throughout the country. It may be said that by 1887 of the spirit of railway enterprise had become almost a mania; 17 projects had by this time received sanction in accordance with the Government regulations; those that had carried on surveys on temporary license, and those that were surveying proposed routes amounted in 1887 to 17 companies with a mileage of about 1,375 miles, and a proposed capital of nearly 50,000,000 yen. By the end of March, 1893, the mileage of private railway companies then in operation was 1,319 miles, 36 chains; mileage of Private Railways either under construction, or, for which surveys have been made and charters have been granted, and hence possessing the right of construction, was 611 miles, 6 chains, making a grand total of 1,930 miles, 42 chains.

The mileage of all the Railways in operation on the 31st March, 1893 was 1,877 miles, 5 chains; of which 1,319 miles 36 chains belonged to Private Railways, and 557 miles 49 chains to the Government.

The advantageous terms granted to the Nippon Railway Company were not granted to the other Companies;

although in other ways help was given, in some cases a certain sum of money for every mile of line opened, besides receiving official support.

It may not be out of place to make some remarks in reference to a few points of importance before we conclude. These apply more or less to both the Private Railway Companies, and to the Government Railway.

In the construction of railways a very large amount of capital is required, and many difficulties must be contended with. Even after a line has been completed the work of carrying it on is no easy one. It is therefore imperatively necessary that projectors of railways should make themselves acquainted at the outset with the nature of the operations which will be called for, should properly understand the obstacles with which they have to contend; and satisfy themselves as to the amount of the proceeds likely to result. As a matter of fact, however, most of those who initiate railway enterprises in this country seem to think that they have made an ample estimate of the cost of construction when they reckon with an expenditure of thirty to forty thousand Yen per mile, without taking into account the nature of the locality through which their railway is to run; that they sufficiently provide for the cost of carrying on their road if they set apart half of their income for the purpose, no matter how much or how little that income may be; and that industrial and other advantages must at once follow upon the opening of a line. And not only is this so, but there are many persons who in starting railway companies are actuated solely by the desire to make profits, by speculating in the stock of such companies. It is true that these evils are not confined to railway companies; other enterprises are beyond doubt equally liable to them. But just as the amount of capital invested in railway undertakings is much larger than that which is usually employed in other industries, so the

extent of the injury will be greater. With on the one hand people who are ready to invest their money blindly, and on the other those who use the occasion for their own speculative purposes, it seems unavoidable that there should be one or two severe failures, the result of which it is to be feared will be the infliction of a serious shock to public confidence in railways as an investment.

It is scarcely necessary to repeat here, that in undertaking the construction of a railway line, the object should not be confined to the direct profits that can be obtained from the capital invested in the enterprise, but attention should also be paid to the benefits indirectly accruing from the attendant development of industries and manufactures. The first point, however, that ought to engage the attention of railway projectors, is whether there is or is not a prospect of realizing a proper amount of profit against the capital invested. But it is to be regretted that, among the railway promoters of the present day, there are some who, discarding the prime requisite just mentioned, do not take the trouble to thoroughly and deliberately calculate the probable rate of profit. Such persons make a fatal mistake in estimating the advantages or disadvantages of a railway. They are perhaps merely the dupes of speculators who coöperate with them, and whose object is to turn such enterprise into a means of making money by other means than the operating of the line or lines projected. First, there are capitalists whose sole object is to gain money by speculating in the sale and purchase of shares. These people, though their names may appear on the list of the projectors of a railway, are often quite ignorant of the position and direction of the line. Nor do they in the slightest degree concern themselves with any questions as to the difficulty or otherwise of the works to be undertaken or with the future prospects of the scheme. They are only anxious to obtain permission for the establishment of their company, so that they may be able to secure profits

by their speculative operations. Secondly, there are wealthy local people who are popularly called "enthusiasts for railways" (Tetsudo Nesshin Ka). These persons are wont to say:—"In our locality there is not as yet a line of railway; this makes us ashamed before the people of other districts."—Such being the *raison d'être* of their railway schemes, they do not care about the direct profits of their lines, and their imagination is engrossed with the hopes of the vast indirect benefits that may be conferred on their districts by railway construction. Thirdly, there is a class of men who are only desirous of becoming officers of a railway company, for the purpose either of displaying their ability, or, of obtaining a means of livelihood. Such people trouble themselves little about the permanent prosperity of the company, their end being attained if it only comes into existence. Men of this class are not qualified to make serious enquiries as to the advantage or disadvantage of any specified line of railway. A projector who may fall under any of these categories is only worthy of condemnation. Among the numerous railway promoters of the present day, it is impossible to deny that there are many answering one or other of the above descriptions. Railway projectors ought, therefore, to be on the alert, and to keep clear of such men. These things are noted here, not for the sake of discussion, but to show what precautions are necessary in railway enterprise.

In railway business, it is scarcely necessary to say, it is more profitable to extend the lines of a large company with a large capital, than to establish small companies working short lines with a scanty capital. A company working a line, however short, so long as it maintains a separate existence, must possess all the ordinary necessary equipments, such, for instance, as a staff of officers for the management of its affairs. Moveover, the number of passengers and the quantity of goods passing on a

railway line differ very much in different seasons, and consequently, when the necessary arrangements are made on a short line to meet the demands of the busiest season, a portion of the capital must be left entirely unemployed in ordinary seasons. Further, such a company is obliged to maintain a workshop for repairing vehicles, plant, tools, etc., etc. Thus a company has no facility to meet the increased demand at one part of the line by unemployed materials elsewhere, and it is easy to see that it will be unable to carry on business, unless by employing an amount of capital altogether out of proportion to the length of its line. When, on the other hand, a line which is already long is extended still further, or when a branch line is added to it, not only is profit obtained on the extended portion of the line or on the branch line, but the profit on the main line must also be more or less augmented. When, however, the extended portion or the branch line is put under independent management, it is necessary to maintain a very complicated system of accounts, so as to draw a distinction between the respective profits on the main line and on the extended portion, or branch line. Thus the company working the new section on the branch line will only be able to secure the profits made on the line under its own management. The position is like that indicated in the proverb which says, "the dog works hard while the falcon picks the game." When a limited number of railway companies alone are to be permitted to increase their capital and extend their lines, it is usually asserted by way of objection that such a step will lead to all the evils of monopoly. But a railway is in its very nature a kind of monopoly, and the extent of its line makes no difference. What is objectionable about a monopoly in railways, is no doubt the circumstance that there is danger of freights and fares being raised. But the experience of Europe and America proves such an apprehension to be groundless. Comparing the state

of things in former times, when there were in those countries countless numbers of railway companies owning each only a few miles of line, and the state of things at the present time when the smaller companies have been one after another absorbed by the larger corporations possessing more capital and working longer lines, and when a single company manages and works lines of several thousand miles in length, it is observed that the rate of charges has been by degrees greatly lowered simultaneously with the amalgamation of the lines. This experience was not bought cheaply, for by the amalgamation of lines in the West, the poorer and the weaker were, so to speak, playthings in the hands of the richer and stronger and a great deal of distress was caused to the former. In practise it may be difficult to fix the number of companies and the length of lines that can be maintained under separate management, for no standard capable of practical application is possible in these respects. The only possible way, therefore, of applying a check for the present, is to consider the topographical conditions and the general nature of the line proposed. At all events, the establishment of a great number of companies and the construction of independent short lines are anything but desirable, and this point ought to engage the attention of every person who has the Railway interest of this country at heart.

The Government has formed a Railway Committee of twenty-one members. These members represent the different departments of the Government, and special members represent other interests. When the committee is sitting it meets at the Teishinsho (Department of Communications), and all applications, plans, etc., for an extension of the present railway system, Government, or Private; or for a new charter for new railways, are considered by this committee, and reported on to the Government.

The standard gauge is 3 feet 6 inches; and no doubt this decision was greatly influenced by the discussion at the time taking place in England and India on the relative advantages of building all future railways in India on the metre gauge. The arguments then adduced in favour of the building of all future railways in India on the metre gauge were, on the ground of economy, both in construction and working; and the arguments in opposition to the introduction into that country of the break of gauge, etc. Nevertheless the Indian Government determined to adopt the metre gauge, and on the 14th of January, 1873, at which date 5,576¼ miles of railway of the 5 feet 6 inches gauge were in existence, the first section of the Rajputana Malwa metre-gauge State Railway was opened. The present railways in India may be thus classified by gauges on the open lines on 31st March 1892, 10,103¾ miles of 5 feet 6 inches gauge; 7,171¾ miles of metre gauge; 288½ miles special gauge; making 17,564 total mileage. This shows in 20 years that the Indian Railways increased 4,527½ miles of 5 feet 6 inches gauge to 7,171¾ miles of metre gauge.

The policy of making provisions for doubling the lines at dates admittedly before the traffic rendered the laying of a double line of way necessary was discussed in Japan during 1873; at the same time also the question of the alteration of the gauge from 3 feet 6 inches, to 4 feet 8½ inches was fully considered.

NOTE:—Those interested in this controversy should read Paper No. 2324 of the Institution of Civil Engineers, 12th March, 1889: Indian Railways; The Broad and the Narrow Gauge Systems Contrasted.

By many it may be regretted that the change of policy in Railway Construction discussed in 1873 was not adopted; and that the embankments, cuttings, tunnels, culverts, and piers for the bridges (excepting only the girders) for a double line were not constructed as it is manifest that they can better, more economically, and more conveniently, be arranged during the construction of the line than at any subsequent period; and it is thought that this will go far to outweigh any loss of interest on unproductive capital which has thus been entailed. An argument in opposition, is economy, and Japan not then being in a position to find the necessary capital. On this reasoning the policy of Japan and India is similar; India, with over 7,000 miles of metre gauge, has hardly a mile laid with a double line; and no preparation made for doubling the lines.

If the alteration of the gauge from 3 feet 6 inches to 4 feet 8½ inches had been carried out in 1873, when there were not 40 miles of line laid, it would have been better; but not having been then altered, it is too late now that there are over 2,000 miles of line laid, and for people to talk seriously about an alteration of gauge at the present time is foolish, and at the same time only showing their ignorance of the question.

If the expenditure required for altering the gauge was used in doubling the present line, it would then carry a larger traffic, and at a quicker speed, than a single line of the 4 feet 8½ inches gauge, or even the 7 feet gauge, as is known to those who have travelled over a single line of the latter gauge.

The question of speed is the strongest point in favour of the alteration of the gauge. The following table of speeds will show the differences on the above gauges, and as these returns are quoted from good authorities they may be taken as fairly correct; the Indian Railways being

in so many ways similar to the Japanese Railways they are the best for comparision.

Average through Speed per hour.	Japan.		India.		English 4 ft. 8½ in. Gauge.	Remarks.
	Government.	Kwaisha.	5 ft. 6 in. Gauge.	Metre Gauge.		
Passenger Trains.	18½	17½	20.41	15.954	48	Express Trains
Mixed "	17½	17½	14.511	12.957	..	
Goods "	16½	16½	11.009	11.031	..	
Parliamentary "					19 to 28	Stopping at all Stations
Express Goods "					20 to 25	
Coal "					15	

The speed on the 5 feet 6 inches and the 3 feet 6 inches is not so very different.

The Government Trains between Tōkyō and Kōbe 376 miles, 31 chains; the Kwaisha line between Tōkyō and Awomori, 454 miles, 66 chains. The Indian times from a return on Indian Railways; and the English Railways from a book on English Railways.

If 200 miles of the line between Tōkyō and Kōbe were doubled and proper discretion used in the parts doubled, there should be no reason why through trains should not make the run at a rate of 25 miles per hour between the two places and also allow for a stoppage once in each hour.

Another point is the rolling stock not being as large as for the 4 feet 8½ inches gauge. There are engines running on this line weighing 45½ tons on the banks; and 36 tons on the level. The large carriages weigh 15 tons; the small carriages between 5 and 7 tons. The goods wagons have a carrying capacity of 15 tons, although supposed to carry 10 and 7 tons; these weights and

sizes are equal to the ordinary rolling stock of the wider gauge; the lines are able to carry all the traffic, and goods required; and are capable of carrying much more, if the rolling stock is increased, and if the principal lines have a double track. The principle underlying all questions of gauge is, that a machine is comparatively speaking economical only when working at its full power. The best gauge for any particular railway is, therefore, merely a question of the amount and description of traffic that will probably come on the line, not on the cost of the construction, but on the cost of working, including the interest on the capital expended.

The great earthquake which occurred on the morning of the 28th of October, 1891 has caused the railway engineers to consider the effect of earthquakes when making their plans for bridges and other structures.

The Tōkyō-Kōbe Railway suffered greatly from this tremendous earthquake, on the section between Hamamatsu and Maibara (Hamamatsu 167 miles, 56 chains, and Maibara 284 miles 32 chains from Tōkyō). The railway embankments within this district sank at 45 different places, and some of the greater depressions measured over 13 feet in depth. The ground was cracked at innumerable places, and the rails were shaken out of position to the extent of being forced at many places to assume a serpentine shape. Sixty-three bridges, including the large bridge over the Kiso with nine spans of 200 feet; the Nagara with five spans of 200 feet and four spans of 100 feet, and the Ibi with five spans of 200 feet; and the wing walls of 41 culverts were wrecked. The abutments of many of these bridges were split right through, and in some cases the piers were demolished and the superstructure overthrown into the rivers. The buildings at all the intervening stations suffered to a greater or less extent; some were totally destroyed, others were left in inclining positions, and none escaped scathless.

Indeed, the destruction wrought by this earthquake particularly between Atsuta and Ogaki, was so appaling as to be indescribable.

The traffic between Hamamatsu and Maibara having been brought, on this account, to a sudden standstill, no time was lost in making the necessary distribution of the staff, and the work of rendering the railway serviceable by repairing the damages, both to the road and the bridges, was vigorously proceeded with. Rough buildings were put up to serve for the time being the purposes of those which were destroyed, and such portions of the line as had been sufficiently repaired to admit of the resumption of traffic were opened at short intervals as the works progressed. However, the speedy resumption of traffic over the portion of the line between the Kiso and the Ibi rivers was not possible, for both of the important bridges spanning these wide rivers, as well as other large bridges situated in the interval, had sustained damages which precluded their expeditious restoration. Before the work of repairing or reconstruction proper could be taken in hand, the actual nature of the injuries sustained had to be ascertained by removing the enormous piles of brick forming the piers and abutments, and while this preliminary work was going on, the weighty superstructures had to be kept in position by means of temporary supports. In the case of the Nagara river bridge, the cast iron piles upon which the girders rested were demolished, and their entire reconstruction was unavoidable. Brick piers over well foundations of the same material were adopted to replace the broken piles. The positions of the piers had to be shifted, which necessitated the provision of an additional span of 60 feet girder. When the erection of the new piers was completed, the 200 feet girders, which had been overthrown into the river had to be restored in position on them. It has been found that in carrying out reconstruction works

of this kind, the difficulties to be surmounted amount to as much again as those usually met in the undertaking of new works. However, taking the different works as a whole, they may be said to have been finished within the space of five months, that is the repairs of the earthquake damages. The traffic on the section between the Kiso river and Gifu station was opened on the 12th March, 1892, and the reconstruction of the Nagara river bridge which had been pushed forward with the utmost rapidity, was completed on the 30th of the same month. As the rebuilding of the Stations at Nagoya and Kiyosu was the only work remaining unfinished at that date, the resumption of through traffic between Tōkyō and Kōbe was commenced on the 16th of April.

The Taketoyo and the Tsuruga lines likewise suffered from the effects of the earthquake; embankments crumbled down, and bridges, culverts, wing-walls, and the station and other buildings were injured more or less. The traffic on the Taketoyo line was suspended. The necessary repairs were conducted with all possible speed, and the line was in a condition to be reopened by the 21st of December.

The principal works done may be summarized as follows:—Earthworks for the repairing of embankments, 15,730 tsubo; masonry for repairing stone walls, over 1,000 tsubo; sods laid on embankments, 2,590 tsubo; temporary railway lines laid, 28 chains, 30 links; bridges of all sizes, the piers and abutments of which were reconstructed, 35; Wing-walls of bridges and culverts repaired, 207; Culverts reconstructed, 5; Buildings reconstructed or repaired, 34; with the aggregate area of 2,262 tsubo. The expenditures on account of repairing the damage to railway property caused by this great earthquake represents the large sum of Yen

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NOTE:—A tsubo is 6 feet cube,=8 cubic yards: or 6 feet square.

472,016; from which inference may be made of the extensiveness of the damage wrought. To this must be added the loss of revenue caused by the through traffic being suspended during five months.

It was on October 28th, 1891, at 6h., 37′, 11″ in the morning when the first shock of the great earthquake was experienced, that being far and away worse than any of the many which succeeded it. It brought down the heavy tiled roofs and stone laden thatches, and in a moment buried thousands of living people beneath them, and then fires broke out amongst the ruins. Nagoya, Kasamatsu, Gifu, Ogaki, and other towns near to the railway, suffered severely, a train having only a few minutes previously crossed the Nagara bridge and at the time of the earthquake was at Gifu station. The statistical account of damage in the six provinces through which the railway runs and coming under the five Prefectures of Gifu, Aichi, Fukui, Miye, and Shiga, is as follows:—

Provinces.	Wounded.	Killed.	Buildings entirely destroyed.	Buildings half destroyed.	Burnt.	Shattered and Burnt.
Mino	12,311	4,889	114,616	30,994	249	5,984
Owari	4,877	2,357	80,845	43,845	196	...
Mikawa ...	49	13	1,020	1,464	...	...
Echizen ..	98	12	1,080	1,188	...	...
Omi	47	6	153	366	...	...
Miye	11	2	233	439	...	...
Total...	17,393	7,279	197,947	78,296	445	5,984

The principal casualties in connection with the Traffic are due to floods; and yearly through communication is stopped for a time on most of the railways, the Sanyo Railway has been the most unfortunate, then the Karuisawa Naoetsu Line, the Nippon Railway, and the Tokaido Railway. Allowing for the nature of the country, and the heavy rain storms, if the engineers had used more care in considering the effect of floods in the district through which the railway was to run and then provided ample room for the flood water to pass through the culverts and bridges, the annoyance to passengers and the expense to the railway companies would have been much less.

The railway fund granted by the Government from the first establishment of railways (March, 1870) up to the close of March, 1893, amounted to yen 37,563,836. The total length of open lines, miles 551. The average cost per mile, yen 60,667. This does not include the Usui Mountain Railway, as it was not in operation. The cost of this line is about yen 2,000,000, the distance 7 miles, so the average cost per mile is yen 285,714.

The following statement shows the area, population, and coast line, of the four islands which have railways.

Division.	Circumference	Area.	Population.	Per Sq. Ri.
Honshiu ...	2,475.46 ri.	14,571.12 sq. ri.	30,715.265	2,108
Shikoku ...	675.81 "	1,180.67 " "	2,879.260	2,440
Kyushiu ...	1,846.86 "	2,617.54 " "	5,755.958	2,199
Yezo.....	628.51 "	5,061.90 " "	298.461	48
Total of Japan.	7,029.11 ri.	24,794.39 sq. ri.	40,453.461	1,632

NOTE.—1 ri=2.44 English Miles.

Viscount Enoye Masaru has filled the position of Director of Railways, besides other offices, from the commencement of Railways until March, 1893, when he resigned. Great credit is due to him from his country for the present Railway System; and this respect was shown by the presents he received after his resignation was accepted by the Government—from the Emperor, the different private railways, and the employés. A man of strong will, and self-confidence, he had the respect of his own people, as well as that of his foreign staff, which once was large although at the present time the very few remaining act only as advisers.

The administration of Railways is of great importance. The English System may be quoted as a good example, and those who study the Japanese System will see where the differences come in.

The English System is carried out by the Board of Directors; each director must have a qualification of holding ordinary stock. The executive management of the line is carried on by a General Manager, a Goods Manager, and a Superintendent of the line, who deals with all things pertaining to the movement of the traffic and trains. The Chief Engineer is over the maintenance of the road, the buildings, and the different stations and goods yards. The Locomotive Superintendent has charge of all the locomotives, the work shops for building and repairing the rolling stock, and all mechanical appliances, such as stationary engines, and the cranes in the goods-sheds, etc., etc.

The Staff is chosen with special reference to their suitability for the duties they are called upon to perform, care being taken that every man entrusted with a responsible duty is thoroughly trained for its performance and competent; every man has his duties thoroughly defined and knows what is required of him. It is not enough that every man should be fit for his duties and trained for

their performance, but he must actually perform them. The railway service is preëminently one requiring for its efficient conduct a high degree of smartness, alacrity, energy, and zeal. Choose subordinates carefully and well, and let them be men thoroughly to be relied on. Then trust them to carry out detail, thereby allowing them certain authority of action.

For the maintenance of a sound and good permanent way a perfect system of drainage is necessary, taking particular care to obtain a uniformly solid and level bed for each sleeper, so that it may take precisely its proper share of the weight of the passing train; where facing points are necessary, so arrange that the engines and carriages run over without throwing the passengers from their seats. If it be asked what is the steepest gradient a railway should have, the answer is "The best that can be obtained under all the circumstances; or, in other words, the nearest to a dead level." There are cases in which the physical conditions of a country will only permit of a railway being constructed with sharp curves and steep gradients except at practically prohibitive cost; it is nevertheless a fact that the less the deviation from a straight line and moderate gradients, the greater is the safety and economy of working and in constructing a main line of railway. It is frequently worth while to incur heavy outlay at the outset rather than handicap the undertaking with difficulties of working. In practise it is usually found that sharp and frequent curves are associated with steep gradients, and, upon railways which have to be constructed in this manner, the trains must necessarily be lighter, and the average speed must be considerably less than where the conditions are more favourable. Such lines are, therefore, in proportion to the traffic carried over them, more expensive to work and maintain, and either lighter trains are run or heavier locomotives required.

Sharp and reverse curves add to the train resistance and increase the risks attending a high rate of speed, and they also largely contribute to the fatigue experienced by a passenger after a long railway journey. To maintain the permanent way of a railway in perfect working order, a very careful and complete system of organisation becomes necessary.

The Locomotive Superintendent has complete charge of arranging the disposal and running of the locomotives, the full control of working the shops, and under him is a Running Superintendent and a Shop Manager. The Superintendent makes the plans for building the shops, and at the same time has a properly prepared design for any enlargement, taking into consideration extent of ground at his disposal. A well arranged locomotive yard, well drained, with good shops, suited to work with economy, and all the engines and shops in a clean state: these remarks do not properly apply to the Japanese management.

On the 31st March, 1893, the Government Railway had open to the public 557 miles, 49 chains. The Private Railways 1,319 miles, 36 chains. Added together it makes a mileage of 1,877 miles 5 chains of line in operation.

Table of mileages of all the Railways in operation the 31st March, 1893.

GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS.

	M. CH.	M. CH.
Shimbashi-Kōbe Section	376.31	
Ōfuna-Yokosuka Section	10.03	
Ōbu-Taketoyo Section	12.01	
Maibara-Kanegasaki Section	31.01	
Takasaki-Naoetsu Section	117.10	
Baba Ōtsu Section †...	1.23	
Fukatani Nagahama †	9.60	
	———	557.49

Nippon Railway.		
Ueno-Aomori Section	454.66	
Shinagawa-Akabane Section	12.76	
Ōmiya-Maebashi Section	51.14	
Utsunomiya-Nikko Section	25.00	
Iwakiri-Shiogama Section	4.23	
Ueno Akihanohara Section †	1.15	
Ōyama-Mito Section	41.45	
Mito-Nakagawa Section †	.62	
	———	591.61
Kobu Railway.		
Shinjiku to Hachioji		22.77
Ryomo Railway.		
Ōyama to Maebashi		52.17
Sanyo Railway.		
Kōbe-Mihara Section	143.40	
Hyōgo-Wadanomisaki Section †	1.64	
	———	145.24
Kyushu Railway.		
Moji to Kumamoto	121.31	
Tosu to Saga	15.30	
	———	136.61
Kansei Railway.		
Kusatsu-Yokkaichi Section	49.25	
Kameyama-Tsu Section	9.60	
	———	59.05
Ōsaka Railway.		
Ōsaka-Takada Section	23.11	
Ōji-Nara Section	9.44	
	———	32.55
Hankai Railway.		
Ōsaka to Sakai		6.13
Chikuho Railway.		
Wakamatsu-Kaneda Section	21.64	
Nokata-Otake Section	3.69	
	———	25.53

† These lines are used for Goods Traffic exclusively.

Iyo Railway.		
Satogawa to Takahama Section...		5.66
Sanuki Railway.		
Marugame to Kotohira Section		10.15
Hokkaido Railway.		
Temiya-Poronai Section	56.02	
Horonaifuto-Ikushunbetsu Section	4.39	
Muroran-Utashinai Section	114.39	
Sunagawa-Sorachifuto Section	2.68	
Oiwake-Yubari Section	26.49	
Sanbashi-Temiya Section †	.34	
		204.71
Kushiro Railway.		
Shibecha to Atosanobori		25.78
Total		1,879.05

Table of mileage of Government and Private Railways either under construction, or for which surveys have been made, *i.e.* of the lines projected by companies for which they had been granted charters and hence possessing the right of construction on 31st March, 1893.

Government Railways.

	M. CH.	M. CH.
Tsuruga-Toyama	123.60	
Fukushima-Aomori	298.20	422.00
Kobu Railway :	M. CH.	M. CH.
Shinjiku to Misakicho	4.20	
Sanyo Railway :		
Mihara to Shimonoseki...	157.13	

† These lines are used for Goods Traffic exclusively.

Kyushiu Railway:	
Kokura to Gyohashi	
Kumamoto to Yashiro and Misumi	... 134.40
Saga to Nagasaki and Sasebo ...	
Kwansei Railway:	
Yokkaichi to Kuwana...	8.15
Ōsaka Railway:	
Minato machi M'meda (Ōsaka)	... ... 10.23
Takata to Sakurai...	
Iyo Railway:	
Sotogawa to Hiraigawara	4.34
Chikuhō Railway:	
Kanda to Ikari	... ... 8.02
Kotake to Iizuka	
Koshin Railway:	
Gotemba to Matsumoto	136.00
Sōbu Railway:	
Honjo to Sakura	31.00
Sangu Railway:	
Tsu to Kamata	22.40
Hoshū Railway:	
Gyohashi to Yokkaichi	... ... 43.65
Gyohashi to Kashun Ikari	
Settsu Railway:	
Amagasaki to Itami	... ... 14.34
Ikeda to Ikuse	

Kawagoe Railway :		
Kawagoye to Kokubunji	18.20	
Ōme Railway :		
Ōme to Tachikawa	13.07	
Nippon Railway :		
Shiriuchi to Minato	5.13	
		611.06
Total		1,033.06

These lines are shown upon the accompanying Map; together with the lines surveyed by the Government, which have not as yet passed the Government Railway Board for the Investigation of Railway Routes.

In many cases there are two or more routes surveyed to the same place; the following are the systems surveyed.

SURVEY OF GOVERNMENT RAILWAY ROUTES.

In accordance with the provisions of Law No. 4 for the Construction of Railways promulgated in June, 1892, and the authority given under the Minister of State for Home Affairs' Order No. 434, relative to the Expenditures for the prosecution of surveys of railway lines throughout the Empire, a Board for the Investigation of Railway Routes was established in the Railway Department. Under the supervision of this Board, the surveys and examinations of the different lines of railway to be laid within the first construction period specified in the clause No. 7 of the Law for the Construction of Railways, were begun in the early part of August, 1892. The field work was brought to an end in December. The compilation of drawings and statistics were then proceeded with, and a complete report of the results of the surveys and of the investigations was drawn up last February.

The lines surveyed and their lengths are as follow :—

THE CENTRAL SYSTEM.

	Miles.	Miles.
Hachioji to Kofu	52	
Gotemba to Kofu	48½	
Kofu to Suwa	38¾	
Suwa to Nagoya viâ Chikuma	129¼	
Suwa to Nagoya viâ Ina	142¼	
Total		410¾

THE HOKURIKU SYSTEM.

Tsuruga to Toyama		123¾

THE HOKU ETSU SYSTEM.

Maebashi to Shibata	134½	
Niizu to Niigata	10½	
Toyono to Kawaguchi	59¼	
Naoetsu to Ichinotsubo	49⅞	
Total		542⅛

THE ŌU SYSTEM.

Fukushima to Aomori		298¼

THE SANYO SYSTEM.

Hiroshima to Shimonoseki	157	
Kaidaichi to Kure	12½	
Total		169½

THE KYUSHU SYSTEM.

Saga to Nagasaki	75¼	
Shinmura to Sasebo	13½	
Kumamoto to Misumi	22¼	
Total		111

THE KINKI SYSTEM —(MAIZURU LINE).

Kyōto to Maizuru (to the locality of the proposed Naval Station)	62½	
Tsuchiyama to Ayabe	58	
Total		120½

THE KINKI SYSTEM —(WAKAYAMA LINE).

Takata to Wakayama	45½	
Yagi to Toge	6⅝	
Ōsaka to Wakayama	46½	
Total		98⅛

LINES FOR CONNECTING THE SANIN WITH THE SANYO SYSTEM.

Himeji to Tottori and Sakai	135½	
Okayama to Yoneko	92½	
Kurashiki to Neame	67½	
Total		295½
Grand Total		1,882½

Of the above enumerated lines the construction of the Hokuriku and the Ou systems was decided upon, and on the 25th of last March final resolution was taken that the works on these railways should be begun during the next fiscal year.

PRIVATE RAILWAYS.

Applications received during the year ending March 31, 1893, for permission to form companies for the purpose of constructing railways were 7 in number, viz.:—The Nanyō, Dogo, Ota, Shinkaku, Sano, Boso, and Kojima Railways. Of these the Boso and Shinkaku Railways are designed to

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Note.—Besides the above, flying surveys of alternate lines of several portions of these routes, covering a total distance of 593 miles, were made.

The expenditure incurred in carrying out the whole of this work amounted to Yen 68,667.

use electricity as the motive power. Applications were also received from the Sobu Railway Company for permission to construct a branch line from Koiwa to Honjō, and another from the Kansei Railway Company for licence to extend their line frcm Tsuge to Nara, and from Kuwana to Nagoya. Of these 9 applications, that of the Sobu Railway, together with an application made in the 22nd fiscal year by the Bantan Railway Company, were granted. All others were under consideration at the date up to which this report deals. Information about the situation of the offices, amount of capital, the location and length of lines, etc., of these railways will be found in the table below.

Charters were granted to the following five companies :— The Kawagoe, Ome, Kushiro, Settsu, and Nippon Railway Company (for its branch from Shiriuchi to Minato). Of these the Kushiro Railway Company was granted licence to open their line for public traffic on the 1st of September, 1892.

Licences were granted during the year under review permitting the opening for public traffic of the following ines of railway :—Mitsu-Takahama Section of the Iyo Railway, Onomichi-Mihara Section of the Sanyo Railway, the whole of the line of the Kushiro Railway, and the Nokata-Kotake and Nokata-Kaneda Section of the Chikuho Railway. Beside the above, licence was granted the Hokkaido Railway Company to open their Muroran and Yubari ine. All the lines projected by this Company were thereby brought to completion. The aggregate mileage of the private railways opened during the year is 153 miles 43 chains. A detailed account of these matters is given in the tabulated form below.

The total mileage of the railways of the different companies in operation at the close of the year under review mounted to over 1,319 miles. The lines open, lines under construction and lines surveyed are given in the Railway Sketch Map.

Charters were granted to :—

The Kawagoe Railway Company :
Office—Tokorozawa, Saitama Ken.
Charter—Granted 21st June, 1892.
Capital—Yen 300,000.
Line—Kokubunji to Kawagoe.
Length—18 miles, 20 chains.
Period of Construction—2 years.

The Ōme Railway Company :
Office—Ōme, Kanagawa Ken.
Charter—Granted 21st June, 1892.
Capital—Yen 100,000.
Line—Ōme to Tachikawa.
Length—13 miles, 7 chains.
Period of Construction—2 years.

The Kushiro Railway Company :
Office—Shibecha, Hokkaido.
Charter—Granted 21st June, 1892.
Capital—Yen 200,000.
Line—Shibecha Atosanobori.
Length—26 miles, 50 chains.
Construction completed.

The Settsu Railway Company :
Office—Itami, Hyogo Ken.
Charter—Granted 28th December, 1892.
Capital—Yen 240,000.
Line—Amagasaki to Itami and Itami to Ikeda and Ikuse.
Length—14 miles, 34 chains.
Period of Construction—15 months.

The Nippon Railway Company :
Office—Tokyo.
Charter—Granted 31st March, 1893.

Line—Shiriuchi to Minato.
Length—5 miles, 13 chains.
Period of Construction—1 Year.

Charters applied for by :—

The Sano Railway Company :

Office—Kuzuo-machi, Tochigi Ken.
Capital—Yen 145,000.
Line—Kuzuo to Koshinagawa.
Length—9 miles, 50 chains.

The Shinkaku Railway Company :

Office—Kōbe, Hyōgo Ken.
Capital—Yen 300,000.
Line—Kōbe to Mita-machi.
Length—17 miles, 32 chains.

The Boso Railway Company :

Office—Tōkyō.
Capital.—Yen 230,000.
Line—Soga-machi to Ozuna.
Length—11 miles, 39 chains.

Provisional charter granted to :—

The Nippon Railway Company :

Office—Tōkyō.
Provisional Charter—Granted 27th December, 1892.
Line—Shiriuchi to Minato.
Length—5 miles, 13 chains.
Period of survey—6 months.

The Sobu Railway Company :

Office—Tōkyō.
Provisional charter—Granted 21st February, 1893.

Charters were granted to :—

The Kawagoe Railway Company :
Office—Tokorozawa, Saitama Ken.
Charter—Granted 21st June, 1892.
Capital—Yen 300,000.
Line—Kokubunji to Kawagoe.
Length—18 miles, 20 chains.
Period of Construction—2 years.

The Ōme Railway Company :
Office—Ōme, Kanagawa Ken.
Charter—Granted 21st June, 1892.
Capital—Yen 100,000.
Line—Ōme to Tachikawa.
Length—18 miles, 7 chains.
Period of Construction—2 years.

The Kushiro Railway Company :
Office—Shibecha, Hokkaido.
Charter—Granted 21st June, 1892.
Capital—Yen 200,000.
Line—Shibecha Atosanobori.
Length—26 miles, 50 chains.
Construction completed.

The Settsu Railway Company :
Office—Itami, Hyogo Ken.
Charter—Granted 28th December, 1
Capital—Yen 240,000.
Line—Amagasaki to Itami and Itan
and Ikuse.
Length—14 miles, 34 chains.
Period of Construction—15 month

The Nippon Railway Company :
Office—Tokyo.
Charter—Granted 31st March, 1

Line—Koiwa to Honjō.
Length—5 miles, 40 chains.
Period of survey—6 months.

Bantan Railway Company:

Office—Shikama, Hyōgo Ken.
Provisional charter—Granted 8th March, 1893.
Capital—Yen 1,000,000.
Line—Shikama-Ikuno.
Length—29 miles.
Period of survey—10 months.

Provisional Charters applied for by :—

The Nanyō Railway Company:

Office—Gunchiu, Ehime Ken.
Capital—Yen 85,000.
Line—Sotogawa to Gunchiu.
Length—7 miles, 10 chains.

The Dōgo Railway Company :

Office—Dogo, Ehime Ken.
Capital—Yen 28,000.
Line—Yunomachi to Funaya and Furumachi.
Length—2 miles, 23 chains.

The Ota Railway Company :

Office—Ōta, Ibaraki Ken.
Capital—Yen 160,000.
Line—Ōta to Mito.
Length —13 miles.

The Kansei Railway Company :

Office—Yokkaichi, Mie Ken.
Capital—Yen 1,960,000.
Line—Kuwana to Nagoya.
Length—15 miles 40 chains.

The Kansai Railway Company :

Capital—Yen 1,540,000.
Line—Tsuge to Nara.
Length—31 miles, 57 chains.

The Kojima Railway Company :

Office—Kurashiki, Okayama Ken.
Capital—Yen 170,000.
Line—Kurashiki to Ajino.
Length—11 miles, 21 chains.

The following lines of railway were opened for public traffic after duly passing the inspection of the Railway Department :—

	M. CH.
The Iyo Railway Company :	
Line—Mitsu to Takahama	1.48
Opened—6th May, 1892.	
The Sanyo Railway Company :	
Line—Onomichi to Mihara	5.51
Opened—13th July, 1892.	
The Hokkaido Railway Company :	
Line—Muroran to Iwamizawa	83.48
Opened—1st August, 1892.	
The Hokkaido Railway Company :	
Line—Oiwake to Yubari	26.49
Opened—1st November, 1892.	
The Kushiro Railway Company :	
Line—Shibecha to Atosanobori	25.78
Opened—1st September, 1892.	
The Chikuho Railway Company :	
Line—Nokata to Kotake	3.69
Opened—18th October, 1892.	

The Chikuho Railway Company :

Line—Nōkata to Kaneda	6.20
Opened—6th February 1893.	
Total	158.43

For the purpose of showing the working of private railways, the Receipts, Working Expenses, per centages of the Net Earnings, etc., for the year under review, of the Nippon and twelve other railway companies, as they appear in their respective reports, are given and compared with those of the previous year in Table No. 11 to be found at the end of this paper.

Table of mileage of all railways in operation on the 31st March, 1893 is 1877 miles 5 chains. To the end of June, 1894 the following railways have since been opened to the public.

Railways.	Line.	Mileage m. ch.	Date.
Iyo Railway Co.	.. Sotogawa-Hiraigawa.	4.33	May 7, 1893
Ōsaka " "	.. Takata-Sakurai	6.	May 23, 1893
Chikuhō " "	.. Kotake-Iidzuka	5.05	July 3, 1893
Sangu " "	.. Tsu-Miyagawa	23.58	Dec. 31, 1893
Settsu " "	.. Amagasaki-Ikeda ..	8.35	Dec. 12, 1893
Nippon " "	.. Shiriuchi-Hachinohe	3.30	Jan. 4, 1894
Sano " "	.. Kudzu-Koshinagawa.	9.60	March 20, 1894
Sanyō " "	.. * Itozaki-Hiroshima.	46.22	June 10, 1894
Total mileage since 31st March, 1893		..107.03	

The total mileage opened in Japan on the 11th June, 1894 being 1,984 miles 8 chains.

The lines have a single track with the following exception of a double track; Government Railways; Shinbashi to Yokohama 18 miles; Oyama to Numadzu 22 miles, Kōbe to Nishinomiya 11 miles; Nippon Railway: Tōkyō to Ōmiya 16¾ miles; Sanyo Railway 1¼ miles, making a total of 69 miles of double track out of 1,984 miles. The work is in progress of doubling between Nishinomiya and Ōsaka, and most likely in a few years there will be many miles of double road.

* This station was formerly called Mihara.

Considering the matter of doubling the Tokaido Railway (Tōkyō-Kōbe) both from the Military and Commercial view, it should have been done so from the commencement. It joins the Military centres of Ōsaka, Ōtsu, Nagoya and Tōkyō; the Commercial centres Hiōgo, Ōsaka, Kyoto, Nagoya, Hamamatsu, Shidzuoka, Yokohama, and other places with Tōkyō; this applies to Sendai and Takasaki with Tōkyō. The time may not be so far distant when the Military Authorities will require the Railways; if so, to move two to three thousand troops in twenty-four hours will cause the Railways used, to be virtually closed to the public, and to move a larger body of troops within a very short notice could hardly be done. This would not be so if there was a double track.

GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS; 557 MILES, 49 CHAINS.

	M. CH.	M. CH.
Shinbashi-Kobe Section...	376.31	
Ofuna-Yokosuka Section	10.03	
Obu-Taketoyo Section	12.01	
Maibara-Kanegasaki Section	31.01	
Baba-Otsu Section †	1.23	
Fukatani-Nagahama Section †	9.60	
Tokaido Line with Branches...		440.39
Takasaki-Naoetsu Section		117.10
Total Miles		557.49

TOKAIDO LINE WITH BRANCHES, 440½ MILES.

Mileage from Shimbashi.	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Shimbashi		10.87
3.18	Shinagawa	3.18	10.32
5.76	Omori	2.58	12.62
10.08	Kawasaki.....	4.12	5.01
12.25	Tsurumi	2.17	13.78
16.25	Kanagawa	4.00	13.57
18.00	Yokohama	1.55	10.29
20.38	Hodogaya	2.38	24.14
26.04	Totsuka	5.46	48.66

† These lines are used for Goods Traffic exclusively.

Tokiado Line with Branches, 440½ Miles.

Continued.

Mileage from Shimbashi.	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
29.44	Ōfuna	8.40	37.11
32.31	Fujisawa	2.67	45.36
40.25	Hiratsuka.....	7.74	28.32
42.62	Oiso	2.37	60.32
48.74	Kodzu	6.12	66.32
55.20	Matsuda	6.26	202.32
58.65	Yamakita	3.45	360.92
64.27	Oyama	5.42	840.32
71.03	Gotemba	6.56	1498.62
80.38	Sano.....	9.35	409.62
86.32	Numadzu	5.74	29.12
95.73	Suzukawa	9.41	11.23
101.11	Iwabuchi	5.18	61.44
104.18	Kambara	3.07	30.64
110.18	Okitsu	6.00	26.24
113.46	Ejiri	3.28	16.84
120.21	Shidzuoka	6.55	59.24
128.24	Yaidzu	8.03	15.01
132.30	Fujiyeda	4.06	85.41
137.05	Shimada	4.55	195.19
140.34	Kanaya	3.29	309.60
146.08	Horinouchi	5.54	98.70
150.38	Kakegawa	4.30	92.59
155.71	Fukuroi	5.36	40.87
160.63	Nakaidzumi	4.69	17.72
167.56	Hamamatsu	6.73	18.32
174.09	Maisaka	6.33	9.21
179.67	Washidzu.....	15.58	10.32
190.33	Toyohashi	0.46	28.62
195.52	Goyu	5.19	27.22
201.04	Kamagōri.....	5.32	17.98
210.27	Okazaki	9.23	55.08
215.23	Anjō.....	4.76	63.73
220.20	Kariya	4.77	40.88
223.19	Ōbu	2.79	37.12
227.55	Ōdaka	4.36	16.47
231.14	Atsuta	3.39	9.12
235.29	Nagoya	4.15	10.82

Tokaido Line, with Branches, 440½ Miles.

Continued.

Mileage from Shimbashi.	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
289.68	Kiyosu	4.39	18.12
245.71	Ichinomiya	6.03	31.62
249.34	Kisogawa	3.43	88.12
254.16	Gifu	4.62	40.12
262.72	Ōgaki	8.56	28.12
267.75	Tarui	5.03	98.28
271.30	Sekigahara	3.35	401.77
	Top of Pass	0.00	781.62
277.58	Nagaoka	6.28	456.12
284.32	Maibara	6.54	291.62
288.09	Hikone	3.57	291.62
296.54	Notogawa	8.45	301.12
302.04	Hachiman	5.30	299.87
307.79	Yasu	5.75	323.64
312.54	Kusatsu	4.55	313.12
319.17	Baba (Ōtsu)	6.43	328.12
321.09	Otani	1.72	497.12
324.36	Yamashina	3.27	95.46
327.37	Inari	3.01	106.85
329.20	Kioto	1.63	92.26
333.27	Mukōmachi	4.07	61.20
338.07	Yamazaki	4.60	65.11
342.64	Takatsuki	4.57	44.63
346.69	Ibaraki	4.05	54.12
351.20	Suita	4.31	26.40
356.04	Ōsaka	4.64	6.96
360.52	Kansaki	4.48	12.40
365.24	Nishinomiya	4.52	21.84
370.45	Sumiyoshi	5.21	83.97
375.28	Sannomiya	4.63	27.92
376.31	Kōbe	1.03	8.12

Starting from Shinbashi Station in Tōkyō, the Bay of Shinagawa is skirted and that of Kanagawa crossed by well-protected embankments and Yokohama is reached. This section was opened on the 12th of October 1872. It was at first a single line with wooden bridges and

culverts; but was doubled and the works reconstructed before the middle of 1880. The engineering difficulties were few and the heaviest gradient is 1 in 100 for about a mile. The bridge over the Rokugo river, consisting of six spans of 100 feet and twenty four spans of 44 feet; built in 1876-7 to replace the original timber bridge. There are numerous smaller bridges and culverts, all of a permanent character. Leaving Yokohama station the line proceeds westward, and, turning towards the left at Hodogaya, passes through the small mountain range that divides Musashi from Sagami and reaches Kodzu Station (48 miles 74 chains). At Kodzu it turns to the right and reaches Yamakita. The ground thus far is fairly level, and though there is some pretty stiff work in connection with the bridge over the Banyu river consisting of eighteen spans of 70 feet; and the Shimidzuyato tunnel, 693 feet long, between Hodogaya and Totsuka, Stations; yet on the whole the natural features of the country presented few difficulties. From Yamakita, which is 361 feet above the sea level, to Gotemba, which is the highest point on this part of the road, being 1,499 feet above sea level, is a distance of 12 miles, 17 chains; in the distance of 15 miles, 29 chains to the town of Numadzu (which is 29 feet above sea level) shows a drop of 1,470 feet. It should be noted that the part from Yamakita to Numadzu, a distance of 27½ miles, has the most important engineering work on the Tokaido, for some sharp gradients and curves are necessary; the ruling gradients for a length of 15 miles being 1 in 40. The 7 tunnels amount to 6,691 feet; and several bridges of spans of 100 feet, and 200 feet. The next distance of 14 miles is generally flat; the Fuji river is one of the largest streams on the route. The velocity is as much as 27 feet a second in time of flood.

After crossing the Fuji on a bridge of nine spans of 200 feet, the line passes Shidzuoka, crosses the Abe

river and touches the sea coast at Ishibe. The length of this stage is about 24 miles, over comparatively level ground, with this exception, however, that for 9 miles between Nakanogo and Okitsu the road has to wind round the bluffs, which at this point are the distinguishing characteristics of the sea coast. In two places tunnels, together 567 feet long, and the Okitsu, and the Abe rivers, are spanned by bridges of ten spans of 60 feet, and twenty four spans of 70 feet. From Ishibe the line passes through a hilly country, crossing the Seto river joining the Tōkaido road near Fujieda, and crossing the Ōi river near Shimada. Between Ishibe and Kamiyajo the line runs close to the sea, and as the coast is here very precipitous the work of construction was difficult, the cliff overhanging the road in some places, and in such spots it was found that stones fell on the road. Consequently the route was changed slightly and the Sekibe tunnel, 2,865 feet, was made at this point. Within a very short distance, the Isohama tunnel, 3,167 feet, is entered. From here, however, to the Oi river the country is level. The bridge over the Oi river has sixteen spans of 200 feet, and it is the second longest on the line. Extensive earthworks were constructed along the side of a hill, for a distance of three miles from the Oi river to the Makino-hara tunnel, 3,273 feet, where the line ascends to the height of 277 feet above sea level. Between Kamiyajo and Mansui considerable excavation and filling up were necessary, but for 17 miles beyond the latter point to the Tenryu river the line is generally level. As it passes through rice fields, there is always danger of flooding. The Tenryu river bridge of nineteen spans of 200 feet is the longest railway bridge in Japan. Westward from here via Hamamatsu to Maizaka the country is generally low and damp, and farther on considerable embankment with three bridges, eight spans of 60 feet, nine spans of 60 feet, and twenty four spans of

60 feet, are necessary along the side of the Hamana Lake. There are extensive excavations at 6 miles from Arai to Uyenohara, but the ground is level for 8 miles beyond that point to Toyohashi. Thence the line passes through the valleys of Toyokawa, crosses the Toyo river on a bridge of eleven spans of 70 feet, pierces the Hoshikoshi mountain with a tunnel 990 feet long, and some three miles south of Gyoga, approaches the sea coast at one place and then turns inland towards Yahagigawa 20 miles from Toyokawa, crosses the Yahagi river on a bridge of fifteen spans of 70 feet, and proceeds by Mibori-mura, Kariya, etc., then to Ōfu after crossing the Sakae river. From here to Nagoya the line passes through a level country. The gradient between Nagoya and Ōgaki is comparatively level, but the following rivers, the Biwashima with nine spans of 70 feet; the Kiso with nine spans of 200 feet; the Nagara, with 5 spans, of 200 feet and four spans of 100 feet; and the Ibe with five spans of 200 feet had to be bridged besides numerous smaller bridges and culverts required for the irrigation of the Mino rice plain, increased considerably the expense of this section.

Ōgaki Station (262¾ miles) is at the boundary of level and steep gradients. From here the line follows the Nakasendo to the top of the Sekigahara pass rising in 12 miles 753½ feet, and then descending 490 feet to Maibara on Lake Biwa. On this section there is about 8 miles of a gradient of 1 in 40. The gradient is fairly easy to Tarui. Here the line enters the hills and the gradient is heavy over the pass to Nagaoka Station with embankments and cuttings, the distance being 10 miles.

The line from Maibara to Baba is 35 miles, 60 chains, and was known as the Koto Section. It runs along the East shore of Lake Biwa. Passing through the Mushiyama tunnel of 100 feet it reaches Hikone, after crossing the Takamiya river eighteen spans of 40 feet, and the Yechi

river on twenty spans of 60 feet, then through the Koshigoye tunnel 468 feet to Hachiman, from there the line crosses the Nibo river on twelve spans of 60 feet, then through a tunnel under the Yanomune river 170 feet, over the Yasu river on four spans of 100 feet and eighteen spans of 70 feet, to Kusatsu Station. Here there is a connection with the Kansai railway, which is a private company running to Yokkaichi on Owari Bay. From Kusatsu the line passes through a tunnel of 224 feet under the Kusatsu river, crosses the Seta river which runs out of Lake Biwa, on a bridge of nineteen spans of 70 feet and in a western direction to Baba Station.

From Baba Station there is a branch line of 1 mile 23 chains to Ōtsu. This was for many years a terminal station. There are extensive goods-sheds, several sidings and wharves, and appliances for loading and unloading vessels trading on the lake. A commodious harbour protected by a break-water was also constructed, resulting in a heavy trade on Lake Biwa. Two large steamers belonging to the railway ran daily between Otsu and Nagahama for many years. It was known at that time that when the railway was extended the line would branch off at Baba, so it was made from the commencement a depot for engines and rolling stock. Now this branch is used exclusively for goods traffic, which is still large, many steamers running to different places.

Leaving Baba the line ascends a gradient of 1 in 40 through Osakayama tunnel 2,181 feet to Otani about 2 miles, then descends a similar gradient of 3 miles to Yamashiro, and up another similar gradient for 2 miles, and along an easier gradient to Kyōto Station, distance 10 miles; on this section there are forty-eight bridges and culverts, but the only bridge of any magnitude is the one over the Kamo river near Kyōto, which consists of eight spans of 50 feet.

The country between Kyōto and Kōbe is fairly level and the expense is principally due to bridge work. The Katsura river is spanned with twelve spans of 100 ft; then the Upper Kansaki, and the Upper Juso rivers, with 13 spans of 100 feet, and five spans of 100 feet; after leaving Ōsaka the Lower Juso, and the Lower Kansaki rivers are crossed by nine spans of 70 feet and seventeen spans of 70 feet; as the line had to run into Ōsaka these two rivers are crossed twice. The last river of importance is the Muko, which is crossed by twelve spans of 70 feet. From here three rivers are tunnelled under—the Ashiya river tunnel 365 feet, the Sumiyoshi river tunnel 165 feet, the Ishiya river tunnel 200 feet. Then descending a bank of 1 in 100 the Kōbe terminal is reached, having completed 376 miles, 31 chains.

The railway Compound at Kōbe is a valuable and extensive plot of land, with a good water frontage on the west side of the harbour. There is a good passenger station with brick buildings. Into this Station and yard the Sanyo Railway have running powers. This is a private railway company starting from the Kōbe Station and going in a westerly direction to Mihara in the Okayama Ken, a distance of 143½ miles. Shortly this line will reach Hiroshima. There is also provided a pier 450 feet long, and 40 feet broad, with three lines of rails, where sea-going ships of 20 feet draught can load and discharge cargo. Kobe Station being the headquarters of the Western Section of the Government Railways, there are large offices for the Engineering, Locomotive, Traffic, and Stores Department; Godowns for storing material; Works for building and repairing Engines, Carriages, Wagons, and doing any other mechanical work required on the Railway, besides having an engine, carriage, and wagon depot, and general arrangement for coaling and watering the engines. The Shinbashi property in Tōkyō is a valuable and large piece of land, bordered on

two sides with a canal, which is used by the boats bringing and taking away goods. Besides the goods shed, the station, and works for building and repairing engines, carriages, and wagons, there are the principal offices of the Government Railways, also the headquarters of the Eastern Section, the two being in many ways combined. Close by is the Teishinsho (Department of Communications) of which the Railway is a Bureau, and where the Director of Railways has his office and personal staff. A branch line of the Nippon Railway Company joins the line at Shinagawa, and has running powers from that station to Shinbashi Station, a distance of three and a quarter miles.

THE NUMBER AND SIZES OF THE IRON BRIDGES AND CULVERTS ON THE TŌKAIDO RAILWAY AND ITS BRANCHES.

No. of Spans.	Length of Spans.	No. of Spans.	Length of Spans.
52	15 feet	136	40 feet
8	16 "	8	45 "
15	17 "	52	50 "
114	18 "	128	60 "
111	20 "	180	70 "
9	24 "	55	100 "
60	30 "	3	105 "
8	33 "	59	200 "
27	36 "		
399		621	

Total spans, 1,020, which if put together would measure about 61,492 feet=11.65 miles.

The weight of metal represented by these spans would amount to about 25,000 tons.

TABLE SHOWING THE COST OF DIFFERENT BRIDGES.

Miles from Tokyo.	Name of Bridge.	Spans. No.	Spans. Length.	Total. Length.	Cost. Total.	Cost. Per foot Run.	Remarks.
					yen.	yen.	
9½ miles	Rokugo .	6 24	100 ft 40 "	1,650 ft.	434,906	263.58	The Rokugo has two lines on the bridge.
100 "	Fuji	9	200 "	1,874 "	282,360	150.67	
138 "	Ōi.....	16	200 "	3,339 "	409,216	122.56	
164 "	Tenriu..	19	200 "	3,967 "	507,055	127.82	
309 "	Yasu ..	4 18	100 " 70 "	1,769 "	82,633	41.71	
121½ "	Abe	24	70 "	1,830 "	80,847	44.18	
39½ "	Banyu ..	18	70 "	1,368 "	77,682	56.79	
176 "	Hamana.	24	60 "	1,578 "	64,976	41.18	
257½ "	Nagara	5 4	200 " 100 "	1,490 "	204,271	137.09	
251 "	Kiso....	9	200 "	1,874 "	302,286	161.31	

The total length of the tunnels, 34,592= 6 miles, 970 yards, 2 feet.

TABLE OF THE COSTS OF THE LONGEST TUNNELS.

Miles from Tokyo.	Name of Tunnel.	Total Length.	Cost. Total.	Cost. per Foot run.	Remarks.
			yen.	yen.	
59½ miles	Hakone No. 2	1,893 feet	115,573	61.09	
60 "	do. No. 3	1,042 "	61,472	60.03	
125 "	Sekibe.....	2,856 "	131,411	45.87	
126 "	Isohama	3,167 "	210,873	66.58	
140½ "	Makinohara..	3,273 "	213,617	65.27	
320½ "	Ōsaka-yama .	2,181 "	203,264	93.20	
33½ "	Nagoye	1,130 "	34,809	30.80	Yokosuka
36 "	Numama ..	1,319 "	41,795	31.69	"
305 "	Yanagase-yama	4,435 "	425,499	95.94	Maibara-Tsuruga

There are 38 tunnels on the Tokaido Trunk Line.

The Yokosuka Branch:—10 Miles 3 Chains.

Mileage from Ōfuna.	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Ōfuna		37.11
2.78	Kamakura	2.78	30.32
5.31	Dzushi	2.33	19.92
10.03	Yokosuka	4.52	15.32

This line branches from the Tōkaido Railway at Ōfuna 29½ miles from Tōkyō. Thence it proceeds south-eastward to Kamakura, passing through the Ōgigayatsu tunnel 502 feet, piercing then the hills at Nagoye with a tunnel 1,180 feet long, it reaches Dzushi Station, then passes through six tunnels, namely, Numama 1,319 feet; Taura 311 feet; Shichikama 317 feet; Nagaura 604 feet; Tanoura 615 feet; Yoshikura 519 feet; and thus reaches Yokosuka. Although the total distance does not exceed but a little over 10 miles, yet owing to the rugged nature of the ground 8 tunnels are necessary, of the total length of 5,317 feet. The cuttings extend to about 44,000 tsubo; while the embankments are about 37,000 tsubo. Retaining walls for the prevention of landslips were built to the extent of about 1,009 tsubo, and the number of bridges erected was 8, but all are small. The construction was begun January, 1888, and was completed July, 1889, at a cost of Yen 41,372 per mile, making the total cost Yen 413,720.

One principal reason for this line was the Naval dockyard and station at Yokosuka, with a torpedo school at Nagaura. It is a little peculiar having the line to Yokosuka that arrangements have not been made to carry

the rails into the dockyard, or that there is no station at Nagaura for the convenience of those travelling, as several officials must go forth and back daily. The traffic has proved very satisfactory, and the sea-side villages must have benefited greatly.

The Obu Taketoyo Branch :—12 Miles.

Mileage from Ōbu.	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Ōbu		37.12
6.29	Kamezaki	6.29	65.12
9.04	Handa	2.55	14.72
12.54	Taketoyo	3.50	13.12

This line leaves the Tokaido Railway at Obu, which is 223¼ miles from Tōkyō. The country through which the line runs is mostly level and there are no engineering difficulties. On approaching Handa the line is near the sea coast. As the line was made for the convenience of bringing material for the construction of the then intended Nakasendo Railway, it was found that Handa was not suitable on account of the depth of water. The line was run 3½ miles towards the end of the promontory to Taketoyo, where a wharf was made so as to be able to unload from the barges at all states of the tide; there are 12 bridges having 22 spans of different sizes, none of the bridges of any importance.

It is questionable if this line will pay even the working expenses.

THE MAIBARA-KANEGASAKI BRANCH, 31 MILES; ALSO THE FUKATANI NAGAHAMA SECTION, 9 MILES, 60 CHAINS.

Mileage from Maibara.	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Maibara		291.62
4.50	Nagahama	4.50	288.17
11.25	Takatsuki.....	6.55	353.46
12.18	Inokuchi	0.73	366.28
13.71	Kinomoto	1.53	377.96
16.62	Nakanogo.....	2.71	475.27
19.55	Yanagase	2.73	678.99
	Top of Tunnel		813.49
26.14	Hikida	6.39	227.44
30.23	Tsuruga	4.09	8.69
31.01	Kanagasaki	0.58	8.69

This branch is better known as the Maibara-Tsuruga, as Kanegasaki Station is on the water-side and is similar to what Otsu is to Baba Station; namely at this terminal station, there are extensive goods-sheds, several sidings and wharves, and appliances for loading and unloading vessels, also a commodious harbour protected by a breakwater to shelter the smaller vessels, the large steamers coming into the Tsuruga Bay having to anchor outside. Tsuruga itself is exposed to the seas coming into the bay during the more trying months of the year; and at one time it was under serious consideration to extend the line round the west side of the bay to the natural harbour of Kutsunoura, a distance of about 3 miles. This fine harbour is much frequented by large junks, especially in winter. There

is good holding ground, and full protection from the north and west winds, to which Tsuruga itself is exposed.

The line takes a northerly direction from Maibara, crosses the Amano river, runs along the shore of Biwa Lake and joins the older line (Nagahama-Tsuruga) at Nagahama. This town was mostly made when it was the terminal station, and had a large trade passing through from the steamers and other vessels on the lake. There was also a small shop for repairing engines, carriages, and wagons, and doing other work required by the engineers working on Construction. Since through communication this shop has been dismantled, and the importance of the town has decreased.

Leaving Nagahama the Ane and Tonoto rivers are crossed, and until approaching Yanagase station the gradients are not steep; from here to the top of the pass, which is 813½ feet above sea level, the gradient is 1 in 45 for a little over one mile. The Yanagase tunnel, 4,435 feet, is the chief work of importance, and it is the longest railway tunnel in Japan and was four years in course of construction; the gradient in the tunnel is 1 in 40; and from the top of the pass to Hikida Station, over 5 miles, the ruling gradient is 1 in 40, and passing through the Kotone, 187 feet, the Tone, 648 feet, and the Sosogi tunnels, 180 feet. The embankments, the cuttings and the retaining walls are heavy.

The line from Nagahama to Fukatani, 9 miles 60 chains, is now used only as a Goods Line. The works call for no particular mention. The original line ran from Nagahama to Tsuruga, and Nagahama via Fukatani to Ogaki, and this section was opened to the public on the 25th May, 1884, as soon as the line was made from Fukatani to Maibara, and from Maibara to Nagahama this piece was closed, and since then as the goods traffic is heavy over the Sekigahara incline it has been re-opened for that purpose.

THE TAKASAKI-NAOETSU SECTION: 117 MILES.

Mileage from Naoetsu.	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Naoetsu		8.00
4.24	Takata	4.24	40.66
10.45	Arai	6.21	198.31
18.21	Sekiyama	7.56	1087.44
22.54	Taguchi	4.33	1674.08
28.01	Kashiwabara	5.27	2204.00
34.23	Mure.....	6.22	1598.23
39.13	Toyono.....	4.70	1097.63
46.01	Nagano.....	6.68	1182.85
51.51	Shinonoi	5.50	1168.07
54.71	Yashiro	3.20	1183.96
60.67	Sakaki	5.76	1294.04
67.22	Uyeda	6.35	1462.31
72.50	Tanaka.....	5.28	1678.95
78.35	Komoro	5.65	2176.65
84.10	Miyota	5.55	2707.55
83.00	.....	0.00	3234.84
92.10	Karuisawa	8.00	3080.31

This line will be divided into three Sections—the Naoetsu-Karuisawa, the Yokogawa-Takasaki, and the Karuisawa-Yokogawa:

THE NAOETSU-KARUISAWA SECTION: 92 MILES.

This line starts from the south of the town of Naoetsu in Echigo, and proceeds to Arai, passing Takata, and

YOKOGAWA-TAKASAKI SECTION: 18 MILES.

Mileage from Takasaki.	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Takasaki		306.61
1.38	Iidzuka	1.38	318.16
6.44	Annaka	5.06	440.11
10.73	Isobe	4.29	686.88
14.64	Matsuida	3.71	975.33
18.00	Yokogawa	3.16	1263.20

This line leaves Takasaki Station on the Tōkyō Mayebashi Section of the Japan Railway Company 63 miles from Tōkyō, and stops short before reaching the point where serious difficulties occur, though it rises over a thousand feet in its own length, having in one place nearly three miles of a gradient of one in forty. As however the line follows the general contour of the country, the works are with few exceptions unimportant. The Karasu river and the Usui river are spanned with 8 spans of 50 feet; and 10 spans of 40 feet.

YOKOGAWA–KARUISAWA SECTION: 7 MILES.

The question of making the connection between Yokogawa, 1,263 feet, and Karuisawa, 3,080 feet above sea level, has been the cause of much thought and consideration to the railway engineers. Minute surveys over the Usui-toge (pass), an extremely rough portion of the Nakasendo highway, had been made in past years. They resulted in proving that to lay an ordinary railway over the pass would, in the first place, require a large expenditure, and when completed on gradients of one in forty, and with sharp curves, it would be about 17 miles long. At about this time two young engineers returned

after 1½ year's trip to America and Europe, sent to study railway construction, and they were greatly taken with the Abt track railway system for passing over rough country. And from this and other circumstances the adoption of the Abt system for this district was decided upon, and fresh surveys of three different routes under this system were begun in April, 1890; they are:

First: the Wami Route: This the most southern of the three routes leaves the Karuisawa plain by the Wami pass, and proceeds on its downward course by the hamlets of Onga, Akahama, and Arai, and enters Yokogawa Station. The distance is 7 miles 50 chains, of which 2 miles 64 chains are on a gradient of 1 in 40, and 4 miles 67 chains incline of 1 in 15. Tunnels are 17 in number, with an aggregate length of 183½ chains; or 2 miles 23½ chains.

Second: the Iri-yama Route.—This is the central route. It emerges from the Karuisawa plain by Mount Manatcho, and skirting around Mount Inamuro proceeds on to Akahama, and thence to Yokogawa with 1 in 40 gradient. Its length would be 7 miles 36 chains, of which 2 miles 64½ chains are on a gradient of 1 in 40 and 4 miles 51½ chains on 1 in 15. The tunnels would be 21 in number, with an aggregate length of 154 chains or 1 mile 74 chains.

Third: The Nakao Route:—This is the most northerly route. It begins at the Karuisawa Station and follows the new road (Nakasendo) in the Nakao Valley and joins via Sakamoto the existing railway at Yokogawa. Its length is 6 miles 77½ chains, of which 2 miles 28 chains are on an incline of 1 in 40, and 4 miles 49½ chains on 1 in 15. Tunnels 26 in number with an aggregate length of 221 chains 88 links, or 2 miles 61¾ chains.

When the results of the preliminary surveys of these alternative lines were compared, it was seen that the Wami line, though encumbered by one long tunnel of over

60 chains, had the smallest number of them; that the Iriyama line was hampered by numerous curves; and that the Nakao line by following the main road in close proximity, had an ample means of supplying material. A second survey of the Wami, and the Nakao line, the results of which proving satisfactory to the Nakao line, it was finally adopted in February 1891.

The line was commenced in March 1891. It being laid out over a wild district, has necessitated engineering works of no ordinary nature, rocky hills having to be cut away and ravines filled up, extremely steep gradients introduced, as many as twenty six different places within this short distance having had to be pierced by tunnels. Thanks to the fact of the line being located along the public roadway, and the latter having thereby afforded ample means of transportation and distribution by means of the horse tramway, no dearth in the supply of material has been experienced at the places where the works were being carried on.

The experience gained from the practical illustrations of the effects of earthquake phenomena on bridgework during the great earthquake of the Owari and Mino provinces, being availed of, some alteration of the designs for the brick arches and piers of the bridges on this railway was necessitated. The principal bridge is over the Usui river; it has four spans of 60 feet; built on brick arches, and it is 110 feet above the ground; there are 2,200,000 bricks in this structure.

The construction of this line was begun in March 1891, and opened for traffic on the 1st April, 1893. It was therefore completed in 25 months. The principal works connected with this line were:—Earthworks, cuttings, embankments, deviation of roads, etc. etc., 89,404 tsubo; tunnels 26 in number, with an aggregate length of 14,644

feet; bridges 18, with an aggregate length of 1471 feet; culverts 20; rails laid for the main line and the sidings 8 miles 44 chains; a passing station at Kuma-no-taira, which is half way up the gradient; and other buildings 651 tsubo.

Without going into the advisability of an alteration in the general construction of the railway, and whether it is wise, or otherwise, to adopt a new system from the financial, and military point of view, the Engineer in Charge, and his Assistants are to be congratulated in the way the Works are constructed, of which any country might be proud.

Rolling Stock:—The first stock was manufactured in England for the Tōkyō-Yokohama, and the Kōbe-Ōsaka section. For the Tōkyō-Yokohama section it consisted of 10 Tank Engines, 10 first class, and 40 second class carriages, with 8 brake vans, and a number of open and closed goods-wagons.

The rolling stock on the Tokaido Line and Branches (March, 1893), 115 engines, 582 carriages, and 1,535 wagons; total 2,231. On the Takasaki-Naoetsu Line, 19 engines, 48 carriages, and 218 wagons, total, 285; making the grand total 134 engines, 630 carriages, and 1,753 wagons.

Engines, with the exception of six, were ordered from England as required, and wheels and axles and buffers for other stock are also imported; with the exception of 60 bogie carriages ordered on account of the Tokaido Line being opened sooner than contemplated, all carriages and wagons for the Government Line and for the Nippon Railway Company, the Kobu Railway Company, and the Ryomo Railway were built at the Shinbashi or Kobe Shops. A few carriages and wagons for the Takasaki Naoetsu Line were built at the small shops at Nagano.

Locomotives :—134 engines :—These are divided into six classes :—

A ; Small side-tank Engines.

B ; Side-tank Engines for the Main Line.

C ; Passenger Tender Engines for the Main Line.

D ; Large Tender Engines for heavy grandients.

E ; Large Tank Engines for heavy gradients.

F ; Large Tank Engines for the Abt' System.

There are 25 Locomotives of the A Class, having cylinders either 12 inches diameter by 17 inches stroke, or 13 inches diameter by 20 inches stroke. The 6 wheels coupled engines are used for the construction work, and the 4 wheels coupled for working short lines, and for shunting purposes.

Class B Includes 33 engines of the same type, having 14 inches diameter of cylinders, 20 inches stroke, 4 wheels coupled being 4 feet 4 inches diameter, a small pair of wheels under the leading and the trailing end having F. W. Webb's Patent Radial Axle-box so as to allow the engine to run around sharp curves easily ; and side tanks to carry 1,000 gallons of water ; these are well adapted for working the traffic on the main line and weigh in working order 34 tons. The load between Tōkyō and Yokohama, is a maximum of 25 carriages, or 40 wagons.

Class C Includes 36 locomotives having tenders ; the cylinders vary in sizes between 14 inches, and 15½ inches diameter of cylinders, 22 inches stroke, 4 wheels coupled 4 feet 6 inches diameter, and a bogie under the front end. These are a most satisfactory type for passenger or mixed trains having long runs.

There are 6 Engines of Class D having tenders ; the cylinders 16 inches and 18 inches in diameter, 6 wheels coupled, a Bissel truck in front, and known as the Mogul type. These are intended to work where gradients of 1 in 40 prevail, and are in every way a suitable engine.

CLASS E INCLUDES 30 Tank engines, with cylinders of 15 inches, and 16 inches in diameter; 6 wheels coupled 4 feet in diameter; these are for working gradients of 1 in 40.

THERE ARE 4 TANK ENGINES of Class F; of a special design with 4 cylinders, to work on the Abt System of Rack Railway on the Usui Pass.

The engines in the first five classes were built by the following firms: Beyer, Peacock and Co.; Dubs and Co.; Sharp, Stewart and Co.; Nasywith, Wilson and Co.; Kitson and Co.; Neilson and Co.; Vulcan Foundry; Avonside Works; Yorkshire Engine Works; Manning, Wardle and Co.; and two engines by Baldwin and Co.; The 4 engines for the rack railway by the Maschinenfabrik Esslingen.

The main line engines are adapted to make from 25 to 30 miles an hour, and if the line through the stations was constructed for through running, and devoid of curves on approaching the facing points, a speed of 35 miles per hour could be maintained without any difficulty.

The coal used is well adapted for locomotive purposes, being very free from injurious gases, and though rather smoky it makes but little ash, and keeps steam well. It comes either from Karatsu Colliery in the island of Kiushiu, or from Horonai in Hokkaido; in either case it is transported by sea 600 miles to Yokohama.

The water used is pure, except in the flood season when it contains a certain amount of earthy matter, and then the engines require to be washed out more frequently; otherwise there are no injurious qualities to corrode the boilers.

The English engines have outside cylinders, with the Joy, or link valve motion; wrought iron wheels with steel tyres; best Yorkshire iron for the boiler barrels, domes, fire-box shells, and smoke-box tube-plates; copper fire-boxes and brass tubes; and frames of best Yorkshire iron, or mild steel, each in one plate.

The locomotive stock at the end of March, 1893, was below the requirements of the Railway, and since then orders have been forwarded abroad for thirty engines, besides buying three engines of class B from the Ryomo Railway. The engines ordered are, 6 of the B class; 6 of the C class only having the cylinders 16 inches in diameter; 16 of the D class, 4 from America with cylinders 18 inches in diameter; 12 from England with cylinder 17 inches in diameter; and 2 of F class for the Rack Railway over the Usui pass. When these engines arrive, and are in working order the Government Railways should be able to draw whatever traffic may be loaded into carriages or wagons.

The advisability and economy of building locomotives in Japan has at times during the last few years been brought before the notice of the Railway Department. In 1892 sanction was granted to make a trial at Kobe, and in April, 1893, the first locomotive was turned out of the Railway Works at Kobe. The engine was designed by Mr. R. F. Trevithick, the Locomotive Superintendent of the Western Section. It is different to any engine on the line, being what is known as a Compound Engine; and at that time there was not a compound engine in Japan. The boiler, water tanks, wrought iron wheels, the motion, the cylinders, valves and other parts were made at the Works; the frame plates and a few other parts came in a rough state from abroad. The engine has given every satisfaction, cheapness in construction, lowness in consumption of coal and water, goodness of hauling capacity, and steadiness when running. The success of this first trial should oblige the Government to build their own locomotives for the sake of economy.

It may not be out of place to tell the following story. In 1803 Richard Trevithick was building at Penydarran in South Wales a tramway locomotive, to run on rails not exceeding a gradient of 1 in 50, and of considerable

length. In February, 1804, this engine had run several trips a distance of 9¾ miles, drawing five wagons carrying 10 tons of iron and at times 70 men riding; at another trial the engine pulled 25 tons of iron, and a bet of £500 that it would not pull a load of 10 tons of iron this distance was won by the engine, which weighed 5 tons, and had one cylinder 8¼ inches in diameter. This is considered to be the first locomotive in the world. In 1893 Richard Trevithick, a grandson, has had the opportunity of designing and superintending the building of the first locomotive in Japan. It weighs nearly 40 tons, has all the latest improvements, and is running between Kōbe and Kyōto.

It is a peculiar incident that in two islands so far apart as England and Japan, and with a space of 90 years between, the Christian and surname of the two men who have the credit of building and designing the first locomotive in each country should be the same, the man in Japan being the grandson.

History repeats itself, as Richard Trevithick senior was branded with folly and madness by the late James Watt for bringing into use the high pressure engine, and even not known to the general public as the builder and inventor of the first locomotive; so will Richard Trevithick of Kōbe never be known in Japan by the Japanese as the designer and builder of the first locomotive, the credit being already given to a Japanese who has very little mechanical knowledge.

CARRIAGES:—630 Vehicles:—The American type was first adopted on the Tōkyō-Yokohama line, with end platforms and central passage; the inside width is 6 feet 8 inches, and the seats are 1 foot 10 inches wide. The first-class are divided into three compartments, each holding six persons, by sliding doors; but the second have no division and are differently upholstered, being in all other respects similar to the first; these carriages are still running.

It had not been expected at first that the lower classes would use the trains, but railway travelling quickly became so popular that 26 of the second class carriages had to be somewhat altered to accommodate third class traffic. Now, however, as these carriages require rebuilding a different type is adopted. The sole-bars of all these carriages are 22 feet long, of girder iron 9½ inches by 3¾ inches by ⅝ inch thick; weighing 23½ lbs. per foot. Other carriages of the English type were imported of a smaller size with wood sole-bars 18 feet long; these were sent to Kōbe and ran between Kōbe and Kyōtō. Some of these carriages are running on the branch lines at the present time.

Another type was introduced, the carriage being supported on two bogie trucks with the standard wheels 2 feet 9 inches diameter; each bogie has a wheel base of 5 feet. The under-frames being trussed for the sake of stiffness between the bogies. The length of carriage over the buffer beams, 46 feet 6 inches.

There are two standard types of carriages, the one on two pairs of wheels, the sole-bars 23 feet long, and built either first, second, or third class as required; the framing is uniform, all the work being marked off from one template. The other carriage on two bogie trucks, the sole-bars being 46 feet 6 inches long. The weight of the smaller carriage empty, 6½ tons; the weight of the large carriage empty, 14½ tons.

WAGONS: 1,753 Wagons: There are two distinct classes of wagons. The wagons having the underframe all iron and arranged to carry 10 tons. The other wagons having iron sole-bars 17 feet 6 inches long of the same section as used for carriages, the underframe of wood, and to carry 6 tons.

In each class there are several descriptions of these in use, viz: Covered goods, the same adapted to carry 6 horses; the ordinary open wagon with sides 2 feet high, of three planks; the mineral wagons, sides four planks

high; the ballast wagons, the rail trucks; timber trucks; and brake vans.

The underframing of each class is the same, and marked off from a template, although the body may be different. The buffers are Brown's Patent of wrought iron with cast iron cases. The brake-blocks are of cast iron, and one block to each wheel. At one end of the wagon is a screw-coupling; at the other end a chain coupling.

The timber used in both underframes and body framework of carriages and wagons is Keyaki (the Japanese elm), a very fine timber, sometimes to be seen in planks 4 or 5 feet wide, hard and strong, dark brown in colour, with a beautiful grain resembling teak; it takes a good polish and stands damp well, but is liable to warp when exposed to the sun. As Keyaki is getting costly and scarce teak at times is used. Floors, sides, and roofs are of Hinoki, a valuable building timber resembling red pine. Of late cheaper kinds of wood are being use for wagons. Kuri (chestnut) is chiefly used, on account of its low price, for sleepers. Japan is on the whole well provided with timber, but it cannot be considered cheap.

The average weight of an empty wagon to carry 10 tons, Covered Goods, 5 tons 8 cwt.; Open wagon 5 tons. A wagon to carry 6 tons, Covered Goods, 4½ tons; Open Wagons 4 Tons.

The rolling stock is in general well suited to the capabilities of the gauge; and the capacity of the wagon stock quite up to that used on the 4 feet 8½ inches gauge.

Workshops:—There are workshops at Shinbashi, Kōbe, and Nagano; the latter are small and only for the Takasaki-Naoetsu Line.

Considering the workshops at Shinbashi and at Kōbe have been built without any fixed plan, and enlarged only when the requirements obliged it; and the designs or ideas of those most competent to know, in many cases either not being asked, or if asked not properly carried out, taking all these

considerations into account the shops are fairly well provided with good machinery, and arranged fairly satisfactorily.

The shops at each place are of similar size. Regular employment could be given to about 2,000 men, not including the Running Department. All carriages and wagons can be built; and repairs executed to engines, carriages and wagons; besides the required work for the Engineering and Construction Department.

The shops under the efficient control of managers and foreman and with a proper system could build 120 carriages and 480 wagons a year. At a small expense for machinery and a new shop, there would then be the appliances for building 10 engines yearly; so that the Government is in the position to build all the engines and rolling stock required to supply their wants. This is satisfactory, as only one-third of the money required for the increase of the rolling stock would leave the country for foreign material; one-third for material bought in the country; and one-third in wages, thereby supplying work and food for a number of the people.

My experience may allow me to define what makes an efficient manager or foreman. A man who has had a good education and has spent some years in the Works actually working with the men, so as to be thoroughly acquainted with good or bad work, to be able quickly to watch that the men do a fair day's work, to give instruction direct to the men, and the men to have confidence in their manager with reference to his knowledge, his fairness in dealing with them, and his being able to appreciate the good workmen. Men who have passed through a University, and those who are good clerks and can make satisfactory returns on the principle of figures, but have never worked with the workman, have no idea of the actual routine of a shop, nor are able to appreciate the man at his proper worth; although to their faces the workman is civil and polite, as soon as their

back is turned the men have the greatest contempt for such masters and take every advantage, thereby increasing greatly the expense, and turning out inferior work. It is very similar to expect good soldiers to fight under officers who only have learnt warfare by reading books and hearing lectures.

Capital Account.

The railway fund granted by the Government from the first establishment of Railways, March, 1870, up to the close of the year ending March, 1893, amounted to Yen 37,554,474. The average cost per mile at the close of March, 1893, was Yen 60,667.

In the following table the average cost per mile, at the close of the year, of the different sections of the lines in operation is compared and given :—

	Miles	Average Cost per mile. yen.
Total length of open lines	551	60,667
Details.		
1. Tokyo-Yokohama Section ... ... (Double line, construction begun April, 1870, completed September, 1872.)	18	163,457
2. Kobe-Otsu Section ... ... (1 mile double; construction begun November, 1870, completed September, 1879.)	58	137,993
3. Tsuruga-Ogaki Section ... ... (Construction begun May, 1880, completed July, 1884.)	49	71,563
4. Takasaki-Naoetsu Section ... ... (Usui toge excepted; construction begun October, 1884, completed December, 1888.)	110	34,749
5. Yokohama-Ogaki Section ... ... (22 miles double line; construction begun 1885, completed April, 1889.)	258	50,802

6. Ofuna-Yokosuka Section... ... ... 10 41,872
(Construction begun January, 1888, completed July, 1889.)
7. Otsu-Nagahama Section... ... ... 48 34,008
(Construction begun February, 1888, completed July, 1889.)
Double line between Oyama and Numazu ... 22 15,617
(being a portion of the Yokohama-Ogaki Section; construction begun February, 1890, completed March, 1891.)

In the following table the amount of the Gross and Fixed Railway Capital at the close of each fiscal year from the 19th is compared with the mileages of lines in operation, and the average cost per mile in respect of the aggregate and fixed capitals is given :—

Fiscal Years.	Amount of Aggregate Capital at the close of fiscal year.	Amount of fixed Capital at close of fiscal year.	Percentage of Fixed Capital to Aggregate Capital.	Miles in operation.	Per One Mile of open lines. Amount of Aggregate Capital.	Amount of Fixed Capital.
	Yen.	Yen	Per cent.	Miles.	Yen.	Yen.
Before 19th	17,885,844	14,971,665	83.7	143	125,076	104,697
19th	21,134,852	17,279,952	81.8	209	101,124	82,679
20th	26,284,852	22,447,623	85.4	245	107,285	91,623
21st	33,391,027	28,032,343	85.7	446	74,868	64,198
22nd	34,447,633	31,618,348	91.8	551	62,518	57,384
23rd	34,971,702	32,745,091	93.6	551	63,470	59,430
24th	36,583,118	33,068,184	90.4	551	66,394	60,015
25th	37,554,475	33,427,735	89.0	551	68,157	60,667

The proportional decrease of the amount of the Fixed Capital as compared with the amount of the Gross Capital, and the increase of the amount per mile of the Gross Capital at the close of the year under review, noticeable in the above table, are due to the fact that expenditures of over yen 1,990,000 on the Usui-toge line construction works, though included in the adjusted accounts, have been excluded from the columns of Fixed Capital, because of the line not being yet opened to traffic, and therefore earning no revenue.

IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS.

Total Length of line open at the end of each year, Passengers and Goods conveyed, Receipts, Working Expenses and Profit as shown yearly.

Fiscal Year.					Length of Line	Number of Passengers.
5th	Meiji	5th Oct.	to 31st Dec.	1872	18	495,078
6th	"	Dec.	to Dec.	1873	18	1,415,225
7th	"	"	" "	1874	38	2,093,560
Jan		1875	to June	1875	38 [a]	1,481,761
8th	Fiscal	July 1875	June	1876	38	2,756,482
9th		" 1876	"	1877	65	2,933,260
10th		" 1877	"	1878	"	3,096,707
11th		" 1878	"	1879	"	3,423,904
12th		" 1879	"	1880	73	4,337,422
13th		" 1880	"	1881	76	5,332,318
14th		" 1881	"	1882	101	5,758,734
15th		" 1882	"	1883	115	6,003,902
16th		" 1883	"	1884	124	5,161,206
17th		" 1884	"	1885	"	4,099,260
18th		" 1885	March	1886	163 [b]	2,636,784
19th		April 1886	"	1887	205	3,761,473
20th		" 1887	"	1888	245	5,919,383
21st		" 1888	"	1889	446	8,404,776
22nd		" 1889	"	1890	542	11,365,937
23rd		" 1890	"	1891	551	11,265,383
24th		" 1891	"	1892	551	11,789,913
25th		" 1892	"	1893	551	12,873,547
Total Expenditure Yen 35,418,997						116,404,015

[a] Six months
[b] Nine months
} Alteration of the Financial year.

IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS.

Quantity of Goods.	Receipts.	Working Expenses.	Profit.
Ton.	Yen. [c]	Yen. [c]	Yen. [c]
457	74,936	113,464	61,466
2,351	441,615	232,830	208,785
17,701	592,671	346,803	245,868
13,603	358,360	207,463	150,897
58,182	644,495	403,823	240,672
59,340	1,284,466	434,001	850,465
84,887	910,336	526,248	384,088
100,231	1,011,739	555,117	456,622
163,216	1,243,531	512,674	750,857
192,920	1,555,797	608,224	947,573
225,177	1,713,980	677,587	1,136,393
230,855	1,840,394	926,548	913,846
241,243	1,564,910	631,132	932,778
314,180	1,362,686	612,148	751,538
188,373	896,111	442,221	453,890
373,838	1,301,119	622,993	678,124
485,470	1,698,873	677,124	1,021,749
616,913	2,313,811	967,585	1,346,226
544,517	3,771,630	1,663,417	2,108,213
671,561	4,213,804	2,001,273	2,212,331
806,511	4,110,141	2,426,900	1,683,241
982,404	4,580,632	2,166,199	2,414,433
6,373,931	37,595,995	17,775,775	19,820,220

[c] The Japanese yen during 1872 and 1893 has fluctuated between 4*s*. 6*d*. and 2*s*. 6*d*.

Detail Tables for the year ending March, 1893, will be found as an appendix at the end of the paper.

PRIVATE RAILWAY LINES.

THE NIPPON RAILWAY COMPANY: MILES 591.61 M. CH.

		M. CH.	
Ueno-Aomori	Section	...454.66	
Shinagawa-Akabane	"	... 12.76	
Omiya-Maebashi	"	... 51.14	
Utsunomiya-Nikko	"	... 25.00	
Iwakiri-Shiogama	"	... 4.23	
Ueno-Akihanohara	" *	... 1.15	
Oyama-Mito	"	... 41.45	
Mito-Nakagawa	" *	... .62	=591.61

To compare the cost of construction, and to report on the line, the Sections must be taken as follows:—

SECTION.		MILES.	COST PER MILE.	TOTAL.
First	Section	81	Yen 35,836	Yen 2,902,685
Second	"	97	" 23,380	" 2,267,861
Third	"	110	" 22,849	" 2,513,356
Fourth	"	107	" 35,926	" 3,844,113
Fifth	"	127	" 42,774	" 5,432,260
Nikko	Line	25	" 16,062	" 401,546
Mito	"	43	" 18,991	" 816,611
		590		Yen 18,178,432
Materials in Stores a/c				" 646,562
Money spent by the Government				Yen 18,824,994

* For Goods Traffic only.

From 1st April, 1892, the Nippon Railway Company took over all responsibilities from the Government with reference to Construction, Maintenance, and Working.

The capital of the Nippon Railway Company is Yen 20,000,000; the average cost per mile Yen 33,500.

NIPPON RAILWAY CO.

Uyeno (Tōkyō) Awomori Section.

Mileage from Uyeno.	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Uyeno		14.51
3.73	Ōji	3.73	20.02
6.14	Akabane	2.21	22.01
12.66	Urawa	6.52	52 06
16.53	Ōmiya	3.67	43.65
22.17	Hasuda	5.44	42.51
28.15	Kuki	5.78	31.76
33.36	Kurihashi	5.21	41.41
37.77	Koga	4.41	62.76
47.72	Oyama	9.75	123.27
57.02	Ishibashi	9.10	220.86
65.66	Utsunomiya.....	8.64	364.19
72.24	Furuta	6.38	524.69
76.55	Nagakubo	4.31	581.27
83.60	Yaita	7.05	647.57
89.79	Nishinasuno.....	6.19	792.07
97.07	Kuroiso	7.08	959.97
102.40	Kurodawara.....	5.33	1092.93
107.39	Toyohara	4.79	1130.19
	Top of Pass	0.00	1329.44
113.51	Shirakawa	6.12	1161.37
122.76	Yabuki	9.25	948.72
130.08	Sukagawa	7.12	791.29
137.23	Kōriyama	7.15	745.02
145.79	Motomiya	8.56	692.40
151.78	Nihonmatsu	5.79	664.13
157.53	Matsukawa	5.55	622.97

Uyeno (Tokyo) Aomori Section.

Continued.

Mileage from Uyeno.	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
165.75	Fukushima	8.22	240.01
174.15	Kôri	8.20	337.98
182.06	Kosugo	7.71	466.10
187.14	Shiroishi	5.08	159.85
195.29	Ôkawara	8.15	63.20
200.12	Tsukinoki	4.63	30.59
204.16	Iwanuma	4.04	16.86
208.54	Masuda	4.38	29.63
215.12	Sendai	6.38	117.41
220.11	Iwakiri.....	4.79	35.51
230.01	Matsushima	9.70	27.00
242.21	Kogoda	12.20	37.00
249.56	Semine...	7.35	30.00
259.18	Ishikoshi	9.42	33.50
264.15	Hanaizumi	4.77	95.00
271.69	Ichinoseki	7.54	83.80
281.04	Mayesawa	9.15	91.86
287.34	Midzusawa	6.30	171.81
298.14	Kurosawajiri	10.60	195.81
305.76	Hanamaki	7.62	292.81
316.30	Hidzume	10.34	380.81
327.74	Morioka	11.44	407.17
340.71	Koma	12.77	677.83
347.44	Numakunai	6.53	818.22
355.19	Nakayama	7.55	1406.38
	Top of hill (Inside Tunnel)	0.00	1489.62
364.66	Kojiya	9.47	589.27
371 30	Fukuoka	6.44	366.95
382.74	Sannohe	11.44	117.94
395.49	Shiriuchi	12.55	29.32
402.40	Shimoda	6.71	28.62
415.18	Numazaki	12.58	11.05
428.24	Noheji	13.06	61.28
438.76	Kominato	10.52	12.78
445 20	Asamushi	6 24	11.48
454.66	Aomori	9.46	7.00

Shinagawa Akabane Section.

Mileage from Shinagawa.	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Shinagawa		10.32
2.30	Meguro	2.36	67.76
4.06	Shibuya	1.56	50.60
6.44	Shinjiku	2.30	121.14
8.49	Mejiro	2.05	77.62
10.40	Itabashi	1.71	85.71
12.76	Akabane	2.36	22.01

Omiya–Maebashi Section.

Mileage from Ōmiya.	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Ōmiya		43.65
5.02	Ageo.....	5.02	54.15
7.23	Okegawa	2.21	67.65
12.33	Kōnosu	5.10	74.65
16.76	Fukiage	4.43	58.29
21.27	Kumagaya	4.31	86.42
28.35	Fukaya	7.08	127.84
34.47	Honjo	6.12	183.11
39.67	Shinmachi	5.20	210.55
46.27	Takasaki	6.40	306.61
52.36	Maebashi	6.09	337.74

Utsunomiya–Nikko Section.

Mileage from Utsunomiya.	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Utsunomiya		364.19
3.48	Togami	3.48	852.97
8.68	Kanuma	5.20	536.93
13.66	Fubasami.....	4.78	788.11
20.79	Imaichi	7.13	1295.22
25.00	Nikko	4.01	1739.48

Iwakiri–Shiogama Section.

Mileage from Iwakiri.	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Iwakiri.....		35.51
4.23	Shiogama.....	4.23	6.95

Oyama–Mito Section.

Mileage from Oyama.	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Oyama		123.27
4.19	Yūki.....	4.19	123.97
6.49	Kawashima	2.30	115.55
10.20	Shimodate	3.51	102.27
18.42	Iwase	8.22	171.07
23.14	Fukuhara.....	4.52	195.71
27.04	Kasama	3.70	185.14
30.25	Shishido	3.21	109.03
34.26	Uchihara	4.01	119.65
41.45	Mito.....	7.19	27.68

First Section:—Uyeno-Mayebashi and the Branch Line Shinagawa-Akabane:—81 miles.

This line, the first constructed for the Japan Railway Company, traverses the wide and fertile plain lying between Tōkyō and the mountains to the north and west, and watered by the river Tone, the longest in Japan. It was commenced in 1882, and the first 38 miles from Tōkyō were opened, with temporary bridging at the rivers, on the 28th July, 1883; the remainder to Takasaki on the 1st May, 1884 (63 miles); and the extension to Mayebashi on the following 20th August. The bridges have since been made permanent structures, with masonry foundations and iron girders. The principal rivers are as follows:—

River Ara;	Four spans	of	...	...	100 feet.
	Forty seven	"	"	...	50 "
" Shido;	Five	"	"	...	40 "
" Nimari;	Seven	"	"	...	40 "
" Kana;	Thirty	"	"	...	40 "
" Karasu;	Six	"	"	...	100 "
	Seven	"	"	...	20 "

There are no engineering difficulties other than the river crossings, and the heaviest gradient is 1 in 100; the difference of level between the Uyeno terminus (Tōkyō) and Maebashi is 323.23 feet.

The population of the district being agricultural there are many large villages, with the exception of Takasaki, a garrison town, the junction for the Government Railway Takasaki-Naoetsu, and a tram-road to Shibukawa; and Mayebashi, the seat of provincial government (Gumma Prefecture), and the terminus of the Ryomo Railway, both of which have over 10,000 inhabitants; and Urawa, the seat of provincial government of the Saitama Prefecture.

Shinagawa-Akabane: 13 Miles.

This necessary link passes round the western outskirts of Tōkyo. At Shinjiku Station the Kobu Railway

branches off to Hachioji. The line has not very much local traffic; it is however indispensable for transfer between the interior and the coast lines, also a quantity of construction material being transported for works in progress. There are no remarkable works on this line, which was opened on the 1st March, 1885.

The station at Akabane junction is a little over 6 miles from Uyeno Station (Tōkyō), where there are military barracks.

Second Section: Omiya-Shirakawa: 97 Miles.

This line branches off at Omiya Station on the Maebashi line, 17 miles from Tōkyō, and striking the great north road (the Oshiu-Kaido) at Kurihashi on the Tone river, 17 miles from Omiya, follows the course of the road from that point. The first portion, to Utsunomiya, 49 miles, was opened on the 16th July, 1885, and the remainder in December, 1886.

The country traversed is nearly level to Utsunomiya, but between that place and Kuroiso the rise is considerable, the last named place being 945½ feet above Uyeno Station (Tōkyō).

The principal bridges are as follows:

River Tone	Three	spans of	200	feet	on brick well foundations
	Nine	"	" 100	"		
" Kusa	Four	"	" 50	"	"
" Ara	Ten	"	" 40	"	"
" Uti	Four	"	" 40	"	"
" Kinu (West).	Four	"	" 100	"	"
	Eight	"	" 50	"	
" Kinu (East).	Ten	"	" 100	"	"
	Eight	"	" 50	"	
" Hoki	Thirteen	"	" 70	"	"
" Sabi	Two	"	" 40	"	"

The district traversed is less fertile and populated than the more western part of the plain near Takasaki. At 67 miles from Omiya there is a short tunnel.

Kuroiso Station, 97 miles from Tōkyō, is at the boundary of the level and steep gradients. Starting from Kuroiso the country is hilly and the gradients in places 1 in 40, with sharp curves, when Shirakawa is reached, 113½ miles from Tōkyō. The highest point on this piece, 1329½ feet above the level of the sea, constitutes the highest elevation on the line between Tōkyō and Sendai. The Station is within the grounds of the old castle, noted for the part it played during the war of the Restoration.

The principal Stations are Koga, Oyama a junction having two lines, one to Mito, the other the Ryomo Railway to Maibashi; and Utsunomiya, the seat of the provincial government of the Tochigi Prefecture, also the junction for Nikko, and with a population of over 30,000 inhabitants.

THIRD SECTION: SHIRAKAWA-SENDAI AND SHIOGAMA; 110 miles. From Shirakawa the line follows the valley of the Abu-kuma river to Iwanuma, a distance of 90½ miles, and thence passes to Sendai through a level country. From Sendai to the port of Shiogama, 9½ miles, the route lies through rice-fields and over one or two small rivers. Between Shirakawa and Koriyama there is a slightly falling gradient, and from thence to Okawara (195½ from Tōkyō) the country is hilly, necessitating gradients of 1 in 40 both ways. In places this grade is continuous for two and three miles. As however the line follows the general contour of the country, the cuttings and fillings are, with a few exceptions, unimportant. Indeed considering the hilly nature of the district, much credit is due to the engineers who surveyed the line, that nearly the whole way through this country the route of the main road (Oshiu-Kaido) has been followed. Considering the country, costly work has been avoided. The principal tunnel, of 20 chains, is between Matsukawa

and Fukushima. The heaviest works between Matsukawa Station and Shiroishi Station, a distance of 29½ miles. In addition to these there are 12 bridges over the Abu Kuma river and its branches, and two bridges over the Natori. The first portion, Kuroiso-Shirakawa and Koriyama, was opened 20th July, 1887; and to Sendai and Shiogama, (224½ miles from Tōkyō), on the 15th December, 1887. There are 20 Stations, the principal ones being Fukushima, the seat of the provincial government of the Fukushima Prefecture; and Sendai, the seat of the provincial government of the Miyage Prefecture, with a population of over 66,000 inhabitants, and a military centre.

In the Fukushima Prefecture there have been two eruptions since the line has been opened, although in neither case has the railway suffered. The eruption of Bandai-san (6,000 feet) on the morning of July 15th, 1888, at 7.45 a.m., in which one of the peaks, Ko-Bandaisan, was destroyed, and a mighty avalanche of earth and rock rushed at terrific speed down the mountain slopes and devastated an area of more than 27 square miles; the total number of lives lost was 461. Four hamlets were completely buried under the disrupted matter, and seven villages were partially destroyed. No such disaster had happened in Japan since the famous eruption of Asamayama in 1873, which is close to the Naoetsu-Takasaki Government Line. Bandaisan is about 25 miles West of Koriyama and Motomiya Station. The second eruption was Azumayama (6,365 feet) on the 28th May, 1893. This mountain is West of Fukushima about 10 miles. Being in the centre of the hills only a few lives were lost.

Fourth Section: Sendai-Morioka; 107 miles. The railway passes through a fertile stretch of country, mostly rice fields. At Matsu-shima station, the well known village, and celebrated spot on the shores of the Bay of Sendai, can be visited. A greater part of the distance to Ichinoseki the line runs to the east of the main road; and with the

exception of crossing a few rivers and two tunnels there is nothing of importance. From here the line strikes the valley of the Kitakami river which it follows up past Morioka. Just before reaching Maezawa Station (281 miles), the Koromo river is crossed, a river celebrated as the scene of the battle that ended Yoshitsune's career. From Kurosawa-jiri Station small steamers can descend the Kitakami river. At Hanamaki Station a road goes to Kama-ishi on the east coast, where the Government tried unsuccessfully to start large Work's to procure iron. Morioka is the only important town, being the seat of the provincial government of Iwate Prefecture. It is 407 feet above the sea level, and at times during the winter it is very cold. The railway has erected a small repairing shop for engines, carriages and wagons. The line was opened from Sendai to Ishinosaki on the 23rd April, 1890, and to Morioka on the 23rd November of the same year.

FIFTH SECTION:—MORIOKA-AOMORI:—127 miles:—The line leaving Morioka is on a rising gradient for 7½ miles over a grassy tract of land, being in parts brought under cultivation; from here it gradually descends, and crosses for the first time the Kitakami river, having run for 60 miles along the left bank. Hence on a rising gradient to the top of the pass near Nakayama Station, 1,490 feet above the sea level; passing through two short tunnels the line descends down a deep valley, through which flows the Mabechi river. In this valley the line runs for 40 miles to Shiri-uchi Station. This section presented the most difficulties to the engineers; the Mabechi river is crossed twelve times, some of the bridges being very high, and the embankments and cuttings heavy, besides eight tunnels. From Shiri-uchi to Aomori over a grassy tract of country not having any very important works, at Shiri-uchi, a branch has been made to Minato, a distance of 5 miles, 13 chains.

This Section traverses a district where the snow fall is heavy. Yearly the traffic is stopped, some times during several days; the worse part is between Shiri-uchi and Kominato. There are 18 stations, but as the country is only partly cultivated the villages are unimportant. Aomori is the only important town, being a port where there is constant steam communication between Aomori and Hakodate, 70 miles distant; it is also the capital of the Aomori Prefecture, also having barracks which belong to the Sendai Military District.

Nikko Line:—25 miles:—The line branches off at Utsunomiya Station 65¾ miles (from Tokyō), and for a considerable distance runs close to the grand avenue of cryptomerias lining the ancient highway. On approaching Imaichi Station is another road from Tochigi. From here to Nikko Station there are heavy gradients. The rise from Utsunomiya to Nikko is 1,475 feet; Nikko being 1,739½ feet above the sea level. Otherwise the works do not call for any particular mention. The traffic on this line is very satisfactory to the shareholders.

Mito Line: 43 miles: The Mito Railway Company having come to an arrangement with the Nippon Railway Company, made an application for permission to sell their line to the latter Company. The permission was granted in June, 1891; and on the 1st March, 1892, the railway, with all other properties attached to it, was made over to the Nippon Company.

The line runs east from Oyama Junction 48 miles from Tōkyō, and passes through an almost level country, crossing the Ta, the Kinu, the Gojo and the Kokai river; Mito is the capital of the Ibaraki Prefecture, is about 7 miles from the sea, and situated on the Naka river. The line was opened on the 16th January, 1889.

The follwing table gives the number of iron bridges of 20 feet spans and longer. There are many iron bridges of between 12 feet and 20 feet.

Number of Spans.	Length of Spans.	Number of Span.	Length of Spans.	Remarks.
	ft. in.		ft. in.	
62	20.0	121	60.0	
82	30.0	89	70.0	
154	40.0	47	100.0	686 spans
128	50.0	3	200.0	
426		260		

Rolling Stock: 69 engines, 248 carriages, and 1,022 wagons: was the stock on the 31st March, 1893; and is in every way similar in design to the Government Stock. Orders have been sent for 48 new engines, of which 24 have arrived, besides 112 carriages, and 250 wagons. Many of these vehicles are now working and when all are running the Nippon Railway Company should be well provided to meet all requirements.

Nearly all the carriages and wagons have been built at the Shinbashi or the Kobe Government Works. A few carriages and wagons were bought from the Sanyo Railway Company.

KOBU RAILWAY CO.

Mileage from Shinjiku.	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Shinjuku		121.14
2.64	Nakano	2.64	128.07
5.21	Ogikubo	2.37	152.48
9.46	Sakai	4.25	199.53
13.10	Kokubunji	3.44	224.84
16.74	Tachikawa	3.64	270.73
19.00	Hino.....	2.06	281.08
22.77	Hachioji	3.77	347.84

KOBU RAILWAY:—This railway was sanctioned on March 31st, 1888, with a capital of Yen 900,000. It starts from Shinjiku Station on the Nippon Railway, runs through a flat country with a heavy clayey soil, crosses the Tama river 18½ miles and arrives at Hachioji, distance of 23 miles. The line was opened to the public on the 18th August, 1889.

The Kobu Railway was worked by the officials of the Nippon Railway Company. This arrangement did not give satisfaction, so the railway received sanction in October, 1891, to separate itself, and began from the 1st November of the same year to control the affairs of its railway independently.

Shinjiku Station was not a satisfactory terminus, so the Company was granted a charter 13th July, 1889, to extend the line from Shinjiku to Misaki-cho, a distance of 4¼ miles. This line is under construction, and when completed the terminus station will be a great improvement for both passengers and goods traffic.

Having completed the lines in operation which run from Tōkyō, it may be well to mention the lines under construction or proposed.

The Sobu Railway Company received its charter 21st February, 1893. It starts from Honjo (Tōkyō) to Sakura in Chiba Ken, and is a distance of 31 miles and is under construction.

The Nippon Railway Company have applied, although the charter is not as yet granted, to run a line from Tōkyō direct to Mito and along the north-east coast road to Iwanuma, where it would join the Company's line to Sendai.

RYOMO RAILWAY: 52 MILES, 17 CHAINS.

Mileage from Oyama.	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Oyama	0.00	123.27
6.60	Tochigi	6.60	138.34
12.02	Iwafune	5.22	100.63
16.46	Sano	4.44	111.34
23.62	Ashikaga	7.16	110.80
29.34	Omata	5.52	235.31
32.74	Kiriu	3.40	360.37
35.32	Ōmama	2.38	446.82
39.30	Kunisada	3.78	316.69
43.00	Isezaki.....	3.50	214.86
46.48	Komagata	3.48	253.50
50.75	Maebashi	4.27	337.74

This railway, branching off from the Nippon Railway Company at Oyama Station, traverses the provinces of Kotsuke and Shimotsuke in a westerly direction and joins the Nippon Railway Company at Maebashi. The Works are unimportant; there are a few small rivers to cross which are at times subject to floods. The scenery is pretty all along the route, and the principal industry is rearing silk-worms and manufacturing silk-goods.

There are eleven stations on the line, although none of the towns are very large. At Sano, 16½ miles, there runs a horse tram-way from Kuzuo to Koshinagawa, a distance of 9 miles and 50 chains, at which place there are limestone quarries. This private Company have now two small German Engines, weighing about 8½ tons each, to take the place of the horses. The cost of the railway, yen 1,297,964 or about yen 25,450 per mile.

This line had 5 very suitable engines, but those in authority considered the American type more suitable, so the Government bought three, and the Nippon Railway Company two engines; this left the Ryomo Railway free to buy 5 American engines; and it is to be hoped that the Ryomo Railway shareholders are satisfied with the experiment financially; and also in the future with the consumption of Coal and Oil used by the American Engines as compared with the consumption during the years the traffic was worked with the English Engines.

The principal bridge is over the Tone river of Maebashi, two spans of 200 feet and two spans of 100 feet. This bridge and 1¼ miles of line is beyond Maebashi Station.

HOKKAIDO RAILWAY, 204 MILES, 71 CHAINS.

		M. CH.
Temiya-Horonai	Section	56.02
Horonaifuto-Ikushunbetsu	"	4.39
Muroran-Utashinai	"	114.39

		M. CH.
Sunagawa-Sorachifuto	"	2.68
Oiwake-Yubari	"	26.49
Sanbashi-Temiya †	"	34
	Miles	204.71

TEMIYA-HORONAI SECTION.

Mileage from Temiya.	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Temiya.....	0.00	7.20
2.11	Sumiyoshi	2.11	43.33
5.33	Asari	3.22	13.00
10.69	Zenibako	5.36	12.00
15.52	Karugawa	4.63	37.00
19.71	Kotoni	4.19	47.00
22.25	Sapporo	2.34	56.00
33.35	Nopporo	11.10	78.00
35.41	Ebetsu	2.06	35.00
41.18	Horomui	5.57	34.00
47.20	Iwamizawa	6.02	72.00
54.26	Horonaifuto	7.06	133.00
56.52	Horonai	2.26	295.00

† Goods line only.

Horonaifuto-Ikushumbetsu Section.

Mileage from Horonaifuto.	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Horonaifuto	0.00	133.00
4.39	Ikushumbetsu	4.39	257.83

Iwamizawa-Sorachifuto Section.

Mileage from Iwamizawa.	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Iwamizawa	0.00	72.00
5.14	Minenobu	5.14	83.40
10.20	Bibai	5.06	89.50
16.77	Naiye	6.57	95.40
22.06	Sunagawa	5.09	86.70
24.75	Sorachifuto	2.69	

Sunagawa-Utashinai Section.

Mileage from Sunagawa.	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Sunagawa	0.00	86.70
8.64	Utashinai.....	8.64	413.00

IWAMIZAWA-MURORAN SECTION.

Mileage from Iwamizawa.	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	
0.00	Iwamizawa		
14.18	Yuin.....	14.18	
23.76	Oiwake	9.58	
46.04	Tomakomai	22.08	
59.38	Shiraoi	13.34	
71.25	Noboribetsu.....	11.67	
75.51	Horobetsu	4.26	
83.47	Muroran	7.76	

OIWAKE-YUBARI SECTION.

Mileage from Oiwake	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	
0.00	Oiwake.....		
15.13	Momijiyama...	15.13	
26.49	Yubari	11.36	

This line is known as the Tanko Railway Company; and was constructed by American engineers and mechanics, on the lightest and cheapest American systme, with rails 30 lbs. to the yard, these were of English

manufacture, but the rolling stock and machinery all supplied from America. The line has been much improved since its opening, in November, 1880, to Sapporo, in June, 1882, to Iebetsu, and Horonai in May, 1888, and Utashinai to Morosan, and Oiwake to Yubari, in 1892. The line has been relaid with rails 45 lbs. to the yard.

The line starts from a wooden pier 1,440 feet long, having a depth of water of 21 feet at the end where ships can load and discharge along side. At the shore-end are the workshops, goods and carriage sheds, and a station for Temiya. The line traverses the main-street for three-quarters of a mile and then passes inland at the back of the town of Otaru, with gradients of 1 in 83 and a tunnel 556 feet long, to a station at Sumiyoshi (2 miles), and then crossing a dry valley on trestlework averaging 24 feet in height, descends 1 in 85 to the main road at 8 miles, whence to 11 miles (Zenibako Station) the road is utilised as formation of the railway with the exception of a few deviations to obtain easier curves. From this point to Sapporo (22 miles) swampy ground is crossed on a low embankment, and then the base of the hills bounding the Ishikari valley is followed; beyond Sapporo (the seat of government of the Hokkaido); the line crosses the river Toyohira by a bridge of two spans of 150 and 50 feet. The superstructure is said to have been manufactured in England for the Philadelphia Bridge Company, and intended for the 4 feet 8½ inches gauge, but it was purchased in America for this railway. The principal span, weighing 70 tons, was carried away within a few days of its erection in place, by an unprecedentedly severe snow-flood, in April, 1882, which attained a height of seven feet and seven inches above the highest previously observed floodmark. A large quantity of drift-wood was brought down and lodged under the bridge, and although the embankment on either side was destroyed for a length of half-a-mile, the force of the stream and the buoyancy of the accumulated

timber lifted the girders off the pier, and they sank about 200 feet away. They were recovered when the waters subsided, and the piers having been raised, the superstructure was re-erected, only slight repairs being necessary, and satisfactorily tested in December of the same year.

Beyond the Toyohira, high ground is followed, to avoid risk by flood, and with only one trestle bridge over a dry valley, 45 feet deep, and 270 feet long, the line reaches Iebetsu (35 miles), after crossing the Chitose and Horomui rivers, and passing over a stretch of flat prairie land the Tonebetsu river is crossed and the line turns eastward to Horonai-futo (54¼ miles), and by a tunnel reaches the valley leading to the Horonai coal mines at 56½ miles. At Horonai-futo a branch line runs to the Ikushumbetsu coal mines, 4½ miles; at Iwamizawa, 47¼ miles, a branch line runs to Sunagawa 22 miles and to the Sorachi-futo coal mines at 25 miles. At Sunagawa a line branches to the Utashinai coal mines a distance of 8¾ miles. These mines all belong to the same Coal-field, but the lines run up different valleys.

At Iwamizawa there is a line to the port of Muroran situated on the east of Volcano Bay. The line runs south through a well wooded country on easy gradients and reaches the coast near Toma Konai; from this point it follows the coast to Muroran. At Oiwake a line runs to the Yubari coal mines a distance of 26½ miles.

Muroran is a well sheltered harbour, and being on the southern coast is more suitable for the shipment of coal; on the other hand the haulage by train is longer than to the port of Otaru. Coal mines, railway, and ports for its shipment are all very well, but there is one point quite as important, and that is, where is the consumer, and this is the most troublesome point with reference to the coal industry in the Hokkaido.

The rolling stock with exception of two Ballast Engines purchased from the Sanyo Railway Company, is

entirely on the American pattern. The Locomotives are of the Mogul type, the Carriages and Wagons are each supported on two bogie trucks with chilled cast iron wheels 24 inches in diameter. Each bogie has a wheel base of 4 feet, and the underframes are trussed for the sake of stiffness between the bogies.

The Rolling Stock consists of 24 engines, 40 carriages, and 576 wagons total, 640.

LOCOMOTIVES :—May be divided into three classes. A class includes 8 engines having tenders, the cylinders 12 inches in diameter ; 16 inches stroke ; six wheels coupled 3 feet in diameter, and a small bisel truck in front. B class includes 12 engines having tenders, the cylinders 14 inches in diameter ; 18 inches stroke, wheels 3 feet 4 inches in diameter. The weight of the smaller engine 16 tons, the tender 12 tons, total 28 tons. The larger engine 26 tons, the tender 14 tons, total 40 tons.

C class takes in the remaining engines.

CARRIAGES :—Are either 40 feet, or 35 feet over the buffer planks ; all are 8 feet wide over the outside ; 1st, 2nd, and 3rd class accommodation is provided, and have seating for 46 persons in the larger, and 42 in the smaller carriages. The weight of an empty carriage 10½ tons.

WAGONS :—Consist of 520 platform cars, with sides and ends made up of two planks 1¾ feet high, and kept in position by pieces of wood fitting in iron sockets, the length over the buffer beams 27 feet 7½ inches, the width 8 feet, and when empty 4 tons, and the freight 8 tons. There are 56 covered goods wagons. The stock has the appearance of being lightly built, and from the large capacity of the covered goods wagons affords great facility for over-loading. The open wagons appear suitable for coal traffic.

The Railway Workshops at Temiya are not very satisfactory buildings, being placed in a corner under a

cliff, also being dark and dirty. There is a fair number of iron and timber machines, of American design, and manufacture, but light in construction.

The line is laid with 45 lbs. (per yard) steel rails, on wood sleepers placed 2 feet apart, and the road-bed is well ballasted.

KUSHIRO RAILWAY :—25 Miles, 78 Chains.

This line starts from Shibecha, which is 14¾ miles from Kushiro, the port for shipping sulphur. Shibecha is on the river Kushiro. There is a convict settlement and a steam factory for refining sulphur, the railway 26 miles long, connects with Atosanobori, where there is a sulphur mountain, (Iwō-san), and brings the sulphur to the steam factory at Shibecha; from here it goes down the river in boats to Kushiro. Passengers could get a lift, although the Kushiro Railway Company was only granted a charter for public traffic from the 1st September, 1892. The rolling stock consists of 2 engines, 3 carriages, and 19 wagons.

KWANSAI RAILWAY CO :—59 Miles, 5 Chains.

Kusatsu–Yokkaichi Section.

Mileage from Kusatsu	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Kusatsu		313.12
5.42	Ishibe	5.42	394.52
9.72	Mikumo	4.30	484.52
14.60	Fukawa	4.68	572.67
22.55	Kamitsuye	7.75	832.43
31.48	Seki	8.73	273.08
35.07	Kameyama	3.39	179.15
40.57	Takamiya	5.50	74.71
44.78	Kawarada	4.21	26.85
49.25	Yokkaichi	4.27	8.19

KAMEYAMA–TSU SECTION.

Mileage from Kameyama	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Kameyama		179.15
3.37	Shimonoshō	3.37	143.50
7.42	Isshinden	4.05	21.92
9.60	Tsu	2.18	15.58

A charter was granted on the 1st March, 1888, to make a line with a capital of yen 3,000,000 from Yokkaichi to Kusatsu, with a branch from Kameyama to Tsu, and Yokkaichi to Kuwana, a distance of 67¼ miles, the line to be completed in 6 years.

The line starts from Kusatsu Station on the Tōkyō-Kobe Railway, 312¼ miles from Tōkyō. Kusatsu is the junction of the Tokaido, and Nakasendō, and the line follows the Tokaido all the way to Yokkaichi, and on to Kuwana.

After leaving Kusatsu the line runs through granite sand-hills and then up the valley of the Yokoto river to Fukawa. From here the line becomes steeper over the Suzuka-toge, and following the valley of the Suzuka river reaches Seki. The gradient over part of this Section is 1 in 40. From Seki to Yokkaichi there is nothing of importance. At Kameyama Station, 35 miles from Kusatsu, a line branches to Tsu, a distance of 9¾ miles.

The line between Yokkaichi and Kuwana, 8¼ miles, will shortly be opened; and charters have been granted for an extension of the line from Kuwana to Nagoya, a distance of 15½ miles, with a capital of yen 1,960,000. When this extension is completed the line will again

have a junction with the Tōkyō-Kobe line at Nagoya Station. The expense of this section will be the bridge over the Kiso and other rivers emptying themselves into the Owari Bay. The other charter is Tsuge to Nara, a distance of 31¾ miles, with a capital of yen 1,540,000. If these two lines are completed they may be the cause of diverting the present traffic over the Tōkyō-Kobe line. By referring to the map it will be noticed that the distance from Nagoya to Kusatsu will be slightly shorter; and the same from Nagoya via the Kansei and the Osaka Companies by way of Nara to Osaka. The proposed bridge at the head of the Owari Bay will have at least 80 spans of 200 feet each. It is expected the foundations for the piers will be costly, and troublesome.

The rolling stock: 10 engines, 68 carriages, and 77 wagons.

SANGU RAILWAY:—23 Miles, 58 Chains.

Mileage from Miyagawa.	Name of Stations	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Miyagawa	0.00	
2.46	Tamaru	2.46	
4.27	Aika	6.73	
4.73	Matsusaka	11.66	
3.33	Rokken	15.19	
3.47	Takachaya	18.66	
2.42	Akogi	21.28	
2.30	Tsu	23.58	

This railway was opened to the public in February, 1894. It starts from Tsu in the province of Ise, which is the terminus of the branch line from Kameyama of the Kansei Railway, and it will no doubt have a heavy traffic in pilgrims going and returning from the celebrated Ise Temples. The Rolling Stock: 3 engines, 40 carriages and 24 wagons.

OSAKA RAILWAY:—32 MILES, 55 CHAINS.

Mileage from Minatomachi.	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Minatomachi		8.24
2.23	Tennōji	2.23	34.84
4.56	Hirano.....	2.33	20.09
7.29	Yao	2.53	38.11
10.10	Kashihara	2.61	70.01
16.02	Ōji	5.72	129.62
20.07	Shimoda	4.05	169.57
23.11	Takata	3.04	199.97

OJI-NARA SECTION.

Mileage from Oji	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Ōji		129.62
2.19	Hōriuji.....	2.19	147.76
6.44	Kōriyama.....	4.25	179.90
9.44	Nara.....	3.00	230.40

Minatomachi–Takata Section.

Leaving Minatomachi Station, situated in the south end of Osaka, it passes along a wide cultivated plain on an embankment towards the mountains of Yamato. The scenery is picturesque between Kashiwabara and Oji, and also on to Takata. At Oji station a line branches off to Nara, famous for its temples and Daibutsu.

A charter has been granted to extend the line from Takata to Sakurai, a distance of about 10½ miles. The Rolling Stock consists of 7 engines, 54 carriages, and 109 wagons; this is being increased by some engines from America.

HANKAI RAILWAY:—6 Miles, 13 Chains.

Mileage from Nanba.	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Namba		9.60
2.11	Tengachaya	2.11	9.60
3.36	Sumiyoshi	1.25	9.60
6.13	Sakai	2.57	5.80

When the Government decided to discontinue the Iron Works at Kamaishi in Iwate Ken, the Hankai Railway Company bought the rails, the engines, and other material belonging to the railway used for bringing the iron-stone and charcoal from the hills to the furnaces at Kamaishi.

The line has a 2 feet 9 inches gauge and starts from Namba Station, Osaka, running close to the main road to Sakai. This line is more of a steam tramway than a proper railway. There are 5 engines, 22 carriages and 54 wagons.

SANYO RAILWAY:—189¾ MILES.

KOBE-ONOMICHI SECTION.

Mileage from Kobe.	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Kobe		8.12
1.11	Hiogo	1.11	11.12
4.46	Suma	3.35	13.62
8.12	Maiko	3.46	22.92
11.76	Akashi	3.64	10.62
15.72	Ōkubo	3.76	63.78
20.01	Tsuchiyama	4.09	69.96
24.17	Kakogawa	4.16	17.12
28.73	Amida	4.56	9.62
34.11	Himeji	5.18	35.12
40.37	Aboshi	6.26	21.57
44.11	Tatsuno	3.54	36.12
46.76	Naba	2.65	40.62
51.50	Une	4.54	63.62
63.54	Mitsuishi	12.04	316.02
68.02	Yoshinaga	4.28	126.52
71.28	Wake	3.26	69.52
79.43	Seto	8.15	29.02
84.48	Nagaoka	5.05	8.81
89.09	Okayama	4.41	9.02
93.16	Niwase.....	4.07	6.52
99.03	Kurashiki	5.67	12.52
104.63	Tamashima	5.60	2.52
110.68	Kamogata	6.05	38.52
116.42	Kasaoka	5.54	8.92
125.32	Fukuyama	8.70	7.52
131.66	Matsunaga	6.34	5.52
137.54	Onomichi	5.68	9.52

MIHARA-HIROSHIMA SECTION.

Mileage from Kobe.	Name of Stations Mihara–Hiroshima.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
143.40	Matsuhama		
145.01	Mihara	1.41	8.34
151.22	Hongō	6.21	25.02
158.74	Kōchi	7.52	323.28
164.32	Shiraichi	5.38	579.12
170.13	Saijo	5.61	722.02
180.26	Shimoseno	10.13	173.00
185.66	Kaidaichi	5.40	11.52
189.62	Hiroshima	3.76	5.02
	Miles.	46.22	

This railway was licensed in January, 1888, with a capital of yen 1,300,000, from Kobe via Okayama to Hiroshima and Shimonoseki, a distance of about 302¼ miles.

Leaving the Kobe Station of the Government Railway it has a double road to Hiogo Station, 1¼ miles; here the company has its head office; general shunting yard; works for repairing engines, carriages, and wagons; a depôt for engines, and rolling stock generally; and arrangements for coaling and watering the engines. A branch line 1¾ miles, for goods traffic only, runs to Wadanomisaki, where there are several sidings, and appliances for loading and unloading cargo from vessels anchored in the Hiogo Bay.

The Kobe-Onomichi Section runs through a flat country, the gradient nowhere exceeding 1 in 100. It skirts

the sea shore nearly all the way with the exception of passing through a low spur of the hills by a tunnel called Funesaka, 3732½ feet long, at 61¾ miles; from Une, 52 miles, to Yoshinaga, 68 miles, has the heaviest earth work, and the line at Mitsuishi is 316 feet above the sea level. There are two other tunnels, one called Kanagasaki, 1,643½ feet at 116¾ miles, and the other under the Minato river 180½ feet at 17½ chains. There are 43 bridges over the different rivers, besides flood openings and culverts. None of the rivers are of great size but they are subject to heavy floods, as this district of Japan is unfortunate in the number of rain storms which pass over it yearly; the hills are steep, mostly of decomposed granite with sparse vegetation, consequently after heavy rain the rivers are soon flooded and bring down quantities of sand and gravel from the hills. This has been a source of great expense to the company. The bridges are constructed with masonry foundations and iron or steel girders. The following are the principal:

River	Kako	24¾ miles,	17 spans of 70 feet. 1 span of 50 "
"	Ichi	32⅜ miles,	18 spans of 70 feet. 20 " of 20 "
"	Umemai	37⅜ miles,	10 spans of 70 feet. 2 " of 40 "
"	Hagashida	42 miles,	9 spans of 40 feet. 6 " of 20 "
"	Kajiyasu	43½ miles,	13 spans of 70 feet. 1 " of 40 "
"	Chitose	55 miles,	17 spans of 70 feet. 1 " of 40 "
"	Higasa	69¾ miles,	3 spans of 70 feet.
"	Kango	70¼ miles,	4 spans of 70 feet. 9 " of 30 "

River Yoshii 75¼ miles, 20 spans of 70 feet.
" Hiyakuken 87 miles, 1 span of 70 feet. 5 " of 50 " 10 " of 40 "
" Asahi 87¾ miles, 12 spans of 70 feet.
" Shiraishi 91¾ miles, 3 spans of 70 feet.
" Shigashikorio 100¼ miles, 15 spans of 70 feet.
" Nishikorio 102¼ miles, 15 spans of 70 feet.
" Ashida 126½ miles, 9 spans of 70 feet. 1 " of 40 "
" Fujii 133¼ miles, 8 spans of 40 "

Number of spans.	Length of span.	Number of spans.	Length of span.	Remarks.
35	15 feet	21	50 feet	
33	20 "	5	60 "	
26	30 "	169	70 "	
43	40 "			
137		195		332 spans

The total length of bridges and culverts is 4.34 miles; the tunnels, 1.071 miles.

The main line 143.50 miles, with a double line from Kobe to Hiogo Station, 1.225 miles, so that the total mileage of line laid is 145.11 miles. The Branch line to Wadanomisaki, 1.61 miles, Sidings accommodation, 6.57 miles, and Goods sidings, 14.836 miles.

The Rolling Stock on the 31st March, 1893, consisted of 25 engines, 139 carriages, and 323 wagons. Since then there has been an increase of 6 compound tender engines from Messrs. Baldwin & Co., 10 carriages, and 62 wagons.

The line runs near the coast of the Inland Sea with its many good harbours, consequently there is great opposition for both passengers and goods from the many small steamers and sailing vessels trading around the coast.

A Charter has been granted to the Sanyo Railway to construct the line from Mihara to Shimonoseki, a distance of 157 miles, 13 chains. The Section from Mihara to Hiroshima is 46 miles, 22 chains. Opened to the public 10th June, 1894.

This section passes though a very pretty and picturesque country with steep gradients of an average of 1 in 47 for 5 miles, 50 chains; there are 8 tunnels, total length 8,589 feet, passing through the different spurs of the hills. At Saijo Station the line is 722 feet above the sea level. There are 23 bridges but none of importance:

KYUSHU RAILWAY:—136¾ MILES.

Moji–Kumamoto Section.

Mileage from Moji.	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Moji		10.00
3.10	Dairi	3.10	13.00
7.30	Kokura	4.20	8.57
14.40	Kurosaki	7.10	5.50
17.60	Orio	3.20	21.80
20.21	Ongagawa	2.41	10.00
27.61	Akama	7.40	26.00
34.01	Fukuma	6.20	26.00
36.31	Koga	2.30	26.00

KYUSHU RAILWAY:—186½ MILS.

MOJI.—KUMAMOTO SECTION.

Continued.

Mileage from Moji.	Name of Stations.	Distance between each station	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
42.21	Kashii	5.70	14.40
45.51	Hakozaki	3.30	12.50
47.31	Hakata.....	1.60	14.00
51.71	Zasshonokuma.....	4.40	64.26
56.41	Futsukaichi	4.50	117.00
59.71	Harada.....	3.30	164.00
64.51	Tashiro	4.60	63.60
65.71	Tosu.....	1.20	58.00
69.71	Kurume	4.00	40.64
77.31	Haindzuka	7.40	40.47
81.21	Yabekawa	3.70	23.33
85.41	Watase.....	4.20	15.97
90.31	Ōmuda	4.70	13.42
98.01	Nagasu.....	7.50	12.74
104.01	Takase	6.00	22.22
113.51	Uyeki	9.50	189.88
119.11	Ikeda	5.40	34.73
121.31	Kumamoto	2.20	27.78

Tosu-Saga Section.

Mileage from Tosu.	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Tosu.....		58.00
5.00	Nakabaru.....	5.00	97.90
9.50	Kanzaki	4.50	26.72
15.30	Saga.....	5.60	14.12

The line starts from Moji, a new town made by the railway, situated on the Kyushu side of the Straits of Shimonoseki which separates the Main Island (Honshu) and Kyushu. Owing to the extreme swiftness of the tides on the Shimonoseki side, the mail steamers and other vessels anchor at Moji. The presence of coal brought by the railway is a further inducement, and in the near future Moji will be an important town.

The coast views on the northern section of the line, from Moji to Ongagawa are fine. The rest of the way is less interesting, as it leads through country mostly flat.

Near Orio the railway crosses by a bridge the Chikuho Railway; between Ongagawa and Akama the highest point of the line (300 feet above sea level) is reached. Soon the sea coast is again reached and followed to Hakata, a port of some importance. The line strikes inland across the Shimabara peninsula. At Tosu is the unction of a line running to Saga, the prefectural town of Saga Ken. At Watase the Shimabara gulf is reached. Near Omuta the works of the Miike Coal Mines are indicated by the smoke rising from them. The

railway from the mine to the shipping port crosses on a bridge over the main line. Near Konoha is a monument to the memory of the soldiers who fell during the fierce fighting that raged for eighteen days in this neighbourhood during the Satsuma Rebellion. The line by following the coast reaches Kumamoto, the prefectural town of Kumamoto Ken with a population of about 53,000. The noble defense of this celebrated fortress in 1877 by General Tani was one of the immediate causes of the failure of the Satsuma Rebellion; this rebellion was one of the principal events which retarded railway development for many years.

Among the proposed extensions is the line from Kumamoto to Yatsushiro, with a branch from Matsubashi, half-way between Kumamoto and Yatsushiro, to Misumi, a port at the termination of the peninsula which partly divides the Shimabara Gulf from the Yatsushiro Sea. There is great depth of water in the Misumi harbour, which is well sheltered. It is proposed to make a wharf so that vessels can load, and what with the out-put of the Miike Mine, and the rice and produce of the country it should become an important point. On account of the shallow water of the Shimabara Gulf the Miike Coal is loaded into sailing barges which take it to Misumi 27 miles, or Kuchinotzu 35 miles, where it is loaded into large vessels. When the line is constructed to Misumi the coal will run direct from the mine to Misumi about 50 miles, and there loaded into vessels. The present out-put of the mine is about 1,000 tons a day; although the mine claims at a push it can load 4,000 tons of coal per day.

Another contemplated extension is from Saga to Nagasaki with a branch to the Naval Station at Sasebo.

The few foreigners engaged were German, consequently the permanant way, and rolling stock is of German design and manufacture. It is lighter than that used on the Government Railways.

On the 31st March, 1893, the Rolling Stock Return showed 22 engines, 61 carriages, and 253 wagons; total 360. Since then there has been an increase to the stock.

CHIKUHO RAILWAY:—30 Miles, 58 Chains.

Mileage from Wakamatsu.	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Wakamatsu		
6.54	Orio	6.54	
9.20	Nakama	2.46	
12.20	Uyeki	3.00	
15.44	Naokata	3.24	
19.33	Otake	3.69	
21.33	Namadzuta	2.00	
24.38	Iidzuka	3.05	
	Naokata		
6.20	Kaneda.....	6.20	

This is principally a Coal Line from the port of Wakamatsu for the many mines in the Chikuzen and Buzen Coal Fields. The most important coal fields of Chikuzen are found along the Kama river, and at the south and north of the district of Kasuya not far distant

from the sea port of Hakata. The coal producing tracts belonging to the province of Buzen are found near the town of Kokura, and also along the Chiugenji river, one of the tributaries of the Kama river.

On the 31st March, 1893, the Rolling Stock Return showed 6 engines, 10 carriages and 246 wagons, total 262. Some Compound Engines have been received from Messrs. Baldwin & Co. A little peculiar, to say the least, to recommend a complicated engine to save fuel on a railway for carrying Coals.

In the Island of Shikoku are two small railways, the Sanuki, and Iyo Railway.

SANUKI RAILWAY:—10 MILES, 15 CHAINS.

Mileage from Kotohira.	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Kotohira .....d.		
3.20	Zentsuji....."	3.20	
7.40	Tadotsu....."	4.20	
10.15	Marugame....."	2.55	

This short line connects Kompira with the coast. Tadotsu is a bustling sea port, where numbers of steamers call from different parts of the Inland Sea. Maruyama has an inferior harbour to Tadotsu, consequently fewer steamers call there.

Rolling Stock, 3 engines, 31 carriages, and 18 wagons; total 52.

IYO RAILWAY:—10 Miles, 20 Chains.

Mileage from Takahama.	Name of Stations.	Distance between each Station.	Height above Sea Level.
M. CH.		M. CH.	FEET.
0.00	Takahama		
0.00	Mitsu		
2.58	Furumachi	2.58	
4.18	Sotogaga	1.40	
0.00	Tachihama		
0.00	Kume		
10.20	Hiragawara	6.2	

Takahama is a port of call from Osaka. Matsuyama or Sotogawa is the capital of the province of Iyo. This is a miniature railway, running trains every hour.

The Rolling Stock: 4 engines, 18 carriages, and 15 wagons; total 37.

The mileage of all the Railways in operation on the 31st March, 1894:

	M. CH.
Government Railways	557.49
Sixteen Private Railways	1,381.01
Total mileage	1,938.50

Mileage of Railways under construction:

	M. CH.
Government Railways	422.04
Nineteen Private Railways	572.43
Total mileage	994.47

THE ROLLING STOCK RETURN ON THE 31ST MARCH, 1894.

The Government had in use upon the railways 140 locomotives, 814 carriages and vehicles attached to passenger trains, and 1,824 wagons for the conveyance of goods. The Private Railways had in use 211 locomotives, 802 carriages, and 3,463 wagons, giving a total of 351 locomotives, 1,616 carriages, and 5,287 wagons.

GENERAL REMARKS.

From the Autumn of 1877 the "Train Staff and Ticket System" was adopted for working single lines, which is carried out in the following manner:—Supposing the line, or the section of line, extends from A to B, and there are three trains at A wanting to proceed to B. The first one is dispatched with a ticket, and the second also, and the third, or last, must carry on the engine what is known as the train staff, a straight piece of wood somewhat resembling a constable's staff, but coloured and lettered in accordance with the particular section of line it refers to. The box containing the "Tickets" can only be unlocked by means of the train staff, which is really the key, and no train can enter the opposite end of the section until the staff itself arrives at that end, so that it is impossible for two trains travelling in opposite directions to meet, and the proper distance between trains proceeding in the same direction should be maintained by fixed signals. The line is divided into sections, with crossing places at convenient intervals, and each section has its own staff and set of tickets, and is worked separately in the manner described. It may be considered to be almost perfect as to safety, but it has some inconveniences. One drawback, is that the sections have of necessity to be short in order to avoid serious delays, and the train staff may be at one end of the section, while a train is waiting for it at the other. The train staff system, as described above, is supplemented by the Absolute

System of Block Signalling, upon heavy gradients, and where any especial feature exists which requires an additional safeguard. Upon the double line of rails this latter system of Blocking Working is provided.

There is much which might be improved upon in the general working of the Traffic, especially in the case of the staff being many consecutive hours on duty without proper rest; and with regard to trains running upon long gradients of 1 in 40. Probably through lack of due appreciation of the necessity for carrying out rigidly the regulations laid down for securing safety, the staff operating with trains neglect in many instances to avail themselves of the security provided by the side-lever brakes on the wagons. By thus neglecting to use the side lever brakes, the arresting force capable of being operated upon the trains is confined to the locomotive brake power and the screw brakes of the Guards Vans. There is as well an economic side to the question which is also very important, for it is indisputable that the wear and tear of braking when the brake power is distributed throughout the entire length of a train, is so much less than when the power is exerted by such a costly piece of machinery as a locomotive, which should be used as the motive power to regulate the speed of the train, and not in the capacity of an ordinary brake-van.

Wheel-tappers, or Examiners, also men to examine and supply oil to the axle-boxes of vehicles, are appointed at stations about 20 miles apart, all moving trains while waiting at those stations, and every vehicle which may be attached is thoroughly inspected, to insure that it is in a safe and fit condition to travel. Carriages are swept and dusted inside at the principal stations, and at the termination of the journey are thoroughly cleaned inside, and periodically the outsides are washed.

For First and Second Class carriages the common foot-pan or warmer is provided during the cold weather,

but this adjunct to the traveller's comfort has not yet been supplied to the third class carriages. Considering that the proportion is about 18 third class passengers to each first or second class passenger, it might not be too much to expect that the authorities will before long see their way to extend this and other conveniences to their more numerous and paying body of customers; besides the Japanese kimono is not a garment which offers great protectiou against cold when the wearer has to place himself upon a wooden railway seat, and unless provided with warm wrappers, which the majority of third class passengers do not possess, a long journey at night during the winter must prove a very trying undertaking. In some countries a patent foot-warmer has been introduced in which the water is replaced by "acetate of soda," the advantage being, that the heat is retained nearly three times as long as in the ordinary hot water tins, viz. for about 8 hours; thus avoiding the inconvenience and annoyance to passengers of continually changing the foot-warmers on a long night journey. Another system is by means of steam and hot water pipes.

One of the great inconveniences of travelling by night is the bad lighting of railway carriages in Japan, rendering it an impossibility to read by the light shown from the roof lamps, which are constructed to burn the ordinary rape oil of the country. The lamps used could be much improved by having a different burner, and by more care in the trimming of the wick. Other illuminants than oil are being adopted for lighting railway carriages in different parts of the world with most satisfactory results; such as compressed oil gas, and electrical lighting. These latter have many advantages, but their cost is a hindrance in many instances to their general adoption.

The maximum rates and fares are fixed by the Government, but in many instances the Companies charge less than the maximum tolls. In fixing the rates, the articles, matters, and things, have to be classified; for

instance, minerals, and such matters, would be in the lowest class; while fresh fruit and fish, furniture, china, and other valuable or fragile articles would be in the highest. The rates are governed by the nature and the extent of the traffic, the pressure of competition, either by water, or by other land carriage; generally speaking the passenger fares are three sen, two sen, and one sen for first, second, and third class, per mile. The goods traffic has considerably devolped during the last five years.

The "Vacuum Automatic" brake has been fitted to most of the carriages of the Government Railways and also to many of those of Private Companies. Each carriage carries its own length of train-pipe, flexible hose, and universal couplings, also a reservoir and brake cylinder; while the train is running a continual vacuum is maintained in the train-pipes, reservoirs, and cylinders, by means of a small ejector on the engine, and in this condition the brakes are "Off," but when it is desired to apply them, air is admitted into the train-pipes by the driver or guard. The same result ensues if the train becomes separated or a coupling breaks, air being thus admitted to the train-pipe, and the brakes being applied automatically throughout the train. When it is desired to take the brakes off again, all that is necessary is to renew the vacuum by means of the ejector.

Railways try to provide every safety and often thereby incur great expense. On account of the many long and heavy gradients on the Government and other railways, strong side or safety chains (one inch the diameter of iron) were fitted to the carriages and wagons, so that in case of the draw-bar hook breaking, the safety chains would keep the train from parting. It is much to be regretted that an order has been issued not to fit future vehicles with safety chains, and to take off the safety chains from the vehicles now running, although these chains are of little use or value for other purposes.

The lines are well ballasted, good gravel being plentiful and easily procured from the river beds; the stations are small, and with very few exceptions the points and signal arrangements are of the most primitive methods, and are a good many years behind the Railway Age.

Although many of the costly appliances considered essential on modern railways to reduce the risks from mistakes on the part of railway employés have not been adopted in Japan; yet few countries can show a greater immunity from accidents, and irregularities. Much credit is conseqently due to the management, and the staff, for such satisfactorily results.

Although railway engineering is comparatively young in Japan many difficulties not encountered in ordinary practice have had to be confronted. For example, bridges, buildings, and the permanent-way have in particular districts been constructed so that they offer better resistance to earthquake motion than is usually considered necessary. Advantage has also been taken of what are comparatively new appliances in engineering practice. One of these has been the use of an instrument called a "Vibration Recorder." A form of this instrument, which is small and portable, records the oscillatory motion and jerks of the part of the train in which it is placed. The excrescences on the general diagram it draws upon a band of paper, indicates the faulty points upon the track; where no vibrations are recorded, indicate the time that the train has stopped. On the Kawasaki Bridge it marked the position of two spongy sleepers which to outward appearances were solid.

Another form of the instrument is used in testing the balancing of Locomotives. One series of Locomotives as they arrived in Japan showed a violent fore and aft motion like Fig. I.

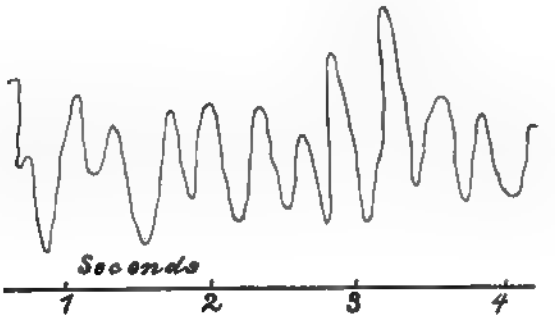


Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

After rebalancing the same as in Fig. II; with the result, that they now burn less coal and run safely at higher speeds. A good deal of attention has been given to the question of balancing the engines, and also the slide valves with satisfactory results. The last tender passenger engines ran steadily at 48 miles per hour, special care having being given to balancing.

Japan must be congratulated on the cheap construction of its railway system, but it is impossible to have a thoroughly efficient system without paying for it. I here quote a few remarks on English Railways to show what may be expected on the Japanese Railways within a few years.

Note:—Vibration Recorder by Professor John Milne, F. R. S. and J. MacDonald, M. I. M. E., of Tokyo.

England and Japan are very similar in size and population. The railway interests of the United Kingdom occupy the attention of leading minds of the day, and are powerfully represented in the Legislature. The number of persons employed in working the railways in 1892 was 385,626, exclusive of those persons engaged in the construction of new lines. At the close of 1892 there were in use upon the railways 17,439 locomotives, 40,079 carriages for the conveyance of passengers, 14,741 other vehicles attached to passenger trains, 575,436 wagons for the conveyance of live stock, minerals, and general merchandise, and 12,611 miscellaneous vehicles. The total amount of capital authorised by Parliament to be raised for the construction of railways on the 31st December 1892.....£1,052,606,665
The earnings for the year 1892 amounted to £82,092,040
The total working expenses to £45,717,965
The total profit to £36,374,075

As an evidence of the security afforded for travel on English Railways, it may be mentioned that 97 per cent. have been fitted with apparatuses for interlocking points with signals; while the Absolute Block System of Train Signalling has been adopted on 17,396 miles out of 20,325 miles.

That 59,179 or 98 per cent of the vehicles used in passenger trains have been fitted either with continuous brakes, or with pipes only, for running with vehicles so fitted; and these brakes comply with the conditions laid down by the Board of Trade, who is a hard task-master to Railway Companies.

An interesting problem was worked out some years ago by the "Engineer and Railway Volunteer Staff Corps" to the satisfaction of the Military Authorities. The problem was the assumption that an invading force numbering 150,000 men had commenced to disembark on the coast between Southend and Shoeburyness (north of the mouth of the river Thames), and that hostile vessels were simultane-

ously ascending the Blackwater river. Instructions were supposed to have been issued by telegraph for the concentration of six Army Corps, numbering about 130,000 men, in the neighbourhood of Chelmsford, to repel the invader, three Corps being brought up as rapidly as possible, and the whole within 48 hours. Particulars were given as to where the troops were stationed all over the country, and the number of men quartered at each place. It was assumed, of course, that the ordinary traffic would be, for the time being, entirely suspended. Tables were made out showing in the most complete detail the number of trains required and all particulars of starting, route to be travelled, the hour of arrival and time allowed for refreshments and other purposes. The total number of trains employed was 515; the speed was about 25 miles an hour, exclusive of stoppages, the trains following one another on the same lines at intervals of fifteen minutes, and the last train was timed to arrive at Chelmsford within 45 hours and 50 minutes of the hour at which the order was supposed to have been given by telegraph. Thus it is evident that railways have revolutionised the conditions of modern warfare.

F. H. T.

STATISTICS OF GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE RAILWAYS.

Total Length of Private and Government Railways, Capital, Passengers and Goods Conveyed, Receipts, Working Expenses, and Profits for the year ending 31st March, 1893. Also similar Returns of the English and the Indian Railways for the year ending 31st December, 1892.

Name of Railway Company.	Length of Line Open.	Capital.	Number of Passengers.	Amount of Goods.
Nippon Railway Company.	M. Ch.	Yen.	Number.	Tons.
" " " A	591.61	20,000,000	4,250,064	432,150
Ryomo " "	52.17	1,500,000	1,095,412	92,213
Kobu " "	22.77	900,000	419,426	53,015
Sanyo " "	145.24	13,000,000	1,956,023	167,201
Kyushu " "	136.61	7,500,000	1,333,034	122,796
Kansai " " B	59.05	3,000,000	275,688	29,407
Osaka " "	32.55	2,300,000	997,712	85,237
Hankai " "	6.13	400,000	1,957,648	
Sanuki " "	10.15	300,000	459,897	9,166
Iyo " "	5.66		569,293	288,228
Chikuho " "	25.53	2,500,000	193,676	200,256
Tanko " "	204.71	5,000,000	451,726	469,955
Kushiro " " C	25.78	200,000	1,284	9,732
Private Companies.....	1319.36	56,600,000	13,960,883	1,959,366
Government Railway.....	559.49	37,563,836	12,873,547	982,404
Japanese Railways.....	1879.05	94,163,836	26,834,430	2,941,870
English Railways	20,325.00	9,443,573,200	364,435,388	309,626,378
Indian Railways.....	17,769.00	2,271,291,540	127,456,913	26,334,232

A—Return for 9 months; B—Return for 6 months; C—Opened 1st September, 1892.

Receipts.				Working Expenses.	Profit.	Per Cent for the year ending 31/3/93.
Passengers.	Goods.	Miscellaneous.	Total.			
Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	Yen.	
1,231,528	774,955	31,587	2,069,897	923,438	2,146,459	10.00
135,486	61,309	15,542	210,785	86,508	124,277	7.00
75,356	31,042	3,696	111,767	35,892	75,876	8.15
349,156	87,361	36,441	482,859	203,111	279,949	3.65
325,134	95,500	10,288	447,246	206,848	234,399	4.00
77,654	17,280	2,054	98,662	41,370	57,292	3.61
173,343	39,349	4,340	219,474	80,502	138,972	6.60
87,701	1,227	578	89,507	38,720	50,788	13.00
28,228	889	705	30,096	17,270	12,826	3.90
15,473	2,092	987	18,552	9,317	9,235	9.25
25,388	57,193	581	83,697	31,994	11,703	7.00
120,094	302,627	22,496	446,146	314,303	131,843	7.35
277	4,196		4,494	4,106	388	0.00
2,644,818	1,475,000	129,296	4,307,173	1,993,379	2,313,804	
3,487,133	1,019,262	74,238	4,580,632	2,166,199	2,414,432	
6,131,951	2,494,262	203,534	8,887,815	4,159,578	4,728,237	
302,529,030	428,664,980		785,293,140	457,179,650	328,113,490	
			232,292,810	108,266,140	122,152,110	

One yen=2 shillings. Then English and Indian Capital taken as 10 yen to the £.

Average cost per mile; also the average number of passengers and tons of goods per mile for one year:

Japan	50,000	yen;	14,300	passengers;	1,500	Tons
India	125,000	" ;	7,000	" ;	1,500	"
England	460,000	" ;	18,000	" ;	15,000	"

APPENDIX.

The following 11 Tables are from the translation of the Government Railway Report for the year ending March 31st, 1893, as published in the *Japan Weekly Mail* of January 13th, 1894.

It would be convenient if the Railway Bureau had some copies of the translation of the yearly Railway Reports as made by the *Japan Weekly Mail*, so as to supply information often asked for by persons too stupid, or not educated enough to read the Japanese language. The English translation would in most cases supply this information.

Table No. 1.—Detailed Statement of Railway expenditures on Capital Account for the Year ending March 31st, 1893.

Table No. 2.—Detailed Statement of Railway Revenue for the Year ending March 31st, 1893.

Table No. 3.—General Balance Sheet March 31st, 1893.

Table No. 4.—Quantity of Rolling Stock at the close of the Twenty-fifth Fiscal Year.

Table No. 5.—Statistics of Passenger Traffic.

Table No. 6.—Statistics of Goods Traffic.

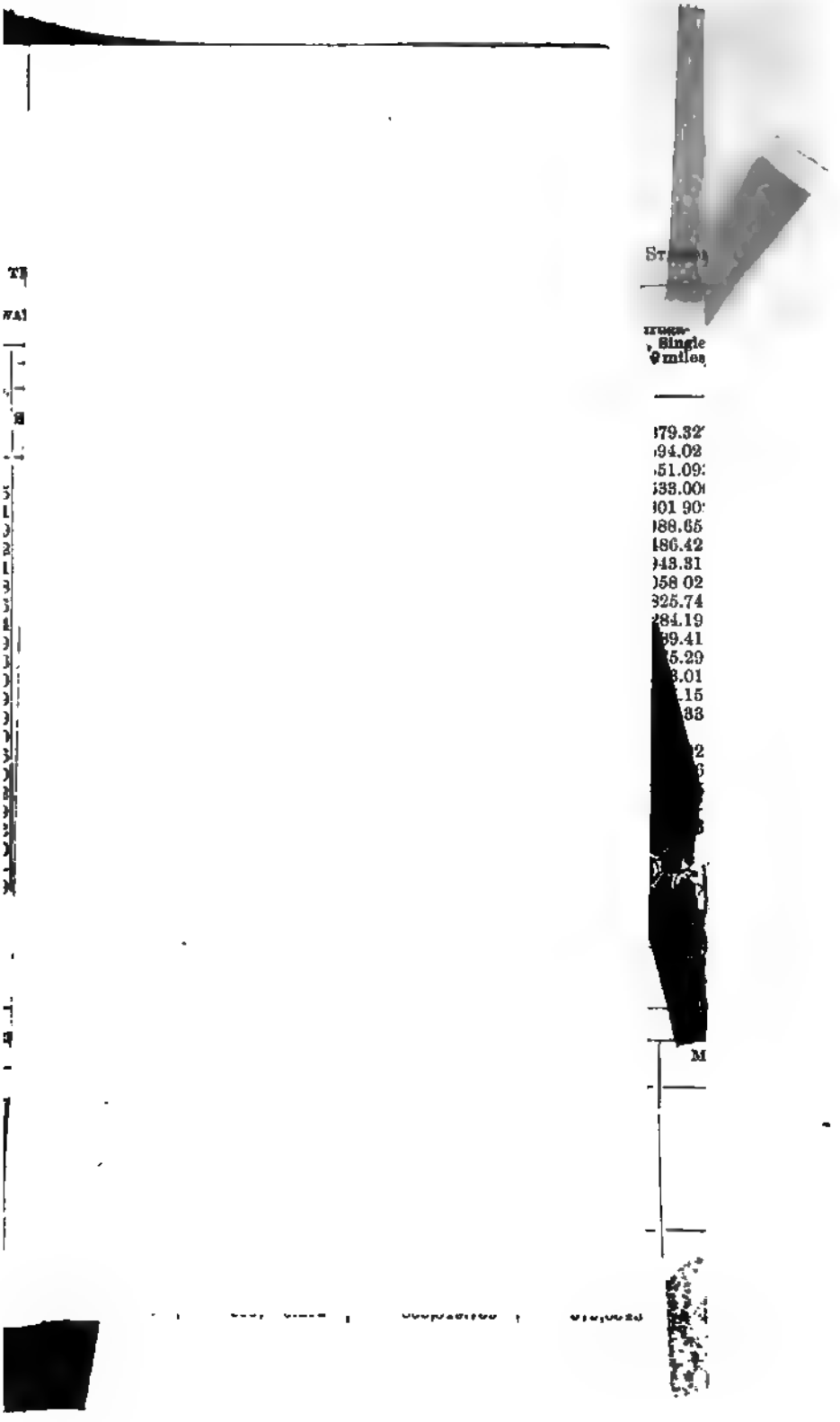
Table No. 7.—Locomotive Running and Consumption Sheet for the 25th Fiscal Year.

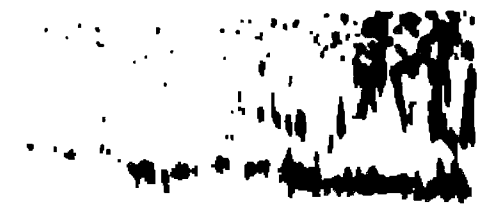
Table. No. 8.—List of Deaths and Injuries among Passengers, Staff, and others in the different Sections during the 25th Fiscal Year.

Table No. 9.—List of Casulties and Accidents in connection with the Traffic in the different Sections during the 25th Fiscal Year.

Table No. 10.—Statistics of the Private Railway Companies.

Table No. 11.—Rolling Stock Return of the Private Railway Companies at the close of the 25th Fiscal Year.





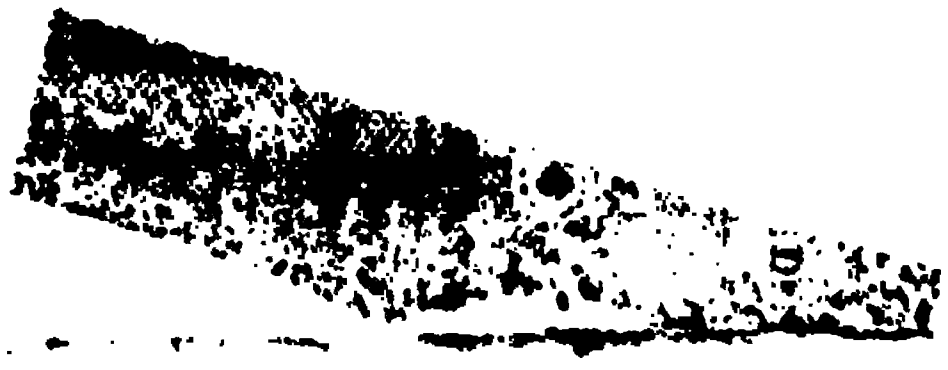


TABLE No. 3. GENERAL BALANCE SHEET, MARCH 31st, 1893.

Items.	Cr.	Items.	Cr.
Construction Expenditure	35,418,997.389	Capital	35,554,474.536
Material in Stores:—		Working fund	2,000,000.000
Construction Department	150,829.136	Traffic Receipts	4,580,632.423
Traffic Department	939,630.276	Sums Payable:—	
Working Expenses..	2,166,199.021	Construction Department	16,361 622
Supplementary Works	347,343.173	Traffic Department	66,554.362
Sums receivable:—		New Account	17,978 176
Construction Department			
Traffic Department	33,616.152		
Office furniture, &c.	57,818.332		
Paymasters	1,009.633		
On deposit	3,120.558		
Total	42,236,001.119	Total	42,236,001.119

TABLE No. 4. QUANTITY OF ROLLING STOCK AT CLOSE OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH FISCAL YEAR.

Materials.	Tokyo-Hamamatsu and Yokosuka.	Kobe-Hamamatsu, Obu-Taketoyo, Maibara-Tsuruga.	Takasaki-Naoetsu.	Total.	Total at the close of the 23rd Fiscal Year.	Increase.	Decrease.
Engines	43	71	19	133	123	10	—
State Coaches	1	1	—	2	2	—	—
1st class Carriages	32	5	—	37	37	—	—
1st and 2nd class Composite	11	14	2	27	24	3	—
2nd class Carriages	43	30	—	73	59	14	—
2nd and 3rd class Composite	—	—	7	7	7	—	—
2nd class and Postal Service Composite	—	5	—	5	5	—	—
3rd class Carriages	83	234	26	343	343	—	—
3rd class and Brake Composite	21	30	2	53	47	6	—
Passenger Brake Vans	28	34	11	73	73	—	—
Postal Service Vans	10	—	—	10	10	—	—
Covered Goods Waggons	89	525	118	732	692	40	—
Open Goods Waggons	107	391	42	540	505	36	1
Carriage Waggons	3	1	—	4	4	—	—
Horse Boxes	2	1	—	3	3	—	—
Cattle Trucks	3	10	—	13	13	—	—
Fish Trucks	6	28	—	34	34	—	—
Oil Trucks	15	42	—	57	43	14	—
Timber Trucks	6	24	—	30	30	—	—
Ballast Waggons	97	70	48	215	240	—	25
Stone Waggons	—	1	—	1	1	—	—
Goods Brake Vans	45	67	10	122	118	4	—
Casualty Vans	1	1	—	2	2	—	—
Grand Total	**646**	**1,585**	**285**	**2,516**	**2,415**	**127**	**26**

TABLE No. 5 STATISTICS OF PASSENGER TRAFFIC.

Items.		Tokyo-Kobe Section.			Takasaki-Yokogawa Section.		
		25th Fiscal Year.	24th Fiscal Year.	Increase or Decrease. Decrease marked.*	25th Fiscal Year.	25th Fiscal Year.	Increase or Decrease. Decrease marked.*
Average operating mileage *	Miles	429.36	430.9	* .53	18.	18.	0.
Passenger train mileage	Miles	2,023,152.	2,066,180	* 43,028.	4,176.	1,342.	2,734.
Mixed train mileage	Miles	328,121.	209,474.	118,647.	61,464.	52,924.	8,540.
Total	Miles	2,187,213.	2,170,917.	16,296.	34,908.	27,804.	7,104.
Daily train mileage	Miles	5,992.	5,931.	61.	96.	76.	20.
Carriage mileage.....	Miles	25,503.696.	25,125,422.	378,274.	416,899.	346,842.	70,057.
Average mileage per day	Miles	69,873.	68,649.	1,224.	1,142.	948.	194.
Average number of carriages to a train	Carriages	11.66	11.57	.09	11.94	12.47	* .53
Total number of carriages used †	Carriages	240,276.	231,464.	8,812.	—	—	—
Daily Average mileage per carriage	Miles	107.878	110.048	* 2.170	—	—	—
Number of Passengers carried :—							
First and Second class	Persons	702,839.	660,081.	42,758.	9,017.	9,623.	* 606.
Third class	Persons	10,890,449.	9,903,633.	986,816.	370,688.	346,736	23,952.
Total	Persons	11,593,288.	10,563,714.	1,029,574.	379,705.	356,359.	23,346.
Daily average number of passengers	Persons	31,762.	28,863.	2,899.	1,040.	974.	66.
Passenger mileage : —							
First and Second class passenger mileage.....	Miles	22.035,262.	20,026,212.	2,009,050.	124,601.	144,992.	* 20,391.
Third class passenger mileage	Miles	254,274,297.	227,272,220.	26,502,077.	4,495,323.	4,581,902.	* 86,579.
Total	Miles	276,309,559.	247,798,432.	28,511,127.	4,619,924.	4,726,894.	* 106,970.
Average mileage per passenger	Miles	23.83	23.46	.37	12.17	13.26	* 1.09

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Items.	Cr.	Items.	Cr.
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Traffic Department	939,630.276	Sums Payable:—	
Working Expenses..	2,166,199.021	Construction Department	16,361.622
Supplementary Works	347,343.173	Traffic Department	66,554.362
Sums receivable:—		New Account	17,978 176
Construction Department			
Traffic Department	33,616.152		
Office furniture, &c.	57,818.332		
Paymasters	1,009.633		
On deposit	3,120.558		
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Materials.	Tokyo-Hamamatsu and Yokosuka.	Kobe-Hamamatsu, Obu-Taketoyo, Maibara-Tsuruga.	Takasaki-Naoetsu.	Total.	Total at the close of the 23rd Fiscal Year.	Increase.	Decrease.
Engines	43	71	19	133	123	10	—
State Coaches	1	1	—	2	2	—	—
1st class Carriages	32	5	—	37	37	—	—
1st and 2nd class Composite	11	14	2	27	24	3	—
2nd class Carriages	43	30	—	73	59	14	—
2nd and 3rd class Composite	—	—	7	7	7	—	—
2nd class and Postal Service Composite	—	5	—	5	5	—	—
3rd class Carriages	83	234	26	343	343	—	—
3rd class and Brake Composite	21	30	2	53	47	6	—
Passenger Brake Vans	28	34	11	73	73	—	—
Postal Service Vans	10	—	—	10	10	—	—
Covered Goods Waggons	89	525	118	732	692	40	—
Open Goods Waggons	107	391	42	540	505	36	1
Carriage Waggons	3	1	—	4	4	—	—
Horse Boxes	2	1	—	3	3	—	—
Cattle Trucks	3	10	—	13	13	—	—
Fish Trucks	6	28	—	34	34	—	—
Oil Trucks	15	42	—	57	43	14	—
Timber Trucks	6	24	—	30	30	—	—
Ballast Waggons	97	70	48	215	240	—	25
Stone Waggons	—	1	—	1	1	—	—
Goods Brake Vans	45	67	10	122	118	4	—
Casualty Vans	1	1	—	2	2	—	—
Grand Total	**646**	**1,585**	**285**	**2,516**	**2,415**	**127**	**26**

TABLE No. 5 STATISTICS OF PASSENGER TRAFFIC.

Items.		Tokyo-Kobe Section.			Takasaki-Yokogawa Section.		
		25th Fiscal Year.	24th Fiscal Year.	Increase or Decrease. Decrease marked.*	25th Fiscal Year.	25th Fiscal Year.	Increase or Decrease. Decrease marked.*
Average operating mileage *	Miles	429.36	430.9	* .53	18.	18.	0.
Passenger train mileage	Miles	2,023,152.	2,066,180	* 43,028.	4,176.	1,342.	2,734.
Mixed train mileage	Miles	328,121.	209,474.	118,647.	61.464.	52,924.	8,540.
Total	Miles	2,187,213.	2,170,917.	16,296.	34,908.	27,804.	7,104.
Daily train mileage	Miles	5,992.	5,931.	61.	96.	76.	20.
Carriage mileage.....	Miles	25,503.696.	25,125,422.	378,274.	416,899.	346,842.	70,057.
Average mileage per day	Miles	69,873.	68,649.	1,224.	1,142.	948.	194.
Average number of carriages to a train	Carriages	11.66	11.57	.09	11.94	12.47	* .53
Total number of carriages used †	Carriages	240,276.	231,464.	8,812.	—	—	—
Daily Average mileage per carriage	Miles	107.878	110.048	* 2.170	—	—	—
Number of Passengers carried :—							
First and Second class	Persons	702,839.	660,081.	42,758.	9,017.	9,623.	* 606.
Third class	Persons	10,890,449.	9,903,633.	986,816.	370,688.	346,736	23,952.
Total	Persons	11,593,288.	10,563,714.	1,029,574.	379,705.	356,359.	23,346.
Daily average number of passengers	Persons	31,762.	28,863.	2,899.	1,040.	974.	66.
Passenger mileage : –							
First and Second class passenger mileage.....	Miles	22.035,262.	20,026,212.	2,009,050.	124,601.	144,992.	* 20,391.
Third class passenger mileage	Miles	254,274,297.	227,272,220.	26,502,077.	4,495,323.	4,581,902.	* 86,579.
Total	Miles	276,309,559.	247,798,432.	28,511,127.	4,619,924.	4,726,894.	* 106,970.
Average mileage per passenger	Miles	23.83	23.46	.37	12.17	13.26	* 1.09

TABLE No. 6. STATISTICS OF GOODS TRAFFIC.

Items.		Tokyo-Kobe Section.			Takasaki-Yokogawa Section.		
		25th Fiscal Year.	24th Fiscal Year.	Increase or Decrease. Decrease Marked.*	25th Fiscal Year.	24th Fiscal Year.	Increase or Decrease. Decrease Marked.*
Average operating mileage	Miles	439.16	43.69	* 0.53	18.	18.	* 0.
Goods train mileage	Miles	824,728.	684,760.	139,968.	12,294.	10,587.	1,707.
Mixed train mileage	Miles	328,121.	209,474.	118,647.	61,464.	52,924.	8,540.
Total.....	Miles	988,788.	789,497.	199,291.	43,026.	37,049.	5,977.
Daily average mileage	Miles	2,709.	2,157.	552.	118.	101.	17.
Goods waggon mileage	Miles	16,792,482.	12,404,744.	4,387,738.	346,420.	318,782.	27,638.
Empty waggon mileage.....	Miles	3,598,182.	2,610,390.	987,792.	122,394.	95,766.	26,628.
Empty waggon mileage down train	Miles	3,121,656.	2,040,007.	1,081,649.	1,314.	414.	900.
Empty waggon mileage, up train	Miles	476,526.	570,383.	* 93,857.	121,080.	95,352.	25,728.
Ratio of empty waggon mileage to the Total waggon mileage.....	Per cent.	21.4	21.0	0.4	35.3	30.0	5.3
Percentage of empty waggon mileage, down train	Per cent.	37.2	32.9	4.3	0.8	0.3	0.5
Percentage of empty waggon mileage, up train	Per cent.	5.7	9.2	* 3.5	69.9	59.8	10.1
Daily average mileage	Miles	46,007.	33,893.	12,114.	949.	871.	78.
Daily average mileage of freighted waggons	Miles	36,149.	26,761.	9,388.	614.	609.	.5

TABLE No. 5 CONTINUED.

Items.		Karuizawa-Naoetsu Section.			Total.		
		25th Fiscal Year.	24th Fiscal Year.	Increase or Decrease. Decrease marked.*	25th Fiscal Year.	24th Fiscal Year.	Increase or Decrease. Decrease marked.*
Average operating mileage *	Miles	92.10	92.10	—	539.46	540.19	.53
Passenger train mileage	Miles	—	—	—	2,027,328.	2,067,522.	40,194.
Mixed train mileage	Miles	251,172.	259,345.	8,173.	640.757.	521,743.	119,014.
Total	Miles	125,586.	129,673.	4,087.	2,347,707.	2,328,394.	19,313.
Daily train mileage	Miles	344.	355.	11.	6,432.	6,362.	70.
Carriage mileage.....	Miles	1,193,667.	1,249,498.	55,831.	27,114,262	26,721,762.	392,500.
Average mileage per day	Miles	3,270.	3,414.	144.	74,285.	73,011.	1,274.
Average number of carriage to a train	Carriages	9.50	9.64	.14	11.55	11.48	.07
Total number of carriages used †	Carriages	13,140.	12,688.	452.	253,416.	244,152.	9,264.
Daily average per carriage ..	Miles	90.842	98.479	7.637	106.995	109.447	2.452
Number of passengers carried :—							
First and Second class	Persons	14,230.	13,633.	597.	726,086.	683,337.	42,749
Third class	Persons	886,324.	854,207.	32,117.	12,147,461.	11,104,576.	1,042,885.
Total	Persons	900,554.	867,840.	32,714.	12,873,547.	11,787,913.	1,085,634.
Daily average number of passengers	Persons	2,467.	2,371.	96.	35,270.	32,208.	3,062.

TABLE No. 5 CONTINUED.

Passenger mileage :—							
First and Second class passenger mileage	Miles	330,402.	325,843.	4,559.	22,490,265.	20,497,047.	1,993.218.
Third class passenger mileage	Miles	17,598,808.	17,212,324.	386,484.	276,368,428.	249,566,446.	26,801,982.
Total	Miles	17,929,210.	17,538,167.	391,043.	298,958,693.	270,063,493.	28,795,200.
Average mileage	Miles	19.91	20.17	.26	23.21	22.91	.30
Average milleage per First and Second class passenger ...	Miles	23.22	23.90	.68	30.97	30.00	.97
Average mileage per Third class passenger	Miles	19.86	20.15	.29	22.75	22.48	.27
Average number of passengers per mile	Persons	194,618.	190,374.	4,244	553,878.	499,898.	53,890.
Average number of passengers per train mile.....	Persons	142.76	135.24	7.52	127.30	115.99	11.31
Average number of passengers per carriage mile	Persons	15.02	14.04	.98	11.02	10.11	.91
Coaching Receipts :—							
Passenger receipts	Yen	235,487.810	230,241.190	6,246.620	3,335,608.927	3,026,866.035	308,742.892
Parcels and luggage receipts..	Yen	2,738.300	2,985.320	247.020	126,497.650	101,804.250	24,693.400
Postal service receipts	Yen	1,726.500	1,764.140	37.640	35,321.670	34,926.528	395.142
Total	Yen	239,952.610	234,990.650	4,961.960	3,497,428.247	3,163,596.813	333,831.434

TABLE No. 5 CONTINUED.

Daily Average receipts	Yen	657.404	642.051	15.353	9,581.995.	8,643.708	938.287
Average receipts per operating mile	Yen	2,604.642	2,550.780	53.862	6,481.820	5,855.937	625.883
Average receipts per train mile	Yen	1.911	1.812	099	1,490	1.359	.131
Average receipts per carriage mile	Yen	.2010	.1881	.0126	.1290	.1184	.0106
Average receipts per passenger	Yen	.2615	.2653	.0038	.2591	.2568	.0023
Average receipts per passenger mile	Yen	.01313	.01313	—	.01116	.01121	.00005
Average daily receipts per carriage	Yen	18.261	18.521	.260	13.801	12,957	.844
Total tonnage of parcels and luggage carried	Tons	135.	130.	5.	5,487.	4,690.	797.
Average number of tons per day	Tons	.37	.36	.01	15.03	12.82	2.18
Average receipts per ton	Yen	480.22	22.964	2.680	23.054	20.707	2.347

* The practice of deducting the mileages of the portions of lines suspended by damage will be discontinued from this year.
† Number of vehicles multiplied by the number of days they were employed.
‡ Inclusive of the Yokogawa Line.
Note 1.—The Mails are not included in the tonnage of Parcels and Luggage.
Note 2.—Total number of Carriages used in the Tokyo-Kobe Section in the 24th fiscal year was given in the last report as 216,944. This was an error, 231,464 being the correct number.

TABLE No. 6. STATISTICS OF GOODS TRAFFIC.

Items.		Tokyo-Kobe Section.			Takasaki-Yokogawa Section.		
		25th Fiscal Year.	24th Fiscal Year.	Increase or Decrease. Decrease Marked.*	25th Fiscal Year.	24th Fiscal Year.	Increase or Decrease. Decrease Marked.*
Average operating mileage	Miles	439.16	43.69	* 0.53	18.	18.	* 0.
Goods train mileage	Miles	824,728.	684,760.	139,968.	12,294.	10,587.	1,707.
Mixed train mileage	Miles	328,121.	209,474.	118,647.	61,464.	52,924.	8,540.
Total.....	Miles	988,788.	789,497.	199,291.	43,026.	37,049.	5,977.
Daily average mileage	Miles	2,709.	2,157.	552.	118.	101.	17.
Goods waggon mileage	Miles	16,792,482.	12,404,744.	4,387,738.	346,420.	318,782.	27,638.
Empty waggon mileage.....	Miles	3,598,182.	2,610,390.	987,792.	122,394.	95,766.	26,628.
Empty waggon mileage down train	Miles	3,121,656.	2,040,007.	1,081,649.	1,314.	414.	900.
Empty waggon mileage, up train	Miles	476,526.	570,383.	* 93,857.	121,080.	95,352.	25,728.
Ratio of empty waggon mileage to the Total waggon mileage.....	Per cent.	21.4	21.0	0.4	35.3	30.0	5.3
Percentage of empty waggon mileage, down train	Per cent.	37.2	32.9	4.3	0.8	0.3	0.5
Percentage of empty waggon mileage, up train	Per cent.	5.7	9.2	* 3.5	69.9	59.8	10.1
Daily average mileage	Miles	46,007.	33,893.	12,114.	949.	871.	78.
Daily average mileage of freighted waggons	Miles	36,149.	26.761.	9,388.	614.	609.	.5

TABLE No. 6 CONTINUED.

Daily average mileage of empty waggons	Miles	9,858.	7,132.	2,726.	335.	262.	* 73.
Average number of waggons to a train	Waggons	16.98	15.71	1.27	8.05	8.60	0.55
Total number of waggons used...	Waggons	549,064.	508,321.	40,743.	—	—	—
Daily average mileage per waggon	Miles	31.215	25.030	6.185	—	—	—
Tonnage of goods carried	Tons	850,245.	685,505.	164,740.	50,032.	49,200.	832.
Daily average tonnage	Tons	2,329.	1,873.	456.	137.	134.	3.
Ton Mileage :—							
Ton mileage, down train	Miles	13,904,325.	—	—	728,998.	—	—
Ton mileage, up train	Miles	26,657,141.	—	—	86,034·	—	—
Total	Miles	40,561,466.	26,766,011.	13,795,455.	815,032.	807,222.	* 7,810.
Average mileage per ton	Miles	47.71	38.99	8.72	16.29	16.41	0.12
Average tonnage per mile	Tons	92,353.	60,851.	31,502.	45,280.	44,290.	* 990.
Average tonnage per train mile	Tons	41.021	33.903	7.148	18.943	21.788	2.845
Average tonnage per train mile, down train.....	Tons	28.124	—	—	33.886	—	—
Average tonnage per train mile, up train	Tons	53.919	—	—	3.999	—	—
Average tonnage per waggon mile	Tons	2.415	2.158	0.257	2.353	2.532	* 0.179
Average tonnage per waggon mile, down train..... .	Tons	1.656	—	—	4.209	—	—
Average tonnage per waggon mile, up train	Tons	3.175	—	—	0.497	—	—
Average tonnage per freighted waggon mile.....	Tons	3.074	2.733	0.341	3.638	3.620	0.018
Average tonnage per freighted waggon mile, down train ..	Tons	2.636	—	—	4.241	—	—

TABLE No. 6 CONTINUED.

Average tonnage per freighted waggon mile, up train	Tons	3.366	—	—	1.650	—	—
Goods Receipts:							
Ordinary freight receipts	Yen	254,570.267	199,180.264	55,390.003	13,204.961	13,027.677	177.284
Waggon-load freight receipts..	Yen	420,012.150	382,421.270	37,590.880	8,578.400	11,816.990	* 3,238.590
Goods carried by special contract receipts	Yen	229,392.750	95,156.590	134,236.160	2,952.780	—	2,952.780
Total.....	Yen	903,975.167	676,758.124	227,217.043	24,736.142	24,844.667	* 108.526
Daily average receipts	Yen	2,476.644	1,849.066	627.578	67.770	67.882	* 0.112
Average receipts per mile	Yen	2,058.231	1,538.567	519.664	1,374.230	1,380.259	* 6.029
Average receipts per train mile	Yen	0.914	0.857	0.057	0.575	0.671	* 0.069
Average receipts per waggon mile	Yen	0.0538	0.0546 *	0.0008	0.0714	0.0779	* 0.0065
Average receipts per freighted waggon mile.....	Yen	0.0685	0.0691 *	0.0006	0.1104	0.1114	* 0.0010
Average receipts per ton	Yen	1.0632	0.9872	0.0760	0.4944	0.5050	* 0.0106
Average receipts per ton mile..	Yen	0.02229	0.02528 *	0.00299	0.03035	0.03078	* 0.00043
Daily average receipts per waggons	Yen	1.691	1.380	0.311	—	—	—

AGGREGATE TRAIN MILEAGES.

Passenger train mileage	Miles	2,023,152.	2,066,180.	* 43,028.	4,176.	1,342.	2,834.
Goods train mileage	Miles	824,728.	684,760.	139,968.	12,294.	10,587.	1,707.
Mixed train mileage	Miles	328,121.	209,474.	118,647.	61,464.	52,924.	8,540.
Total.....		3,176,001.	2,960,414.	215,587.	77,934.	64,853.	13,081.

TABLE No. 6 CONTINUED.

Items.		Karuizawa-Naoetsu Section.			Total.		
		25th Fiscal Year.	24th Fiscal Year.	Increase or Decrease. Decrease Marked. *	25th Fiscal Year.	24th Fiscal Year.	Increase or Decrease. Decrease Marked.*
Average operating mileage	Miles	92.10	92.10	* 0.	549.26	549.79	* 0.53
Goods train mileage	Miles	31,162.	17,688.	13,474.	868,184.	713,035.	155,149.
Mixed train mileage	Miles	251,172.	259,345.	* 8.173	640,757.	521,743.	119,014.
Total	Miles	156,748.	147,361.	9.387	1,188,562.	973,907.	214,655.
Daily average mileage	Miles	429.	403.	26.	3,256.	2,661.	595.
Goods waggon mileage	Miles	1,393,152.	1,235,980.	157,172.	18,532,054.	13.959,506.	4,572,548.
Empty waggon mileage.....	Miles	594,704.	539,958.	54,746.	4,315,280.	3,246,114.	1,069,166.
Empty waggon mileage, down train	Miles	544,075.	501,522.	42,553.	3,667,045.	2,541,943.	1,125,102.
Empty waggon mileage, up train	Miles	50,629.	38,436.	12,193.	648,235.	704,171.	* 55,936.
Ratio of empty waggon mileage to the total waggon mileage.	Per cent.	42.7	43.7	* 1.0	23.3	23.3	* 0.0
Percentage of empty waggon mileage, down train	Per cent.	78.1	81.2	* 3.1	39.6	36.4	3.2
Percentage of empty waggon mileage, up train	Per cent.	7.3	6.3	1.0	7.0	10.1	* 3.1
Daily average mileage	Miles	3,817.	3,377.	440.	50,773.	38,141.	12,632.
Daily average mileage of freighted waggons	Miles	2,188.	1,902.	286.	38,951.	29,272.	9,679.

Table No. 6 continued.

Daily average mileage of empty waggons.....	Miles	1,629.	1,475.	154.	11,822.	8,869.	2,953.
Average number of waggons to a train	Waggons	8.89.	8.39	0.50	15.59	14.33	1.26
Total number of waggons used	Waggons	79,570.	76,616.	2,954.	628,634.	584,937.	43,697.
Daily average mileage per waggon	Miles	19.277	16.132	3.145	29.480	23.865	5.615
Tonnage of goods carried	Tons	82,127.	71,806.	10,321.	982,404.	806,511.	175,893.
Daily average tonnage	Tons	225.	196.	29.	2.691	2,203.	488.
Ton Mileage:							
Ton mileage, down train	Miles	496,979.	—	—	15,130,302.	—	—
Ton mileage, up train	Miles	2,953,839.	—	—	29,697,014.	—	—
Total.....	Miles	3,450,818.	2,883,637.	567,181.	44,827,316.	30,456,870.	14,370,446.
Average mileage per ton	Miles	42.02	40.13	1.89	45.63	37.76	7.87
Average tonnage per mile....	Tons	374,58.	31,301.	6,157.	81,604.	55,377.	26,227.
Average tonnage per train mile	Tons	22.015	19.569	2.446	37.716	31.273	36.44
Average tonnage per train mile, down train.....	Tons	6.341	—	—	25.460	—	—
Average tonnage per train mile, up train	Tons	37.689	—	—	49.971	—	—
Average tonnage per waggon mile	Tons	2.477	2.333	0.144	2.419	2.182	0.237
Average tonnage per waggon mie, down train.....	Tons	.713	—	—	1.633	—	—

1

Table No. 6 continued.

Average tonnage per waggon mile, up train	Tons	4.241	—	—	3.250	--	—
Average tonnage per freighted waggon mile	Tons	4.322	4.143	179.	3.153	2.843	0.310
Average tonnage per freighted waggon mile, down train ..	Tons	3.259	—	—	2.702	—	—
Average tonnage per freighted waggon mile, up train	Tons	4.573	—	—	3.205	—	—
Goods Receipt:—							
Ordinary freight receipts	Yen	146,610.640	128,442.680	18,167.960	414,385.868	340,650.621	73,735.247
Waggon-load freight receipts..	Yen	19.800	—	19.800	428,610.350	394,238.260	34,372.090
Goods carried by special contract receipts	Yen	—	—	—	232 345.590	95,156.590	137,188.940
Total	Yen	146,630.440	128,442.680	18,187.760	1,075,341.748	830,045.471	245,296.277
Daily average receipts	Yen	401.727	350.936	50.791	2,946.141	2,267.884	678.257
Average receipts per mile	Yen	1,591.647	1,394.222	197.425	1,957.569	1,509.208	448.361
Average receipts per train-mile	Yen	0.935	0.872	0.063	0.905	0.852	0.053
Average receipts per waggon-mile	Yen	0.1053	0.109	0.0014	0.0580	0.0595	0.0015
Average receipts per freighted waggon-mile	Yen	0.1836	0.1845	0.0009	0.0756	0 0775	0.0019
Average receipts per ton	Yen	1.7854	1.7887	0.0033	1.0946	1.0292	0.0654
Average receipts per ton-mile.	Yen	0.04249	0.04454	0.00205	0.02399	0.02725	0·00326
Daily average receipts per waggon	Yen	1.843	1.676	0.167	1.711	1.419	0.292

TABLE No. 6 CONTINUED. AGGREGATE TRAIN MILEAGES.

Passenger train mileage	Miles	—	—	—	2,027,328.	2,067,528.	* 40,194.
Goods train mileage	Miles	31,162.	17,688.	13,474.	868,184.	713,035.	155,149.
Mixed train mileage	Miles	251,172.	259,345.	* 8,173.	640,757.	521,743.	119,014.
Total		282,334.	277,033.	5,301.	3,556,269.	3,302,300.	233,969.

* The practice of deducting the mileages of portions of lines suspended by damage will be discontinued from this year.

† Number of vehicles multiplied by the number of days they were employed.

‡ Inclusive of the Yokogawa line.

Note 1.—The reason of the operating mileage of the Goods Traffic being miles 960 longer than that of the Passenger Traffic is on account of the Fukatani Goods line being included in this table.

Note 2.—The total number of waggons used in the Tokyo-Kobe Section during the 24th fiscal year was given as 502,746. This was an error, 508,321 being the correct figures.

TABLE NO. 7. LOCOMOTIVE RUNNING AND CONSUMPTION SHEET FOR THE 25TH FISCAL YEAR.

Sections.	Total Locomotive Running Mileage. Mile.	Total Coal Consumption. Cwt.	Average Coal Consumption per mile. Lbs.	Total Oil Consumption. Pints.	Average Oil Consumption per mile. Pints.
Tokyo-Kobe.....	3,234,515.	861,774.	29.84	361,224.$\frac{3}{4}$	11.17
Ofuna-Yokosuka.....	81,545.$\frac{1}{2}$	17,730.	24.35	5,175.	6.35
Obu-Taketoyo.....	30,618.	5,085.	18.60	3,606.	11.78
Maibara-Tsuruga.....	122,834.$\frac{1}{4}$	33,254.	30.32	19,255.$\frac{1}{2}$	15.68
Takasaki-Yokogawa.....	95,171.$\frac{1}{4}$	29,248.	34.42	7,829.	8.23
Karuisawa-Naoetsu.....	393,374.$\frac{1}{2}$	100,444.	28.60	26,733.$\frac{1}{2}$	6.80
	3,958,058.$\frac{1}{2}$	1,047,535.	29.64	423,823.$\frac{3}{4}$	10.71

TABLE No. 8. LIST OF DEATHS AND INJURIES AMONG PASSENGERS, STAFF, AND OTHERS IN THE DIFFERENT SECTIONS DURING THE 25TH FISCAL YEAR

Sections.	Passengers.				Railway Staff.				General Public.				Total.	
	Accidental.		Negligence.		Accidental.		Negligence.		Suicide.		Negligence.			
	Deaths.	Injuries.	Deaths.	Injuries.	Deaths.	Injuries.	Deaths.	Injuries.	Deaths.	Injuries.	Deaths.	Injuries.	Killed.	Wounded.
Tokyo-Kobe Section..	2	1	—	4	1	3	10	6	54	—	25	11	92	25
Takasaki – Yokogawa Section	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	1	—	3	—
Karuisawa – Naoetsu Section	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	5	1	7	1
	2	1	—	4	2	3	10	6	57	—	31	12	102	26

NOTE.—Under the head of "accidental" are recorded deaths and injuries arising from unforeseen occurrences. Thus the 2 deaths recorded in the column for Passengers were cases of sudden termination of life from acute illness.

Under "Negligence" are those arising from personal carelessness.

Under "Suicide" are cases with clear proofs of premeditated self-destruction.

TABLE NO. 9. LIST OF CASUALTIES & ACCIDENTS IN CONNECTION WITH THE TRAFFIC IN THE DIFFERENT SECTIONS DURING THE 25TH FISCAL YEAR.

Sections.	Derailments.			Collisions.			Failures.	Obstruction to the road and trains.		Trains Delayed.	Trains Stopped.	Violaters of Railway Regulations.
	Carriage.	Waggons	Engines.	Carriage.	Waggons.	Engines.		Natural Causes.	Wilful Acts.			
Tokyo-Kobe Section..	2	24	10	2	6	5	152	10	37	25	36	128
Takasaki - Yokohama Section	—	4	3	—	1	—	7	1	2	—	10	—
Karuizawa - Naoetsu Section	—	2	2	—	4	—	55	10	13	40	274	4
Total	2	30	15	2	11	5	214	21	52	65	320	132

NOTE.—By "Derailments" and "Collisions" are meant vehicles getting off the track or colliding with each other by negligence on the part of Pointsmen, Steam being in excess, &c.

By "Failures," vehicle becoming disabled by over-heating of the axles, parts of machinery breaking or giving away, &c., is meant.

Obstructions to the road and trains mean impediments on the lines caused by storms, &c., or by persons wilfully placing stones, wood, &c., on them.

Delays of the trains, are interruption of their working brought about by these obstruction ; the stoppages result from same causes.

Violators of Railway Regulations mean passengers who over-ride their station and fail to pay their fare, and those who otherwise act contrary to the Railway Regulations.

TABLE No. 11.—ROLLING STOCK RETURNS OF THE PRIVATE RAILWAY COMPANIES AT THE CLOSE OF THE 25TH FISCAL YEAR.

	Locomotives.		Carriages.		Waggons.		Total.		Increase.	Decrease.
	25th Fiscal Year.	24th Fiscal Year.	25th Fiscal Year.	24th Fiscal Year.	25th Fiscal Year.	24th Fiscal Year.	25th Fiscal Year.	24th Fiscal Year.		
Nippon Railway Company	69	63	248	194	1,022	889	1,339	1,146	193	—
Hankai Railway Company	5	5	41	37	30	25	76	67	9	—
Iyo Railway Company	4	2	18	9	15	8	37	19	18	—
Ryomo Railway Company.....	5	5	22	21	54	54	81	80	1	—
Sanyo Railway Company	25	25	139	170	323	514	487	709	—	222
Sanuki Railway Company	3	3	31	31	18	18	52	52	—	—
Kan ei Railway Company.....	10	10	68	68	77	75	155	153	2	—
Kobu Railway Company	3	3	16	14	48	28	67	45	22	—
Osaka Railway Company	7	7	54	51	109	97	170	155	15	—
Kyushu Railway Company	22	18	61	55	258	138	321	211	110	—
Hokkaido Railway Company	24	24	40	27	576	495	640	546	94	—
Chikuho Kogyo Railway Co.....	6	4	10	8	246	100	262	112	150	—
Kushiro Railway Company	2	—	3	—	19	—	24	—	24	—
Total	185	169	157	685	2,775	2,441	3,711	3,295	638	222

THE POPULATION OF JAPAN IN THE TOKUGAWA PERIOD.

By Garrett Droppers

I.

[*Read June 20, 1894.*]

It is not the purpose of this paper to enter into a long preliminary discussion of the theory of population, or even to bring forward new facts that will in any way seriously modify the form of the theory. Although it cannot be denied that the well known doctrine of Malthus is not held to-day in the precise sense in which it was promulgated, and although there are certain important facts to be considered of which Malthus did not speak, yet barring these modifications the theory is, I believe, substantially sound. It is in relation to this theory that I propose to examine the population of Japan, particularly in the Tokugawa period, extending say from 1615 to 1860, or about two centuries and a half.

Before specifically stating the problem which I wish to examine, it may be well to restate the doctrine of Malthus in a brief manner. As generally understood, his principal proposition is that in all countries that have attained a certain density of population there is a tendency for population to increase faster than subsistence, that this tendency is inhibited or regulated by

certain checks or restraints, either of a positive nature, such as war, epidemics, famines, or extreme poverty, or of a preventive nature, such as customs, laws, prudence, etc.[1] In those countries where there is no physical bar to the increase of population, where land is abundant, the soil fertile, and the arts of civilization understood, we find that population easily doubles in the space of twenty-five years. For instance, up to the present time, we find that the population of the United States, excluding immigration, has increased in just about this ratio. It is, therefore, no exaggeration to say that in the United States

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[1] I do not lay great stress upon the importance of this classification of checks. All the various means whereby the growth of population is repressed cannot without straining be put under these two heads. It is in a rough way, a useful classification, and as in so many other cases in political economy we must be satisfied if we cover a majority of facts. For instance, war, many diseases, and extreme misery are certainly positive checks ; prudence and laws, or customs that have the effect of delaying marriage, are certainly preventive checks. But how are we to classify abortion and infanticide? Malthus himself seems to have been conscious of the deficiencies of his classification, since he says (*The Principles of Population*, 8th London edition, page 8) :—"On examining these obstacles to the increase of population which are classed under the heads of preventive and positive checks, it will appear that they are all resolvable into moral restraint, vice and misery." He seems to abandon his former classification almost as soon as he makes it. At any rate *positive* and *preventive* are terms without ethical importance, since the latter check, in its immoral phases, may be more demoralizing that the former.

Prof. Nicholson (*Principles of Political Economy*, page 8) defines the positive check as that which increases the death rate, the preventive check as that which diminishes the birth rate. This explanation, taken in the rough, is sufficient. It however offers an opportunity for a great deal of casuistical hair-splitting to those who love to indulge in it. For instance, extreme want is a positive check, yet it affects the birth rate. Infanticide affects the death rate, but would any one classify it as a positive check? Many vicious customs influence the birth and death rate equally.

we have an example of the natural increase of mankind; of the increase, namely, that takes place where there are the fewest possible obstacles. No one doubts, however, that such a rate of increase is impossible in the countries of Europe, where the land is more fully occupied and the resources are much better developed; nor can it continue in the United States for centuries to come. In the latter country there are already signs that the former rapid rate of increase is beginning to abate.

It is possible that there are countries where racial characteristics or peculiar social conditions or an excessively one-sided civilization may indeed have the effect of limiting the growth of population, in spite of a comparative abundance of the necessities of life and diffusion of wealth. There seems to be no reason, for instance, why the popula- of France should not increase faster than it does. France is a rich country and in spite of heavy taxation her wealth is growing. Yet her population seems to be stationary. But Japan plainly does not belong to this category of nations. A few figures only are needed to show that the Japanese are one of the most prolific people in the world. The population since 1871, when the first census was taken, is as follows:

Year.	Population.
December 31—1871	33,110,825
" " 1872	33,300,675
" " 1873	33,625,678
" " 1874	33,997,449
" " 1875	34,338,404
" " 1876 [a]	——
" " 1877 [a]	——
" " 1878	35,868,584
" " 1879	35,929,060
" " 1880	36,358,944

[a] Satsuma Rebellion.

Year.	Population.
December 31—1881	36,700,118
" " 1882	37,017,302
" " 1883	37,451,764
" " 1884	37,868,987
" " 1885	38,151,217
" " 1886	38,507,177
" " 1887	39,069,691
" " 1888	39,607,234
" " 1889	40,072,020
" " 1890	40,453,461
" " 1891	40,718,677
" " 1892	41,089,940

These figures tell their own story. In the space of twenty-one years the population of Japan has increased from 33,000,000 to 41,000,000 in round numbers, or 8,000,000, an increase of over 1% a year. If this rate of advance were maintained, the population of Japan would double in the period of sixty years It needs no further evidence, therefore, to prove that the Japanese are a very prolific people, whose inherent capacity for increase has in no wise been diminished by two centuries and a half of seclusion. Indeed, it requires but a short sojourn in the country to be thoroughly convinced that Japan is among the foremost nations of the world in this respect. The economical, yet convenient customs of the mass of the people for the care of their young, their healthful out-of-door life in most parts of the country, the age at which many children join their parents in productive occupations, their strong family attachments making it difficult for any one with family connections to be in absolute destitution, their simple standard of living, all go to show that the Japanese are a prolific race, not only because the birth-rate is moderately high, but also because the death-rate is low. It may be confidently affirmed that they have the racial qualities that fit them to engage in the competitive struggle of the

world. They cannot be classed in any way with those races who seem to dissipate in the presence of a different or more aggressive civilization.

It is not my intention, however, to enter into an investigation of the conditions and prospects of the present population of Japan. The object of this paper is a purely historical one, viz., to investigate the question of the population of Japan during the time known as the Tokugawa period. It need not be explained that during the greater part of this period Japan was a nation closed to the rest of the world. No foreigners could enter her ports or mingle with the people. The few Dutch and Chinese who engaged in trade were strictly confined to particular places, which were guarded to prevent them from mixing with the natives. From the time of the third Shōgun Iyemitsu to nearly the time of the downfall of the Shōgunate in 1867, it was death for a Japanese to leave the shores of Japan; and this law was mercilessly carried out.

The period of the Shōgunate was distinguished for its peaceful character. For several hundred years previous, Japan was the theater of civil war and tumults, in which thousands of her strongest and most efficient men lost their lives. It is hardly necessary during such a period of confusion and bloodshed to study the question of population. Not only the surplus number of people but even the necessary and effective number were killed off either directly or indirectly by wars. A state of society in which everything is subordinated to military prowess, as during the feudal period in Europe, or in which society is a prey to warring factions, as during the Thirty Years War in Germany, cannot advance and may even retrograde in wealth and population. But the Tokugawa period was in all respects different from these periods. It was without parallel the most peaceful era in the history of mankind. For nearly two centuries and a half

the whole of Japan was in a state when wars were scarcely more than a memory, and the military art was retained only by means of an elaborate etiquette. During this time the people had ample time to cultivate the industrial and other arts, and to develope the wealth of the country. That they did so needs hardly to be proved. Nearly all the works of art that have made Japan famous abroad, brocades, embroideries, lacquers, porcelains, etc., reached their highest point of development during the Tokugawa era. In industry and even in local commerce she made great progress. There was for that time an excellent system of communication throughout the country.

In such a time and under such circumstances as I have described, Japan would quickly reach the limits of her industrial development. The population would increase, the land would be occupied, agricultuture would be pushed to its utmost extent according to the prevailing knowledge and customs of the times. But beyond this point the industrial development could not go. No outlet existed in the shape of foreign emigration for the increase of population. No foreign trade was permitted to give scope to new forms of industry, or to stimulate activities for which the country had peculiar advantages. Cut off from all foreign intercourse, Japan did not even suspect the existence of a more progressive civilization. The agriculture of the country was fixed by law. No man could sell his estate or change the character of its cultivation. The whole civilization was indigenous, was thrown back upon itself; and it requires no great effort to see that under such circumstances population could not increase beyond a certain limit. Every augmentation of numbers implied that the same amount of food must by divided among a greater number of mouths. To-day the pressure is relieved in a great variety of ways. Rapid increase of manufactures, new forms of agriculture, the cultivation of waste land,

emigration and colonization, an active foreign commerce; all these serve to provide for the present rapid increase of population. But during the Tokugawa period there were none of these outlets. The limits of expansion were inelastic, and against the barriers fixed by physical conditions the population moved in vain.

The Tokugawa period, therefore, presents a highly interesting problem to the economist. On the one hand we find a people endowed with a strong natural capacity for increase, as is proved by the advancing rate of the present population. We find a country in a state of peace, undisturbed by foreign complications of any kind, and the people acquiescing in the status given them by their rulers. On the other hand we find the material conditions of the country as regards industry and agriculture in a state of arrested development, precluding the possibility of any great increase of population. What then was the practical outcome of these conditions, either in the laws, customs, or other circumstances of the people, by which they adjusted themselves to their environment? What checks operated to prevent the people from degenerating to a lower standard of living, or a debased form of civilization? In answering this question it is necessary to omit all the usual and prevailing causes that serve to restrain the increase of population in Japan at the present time, and to investigate only those checks that were active when Japan was sealed to foreigners and foreign trade.

II.

Unfortunately for the purpose of this inquiry we have no record of the population of Japan for the first century of the Tokugawa period. The idea of a

census was not unknown to Japanese rulers. It is recorded that in the era of *Taikwa* (645-649) the Emperor Kotoku, who adopted the Chinese system of giving a particular denomination *(nengo)* to a period of years, sent officials to all the provinces of Japan to record the number of the population for purposes of taxation. Subsequently at long intervals the census was taken by other rulers, but during the long period of civil war previous to the Tokugawa period the practice could not be carried into effect. It was not until the time of the eighth Shōgun Yoshimune, in the era of *Kioho* (1716-1735), that the census was resumed. In the sixth year of *Kioho* (1821), an edict was passed that each Daimyō should make an enumeration of the population within his domain and inscribe the number in the Government register. The edict declared that the samurai, the servants male and female of the samurai [2] (knight or warrior class), need not be included. Moreover, those below fifteen years of age could be omitted or counted according to the option of each Daimyō. It was also ordered that hereafter at intervals of six years a census should be regularly taken, beginning with the year 1726. The purpose of this census was probably to readjust the finances of the Shōgunate, as the government at the time was embarrassed for want of funds. (See Count Katsu's *Suijinroku*.)

At first glance it seems as if this census with its various omissions would be so faulty as to be almost worthless. But this upon close examination proves not to be the case. It is not difficult to get a pretty accurate estimate of the number of servants belonging to the samurai

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[2] Because this class was not taxed.

class. Count Katsu, an excellent authority, puts the number of samurai at 350,000, and the average number of servants to each as three. Thus the whole number of servants omitted would be not far from 1,050,000, and we may consider this figure as approximately correct. Again, the same authority states that there were only two daimyō who omitted the children under fifteen from the census. One of them was Matsudaira Kaga no Kami, whose domain consisted of Kaga, Noto, Etchu, and part of Omi. His subjects numbered 576,734, and as we know that children under 15 years of age in Japan are about 30 per cent. of the whole population, the number omitted must have been about 240,000. The other exception was Matsudaira Oi no Kami, Daimyō of Bizen. His subjects numbered 396,500. He omitted all the children under two years of age, and if we take these to be equal to about 5 per cent. of the population, the number omitted cannot be far from 20,000. Some writers, moreover, add that the *Eta* and *Hinin* classes were also omitted from this enumeration, but on this point authorities conflict. We are therefore in doubt as to the precise number of the population that were not counted. But as the number omitted was a fairly fixed proportion of the number rendered, the mistake cannot be serious. The object of this paper is not as much to get the absolute population of the Tokugawa period, as the relative growth or decrease from year to year. As the omissions, whatever they were, were uniform, the number given in the government register must be considered on the whole perfect for my purpose. To this number Count Katsu would add 1,860,000, a number which I consider too small. It would be much nearer the truth to double this figure, say 3,720,000, and add it to the number returned in the registers. For those who are interested in discovering the precise population of Japan in the Tokugawa period, it is clearly necessary to add from two millions to three millions and a half

to the official figures, but as already stated, it is unimportant for the purpose of this paper. The following table gives the figures:

Year.	Number registered.	Omissions (Count Katsu).	Omissions (My own).
1721	26,061,880	1,860,000	3,720,000
1726	26,548,988	"	"
1732	26,921,816	"	"
1744	25,682,210	"	"
1750	25,917,830	"	"
1756	26,061,830	"	"
1762	25,921,458	"	"
1768	26,252,057	"	"
1774	25,990,451	"	"
1780	26,010,000	"	"
1786	25,086,466	"	"
1792	24,891,441	"	"
1798	25,471,633	"	"
1804	25,517,729	"	"
1816	25,621,957	"	"
1822	Lost	—	—
1828	"	—	—
1834	"	—	—
1840	"	—	—
1846	26,907,625	"	"

It is to be regretted that we have no census between the time of the establishment of the Tokugawa dynasty (1603) and the year 1721. *À priori* it is probable that the population increased very rapidly during this period of more than a century. It was a period of absolute peace following a period of the most relentless civil war, and usually at such a time, population for a while moves forward with great rapidity. What little statistical evidence we have supports this view. A few Daimyō in Japan kept records of the population previous to the year 1721, and in every case we find that our *à priori*

supposition is upheld by the records. For instance Shimazu, the Daimyō of Osumi, reports the population of his domain as follows :

The year 1698 the number was				...	...	... 260,961
"	"	1732	"	"	"	 339,955

Date, Daimyō of Mutsu :

The year 1690 the number was				...	...	... 599,241
"	"	1698	"	"	"	 617,323
"	"	1732	"	"	"	 647,427

Toda, Daimyō of Izumi :

The year 1665 the number was				...	...	... 252,061
"	"	1690	"	"	"	 284,126
"	"	1732	"	"	"	 287,388

Hachisuka, Daimyō of Awa :

The year 1665 the number was				...	...	... 308,880
"	"	1688	"	"	"	 385,751
"	"	1732	"	"	"	 470,512

It may be fairly inferred from the figures of these three provinces that the population of Japan expanded regularly during the 17th century, from the establishment of peace by the Tokugawa Shōgun Iyeyasu in 1603. But the influence of this long peace on the population, I believe, spent itself in the year 1721, when the first regular census was taken. The figures given in the government registers during the last century and a half of the Tokugawa régime prove that the population was virtually at a standstill. Between 1721 and 1804, a period of more than three-quarters of a century, there is an actual decrease of over 400,000 in the registered population, and from 1721 to 1846 the increase is less than 900,000. We may therefore conclude that during the greater part of the Tokugawa period the population of Japan did not materially increase in spite of the peaceful state of the country.

III.

In considering the causes that prevented the population from expanding during the last century and a half of the Tokugawa period, it will best serve my purpose to consider first what a Malthusian would call the positive checks, leaving the preventive or moral checks to later consideration. Among the most striking causes, restraining the growth of population at this time, is the recurrence of famines and other calamities of a similar nature. At present it may be fairly said that famines are impossible in Japan. The native supplies of rice can be readily supplemented whenever crops are short by purchases of supplies from foreign countries. Moreover, the government has established a famine relief fund especially devoted to the assistance of the people on occasion of short crops. For instance, the crop of rice in the year 1889 was only 33,000,000 *koku*, or 6,000,000 *koku* below the average crop. During the following year the government expended about 14,000,000 *yen* for foreign rice. Moreover, at present there are means of transportation to nearly all parts of the country, making it impossible for the price of rice to differ much in different parts. In the Tokugawa period all this was different. The various daimyō, with a few exceptions, pursued a narrow provincial policy and were quite willing to save themselves at the expense of the country, especially at critical moments. The country was not economically unified. It was difficult to transport commodities over the boundaries of a daimyō's territory. The cost of transportation was high, except along the sea coast, and thus it was impossible to carry goods like rice a long distance.

Accordingly, it need not surprise us to learn that famines of a general character were much more destructive, and local famines much more frequent then than now. During the half century extending from the year

1690 to 1740, there are records of eight famines, of which four, those of 1702, 1710, 1721 and 1732 were very destructive. During the next half century (1741-1790) there were seven famines, of which those of 1749, 1757, 1780, 1783, and 1787 were destructive. During the next half century (1791-1840) there were six famines, of which those of 1825 and 1836 were destructive. Thus within a century and a half there were twenty-two famines, of which eleven were extremely severe. Beside famines there were other calamities which also affected the price of rice and the wealth of the people. Among others we may mention earthquakes, fires, floods, and epidemics. Floods and earthquakes, though still prevalent, are less injurious than formerly, because of the more efficient measures of relief. So also the epidemics that formerly spread through the country, especially along the great highways, were far more fatal in the Tokugawa times than at present, because of the almost total want of hygienic regulation as well as of the low state of medical science.[3]

What numbers of the people died from the effects of starvation in time of famine, it is wholly impossible to state. Even rough estimates are generally wanting. In small districts the number of people who starved to death are given by some writers, but the figures vary widely, often as much as one to ten. It is clear that the

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[3] Dr. Baelz, than whom there is no better authority on this point, writes as follows: "The diseases which caused the greatest ravages in old Japan were small-pox and measles. Both these diseases, being eminently contagious, were spread by the daimyō processions or by the traffic along the main arteries of the empire.

"Next in importance came dysentery and probably typhus fever, the latter particularly in time of famine. Cholera was unknown in Japan as in Europe up to this century. Typhoid fever appears to have existed in Japan, but it did not have the fatal character of the above mentioned diseases."

science of statistics was not a passion of either the government or the people during the Tokugawa régime. To give an idea of the terrible effects of some of the more severe famines and other calamities that raged during the Tokugawa period, I will give accounts taken from contemporary writers. A good example is the famine of the year 1732.

During the year 1731 the rice of the western half of the country was much injured by a small fly. The damage was greatest in the Sanyodo, Sanindo and Shikoku. Many people died of starvation. The government opened its granaries and in Yedo distributed rice to the needy, two *go*[4] to each man and one *go* to each woman *per diem*. It also lent money to the Daimyō, so that they could take measures to relieve the distress. It was ascertained that the domains of forty-six Daimyō had produced only 628,000 *koku* of rice instead of the average 2,400,000 *koku*. The price of one *koku* was considered to be normal at 15 *momme* per *koku*, but during the year 1732 the prices in various places were as follows per *koku*:

Yedo ...	41 to 75	*momme*		Bitchu..	75 to 95	*momme*	
Ōsaka...	58 " 120	"		Aki.....	71 " 80	"	
Kiōto...	100 " —	"		Nagato.	61 " 100	"	
Idzumo.	52 " 108	"		Kii.....	130 " 140	"	
Iwami..	72 " —	"		Sanuki..	90 " —	"	

More than 2,646,000 people received relief from the government. One writer states that those who died from the effects of the famine were 200,000, while others give still higher figures.

In May, 1737, an epidemic disease broke out and was very destructive, especially along the Tōkaido. Both human beings and animals died in great numbers. In 1745, there was a disastrous fire in Yedo followed by another in 1746. In 1757, there were very bad crops resulting in partial famines, and in the same year a

[4] About 4 *go* make a quart.

destructive fire in Yedo. In 1758, there were great floods in the eastern part of Japan. In 1771, there was another fire in Yedo that destroyed 60 *cho*. In the following year, 1772, one of the most destructive fires recorded in the history of Japan occurred in Yedo. It raged for over three days during a heavy wind, extending from Azabu in the south to Senji in the north. It destroyed over 158 *cho*, or nearly two-thirds of the city, and caused many deaths. The next year a fatal epidemic of small-pox broke out, which finally extended to all parts of the country. In July there were storms and typhoons, causing floods in the provinces of Hizen, Higo and Chikugo. In August a typhoon destroyed a great many houses between Mino and Bizen, and many people lost their lives. In the next year a terrific storm raged for several days in the same district and killed about 1200 people in the harbor of Ōsaka alone.

One of the most destructive famines ever recorded in the annals of Japan is the famine of Temmei (1781-1788. Famines, however, were not the only calamity recorded of this period; it was filled with disasters of every description. From February to April in the year 1783, there were a number of fires in Yedo, Kyōto, and other parts of the country due to the great drought. From April to June rain fell incessantly, causing many floods and doing great damage to the crops. The price of rice advanced, especially in the northern provinces, and finally reached fabulous rates. In July the crater of the volcano Asama threw forth ashes and lava and destroyed thirty-six villages and 35,000 people. The Tone river was filled with dead bodies and with the débris of trees and houses. The famine began to spread and extended to all parts of the country. The following account is taken from a work of Shirakawa Rakuo, the well known Minister of Finance of the 11th Shōgun Iyenari: The famine of the 3rd year of Temmei

(1783) was particularly severe in the northern part of the country. A trustworthy man, who had travelled in this district, told me that in a village which had previously contained 800 houses there were only 80 left, the inhabitants of the rest all having died. Having entered a village in which the houses seemed to be larger and more numerous than usual, he proposed to rest there for the night. He soon discovered, however, that not a single house was inhabited, but in all the houses he saw bones and skulls scatttered about the floor. As he went on he saw innumerable bones and skulls by the roadside. He met a man leading a pack-horse on the road, who said that he could survive without eating the flesh of human beings as he was supported by a rich uncle. In some places even those who abandoned themselves to eating human flesh could not find food enough to live. Great numbers starved to death. The price paid for a dog was 500 sen sometimes even as high as 800 sen, a rat 50 sen. A rare work of art found no purchasers and could not be exchanged for a *go* of rice. If a person died he was of course eaten by the survivors. Those who died of starvation, however, could not be eaten, because their flesh decayed so soon. Some people, therefore, killed those who were certain to starve and put the flesh into brine so as to keep it for a long time. Among other people there was a farmer who went to his neighbor and said, "My wife and one of my sons have already died from want of food. My remaining son is certain to die within a few days, so I wish to kill him while his flesh is still eatable, but being his father, I do not dare to raise the sword against him, so I beg you to kill the boy for me." The neighbour agreed to do this, but stipulated that he should get a part of the flesh as a reward for his service. This was agreed to and the neighbor at once killed the boy. As soon as the deed was done, the farmer, who stood by, struck his neighbor with a sword and killed him, saying that he 'was very

glad to avenge his son and at the same time have double the quantity of food.' These are a few of the terrible stories told of the great famine of Temmei. "In these times," says our author, "stealing and incendiarism were not considered wrong and went unpunished."

The year 1784 was one of misery and starvation, but the next year 1785 was no better. The crops of the Kinai district (the five provinces around Kyōto) were very poor because of the lack of rain. In the next two years the state of things was worse than ever. An excellent account of the condition of the times is furnished by Bakin, the famous novelist of Japan, who died about seventy years ago. I select a few extracts from this account:

"At ten o'clock in the morning of the 1st of January,[5] 1786, there was an eclipse of the sun, and the people were much frightened to see such a portent on this great holiday. On the same day a fire broke out in Yedo which destroyed forty *cho*. Rain had not fallen for some time, and after this fires continued to break out here and there, often two or three times a day. People became more and more frightened. Those who had godowns (store-houses) put all their goods into them and left nothing in the house, while those who did not have godowns tied up all possessions in bundles, or packed them into boxes. Every one seemed to be waiting for fires. This state of things continued until April, after which the rumors of fires became fainter. On the 12th of July a heavy rain began falling and continued without interruption for four days and nights. On the 16th the Sumida river overflowed and the water rose until Honjo, Fukagawa, Shiba, Susaki, both sides of the Tategawa, Ushijima, Yanagishima, Shitaya, Asakusa and Kanda were all under water. Fortunately, as my house stood

[5] The months hereafter mentioned do not correspond to the same months of our calendar year.

on high ground my family were safe. I went out to visit my relations, but found it was forbidden to cross any of the bridges. People went about from street to street in boats, but in spite of all precautions many were drowned, especially in Koishikawa and Ushigome." He then gives a very moving picture of the death of one of his friends by drowning. In addition to all these calamities the Shōgun (Iyeharu, the 10th Shōgun) died, and a period of mourning made the prevailing gloom still darker.

The next year the price of rice rose higher than before. The price had been double the normal rate (100 copper *mon* for 6 *go*), but it soon rose until it became three and four times the normal rate (100 copper *mon* for 3 *go*). Sometimes rice dealers refused to sell at any price. As a consequence of the high price of rice, the price of barley, wheat and millet became proportionally high. "The causes of these difficulties," Bakin says, "were, (1) that a large farming district in Japan was ruined four years before (1783) by the eruption of Asamayama; (2) that the crops in the same year had been very poor in the northern districts of Japan; (3) that the crops of 1784 and 1785 had been below the average on account of earthquakes and floods; (4) that the crop of the year 1786 had been a total loss in some parts of the country through lack of rain. What made matters worse was that rice dealers, both wholesale and retail, for the sake of making larger profits had bought up all the rice, especially from the Samurai class. [In those times the Samurai were paid in rice, and received no money]. In many cases rice merchants over-reached themselves and stored the rice until it was worm-eaten. The people noticed the avarice of these speculators and forestallers, and petitions were sent in to the government to force the dealers to sell their rice and not to store it. In May the *machi-bugyo*

(city governors) answered the petitioners, saying that they had examined the rice dealers and found that there was no rice to sell. Instead, the governors told them to use beans, peas, wheat, and millet. This advice did not satisfy the people and they began to abuse their rulers. This was the beginning of a series of riots. At the same time the rice dealers formed a union not to sell more than a certain amount (from 100 to 200 *mon*) to each person daily. Even this amount was sold only at certain fixed hours in the day, generally very early in the morning, so that men and women, young and old, who feared to be too late, gathered together in crowds in front of the rice shops, shouted and quarreled in their struggle to get their *quantum* of rice. After a time, however, the rice dealers refused to sell any rice at all, but, it is said, concealed it in their godowns. From this time there was really nothing left for the poorer classes to eat except a kind of sea-weed. Some rich men, such as Mitsui and Mitsukoshi, wisely put boiled potatoes in front of their stores and allowed apprentices under fifteen years of age, who ran errands for their masters, to eat as much as they pleased. In this way the consumption of rice was economised. But most people were in a wretched half-starving condition. Cattle and horses lay dead by the way-side. By June," he adds, "I saw dogs eating grass."

"On the night of the 20th of June a crowd of people (whence they came was never known) destroyed the house of a rice dealer in Kojimachi. This was the first act of destruction. After this mobs collected everywhere. On the 21st of June they destroyed the houses of rice dealers in Ushigome, Kamakura-gashi, Kotsuna-cho, Honfune-cho, Kofune-cho, Nihon-bashi, Hon-cho, Odenma-cho, Bakuro-cho, Asakusa, Kaga-cho, Okuramaye, Saruya-cho, Torigoye and even Yama-no-shiku; on the 22nd they destroyed those of Komagome, Yushima and

Kanda; on the 23rd those of Honjo, Fukagawa and Dobashi; on the 24th those of Shitaya, Yanaka, Uyeno, Shiken-cho and neighboring districts. Thus all the houses and godowns of the rice dealers of Yedo were destroyed. Not a single rich man who sold or hoarded rice escaped. Besides the rice dealers, the sellers of *saké* (wine) and *mochi* (rice-bread) were attacked. On the 25th the work of destruction extended to the rice dealers of Shinagawa, Kawasaki and Kanagawa. The mobs usually consisted of from 50 to 100 men. At first they carried on their work of destruction by night, or very early in the morning. Most shop-keepeers lit a candle in their shops to show that they were not rice dealers; the other shops were generally torn down and looted. Finally, however, the rioters became bolder and carried on the work of destruction by day. Sounds of crashing, shonts and clamor, were heard a long way off. "I saw," says Bakin, "the shop of a rice-dealer, called Mansaku, in Demma-cho, attacked by the mob. They cut open the bags of rice and scattered the grain on the street. Chests and boxes they broke to pieces and threw the contents out of the shop. Respectable women and children of the poorer class mingled with beggars and pickpockets and put the rice in their sleeves and bags. No one attempted to stop them or drive them away. The dealers were utterly helpless and did nothing to stop them. At last the government sent officers to quell the rioting, but they did not succeed in arresting any one. At the head of one of the most notorious mobs, was a young apprentice 15 or 16 years of age, who was so active that people were frightened at his mere appearance and thought that he must be a kind of hobgoblin, called *tengu*. As for the rest, no one knew who they were. The government finally gave orders that anyone might seize a rioter or even kill him if necessary. So every shopkeeper armed himself with a long bamboo spear in order to drive off the mob. But in

reality the measure proved futile. As soon as the mob came, the shopkeeper stood shivering at his own door helplessly watching them destroy his shop in his very presence. The same condition of affairs existed in Kyōto, Ōsaka, and the surrounding districts, so that it seemed as if the rioters acted in concert on some secret understanding. This, however, was not the case. In all these cities the houses and godowns of rice-dealers fell a prey to the fury of the mobs, until finally there was nothing left for them to destroy. Thus after about a month of this lawlessness the rioting came to an end.

"In the autumn of the year 1787, the government imported rice into Yedo from all parts of the country and offered it for sale as cheaply as possible. Moreover, the new crop of wheat and barley was harvested and helped to relieve the famine. A considerable quantity of worm-eaten rice which had been stored by speculators in out-of-the-way places also was sold about this time. Yet in spite of all these favorable circumstances, the price of rice remained for a long time double the ordinary price."

In the absence of any careful statistics giving us trustworthy figures as to the amount of the crops and loss of life, these popular accounts are valuable for the light they throw upon the terrible suffering of the mass of the people in times of famine during the Tokugawa period. Nor need it be explained that these famines and other calamities either could not occur at all at present or would be mitigated in various ways. Of all the so-called positive checks to the growth of population in the Tokugawa period, undoubtedly rice-famines were the most important, either directly or indirectly. Directly, famine diminished the population by increasing the death rate. At such times not only do people die of starvation, but there is an increased mortality resulting from insufficient food or even from fear. Indirectly also, famines must have had a powerful effect upon the number of the population.

We know from statistics that even in a growing and rich country like the United States, the number of marriages diminishes in times of commercial depression. How much more likely then that a calamity which deprives a large part of the people of the necessities of life should banish the very thought of marriage and giving in marriage. At such times all the normal processes of life must have been interrupted. The instinct of immediate self-preservation held absolute sway in all its naked horror and annihilated for the time being the most powerful social and domestic ties. As for epidemic diseases in the Tokugawa period, though they probably caused many deaths, I am inclined to think that their influence in diminishing the population was of a minor and temporary character. It is noticed, for instance, by several writers that the Black Death in England in 1848-9, which probably destroyed one-third of the population, was followed by a very rapid growth of population in the succeeding years. After an epidemic the people who survive are probably more vigorous than ever, while after famines even those who survive are weaker than before. So also after famines all the people as a rule are poorer, and it takes some years for the people to recover the normal amount of wealth, while after epidemics the material conditions of life are easier for the mass of the people. Wages rise, and the people quickly forget their former disasters in the prosperity of the moment. The effects of famine therefore are far more lasting than those of epidemics, and may indeed, as they probably did in Japan, permanently effect the character of the people.

The fatal character of famines, as compared with epidemics or other calamities can, I think, be traced in the statistics of the population, as given on page 262. Just before the famine of 1732 the population of Japan, as recorded in the government registers, was 26,921,-816. I have already explained how severe the famine

of 1732 was and how it extended to all parts of the country. Twelve years later (the census of 1738 is unaccountably lost) the population was reduced to 25,682,210, or about one million and a quarter less than in the former census. Again, not to mention too many instances, we may take the calamitous period of Temmei (1781-88). The census of 1780, a very prosperous year, gave the number as 26,010,000. During the next two years, when the crops were above the average, we may be sure that the population did not decrease; on the contrary there is a strong probability that it increased. Beginning with the year 1783 there is a series of famines culminating in the disatrous famine of 1787. According to the census of 1786 the population was returned as 25,086,466—a diminution of nearly a million in the short space of six years. That the effects of these famines was felt for many years is proved by the next census. The population in 1792, five years after the last and most terrible famine year, was returned as only 24,891,441. This is the lowest figure recorded in any census of the Tokugawa period and is a fitting culmination to an era, noted in the history of Japan, as a time of starvation and misery. Were there fuller and more accurate statistics, I think we should have the same result; viz., that the effects of famines in diminishing and weakening the population were far greater than epidemics and all other so-called positive checks combined.

IV.

The account of the famines and other calamities I have given of the Tokugawa period might easily convey the impression that it was, on the whole, a time of misery and distress. Such, however, except in occasional years, was not the case. The Japanese people are for the most part a contented and easily satisfied people; they have a capacity for extracting a great deal of pleasure out of

small things. They seem to order their lives in such a way as to escape great contrasts and tragedies. I am inclined, therefore, to think that what Malthus would call the preventive checks operated much more powerfully in the Tokugawa period than one might suppose. The most important preventive checks to population are of a more agreeable character than the positive checks. The former are, indeed, indispensable to every civilization, though in Japan during the Tokugawa régime some of these checks throw rather a dark shadow upon the humanity of the times. Of all the preventive checks the most important were sumptuary laws, customs of various kinds and public opinion.

(A.)—SUMPTUARY LAWS.

The general policy of the Tokugawa government was of a negative character. Its main purpose was to keep things as they were, to avoid changes of every sort, even those of a progressive character. When the people, for instance, suffered from famine, the government did not go to the root of the matter by developing the resources or reforming the political conditions of the country. The favorite method of the government was to pass sumptuary laws which restrained consumption. This is a general characteristic of all Oriental economy. Even to-day in Japan, in villages remote from modern influences, we see remnants of these old sumptuary laws. For instance, in some villages the following notice may be found: "Frugality is to be practised in this village for the next five years." Or again: "As we are to practice frugality in the coming five years, we are not permitted to make contributions to pleasures of any kind." Or, "As we are to be frugal we can give nothing to beggars." Thus in the Tokugawa period, the government was constantly issuing edicts enjoining the people to practise economy. For instance an edict of May 24, 1642, is to this effect:

"The clothing of men and women should be simple. According to law, village headmen may wear *tsumugi* (a strong but coarse silk) but nothing better, while farmers are to dress in cotton. Better quality of cloth shall not be used even for the *obi*."

"Tobacco shall not be planted this year either on private or government land."

May 26, 1842: "This year wine (*sake*) shall not be made in villages. If any one is discovered making it, his machinery and tools shall be confiscated."

In another year: "It is forbidden to sell *udon* (a kind of maccaroni made of wheat flour) *soba* (a kind o maccaroni made of buckwheat), *somen* (vermicelli), or *manju* (a kind of sweet cake)."

Again: "It is forbidden to make *tofu* (bean curd) this year." This edict was passed to lessen the consumption of beans.

Again: "Farmers must not eat rice too often." Such edicts as these are extremely absurd and droll to us at present, but we must remember that similar sumptuary laws were very common in Europe a few centuries ago. Moreover, these edicts probably did have some effect upon the people of that time, for otherwise why should we see the same laws passed year after year for enturies.

Sumptuary laws of this kind, I believe, must have had an effect upon the growth of population. They must have tended to stop marriages and all kinds of festivities. When an order came from the government that the people should not consume the usual quantity of rice or should abstain from certain customary luxuries or pleasures, the necessity for economy must also have stopped the wedding festivals and betrothals. People in those days, particularly the farmers, lived more closely to a given standard than at present. Any diminution from this standard was

more immediately felt than to-day, and sumptuary laws were a constant reminder that prudence must be practised.

(B.)—PUNISHMENTS FOR CRIME.

Other means[6] whereby law in the Tokugawa period exercised a deterrent effect upon the growth of population in some degree was the severity of punishment for crimes. To-day the opinion is often expressed that punishments in Japan are unnecesarily mild, but in this respect the era of the Restoration is not a copy of the older régime. To epitomize the matter,—the Tokugawa government divided criminal punishments into six classes: (1) capital punishment; (2) exile; (3) banishment; (4) beating; (5) branding or tatooing; (6) exposure. Of capital punishment the were five varieties: (1) slow decapitation with a bamboo saw; (2) crucifixion; (3) exposure of the head; (4) burning at the stake; (5) decapitation with a sword.

The first form of punishment, that of cutting off the head with a bamboo-saw, applied to conspirators (except those of very high rank) and to those who were grossly immoral (adultery, etc., under aggravating circumstances). The criminal was first wounded in the shoulder, then exposed for two or three days in the city, and finally his head was sawed off. Those who were burned at the stake or crucified were also previously exposed to the multitude. Exiled criminals were generally sent to a distant island for life, as for instance, to the seven islands of Izu. As regards the punishment of beating, criminals were given from 50 to 100 blows on the flesh. As examples of the severity of ancient compared with modern punishments, I may mention the following:

He who killed his master suffered decapitation with a bamboo saw and his head was exposed. He who killed

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[6] A positive check.

his parents was crucified. He who committed fornication or adultery with a superior in rank suffered decapitation, and his head was exposed, and he who committed theft either by deception or by forging a seal or by imitating a signature suffered the same punishment. Incendiaries were burned at the stake. Counterfeiters were crucified and their heads exposed. Monks who committed adultery or similar crimes were crucified. Quarreling, beating, and stealing, were punished with death, exile, or banishment, in proportion to the degree of the crime. Women who committed adultery were often made slaves or punished with death. Samurai and those above them in rank were generally not put to death but ordered either to kill themselves (*seppuku* or *harakiri*), or to confine themselves in-doors. In the latter case they also as a rule committed suicide (*seppuku*), as the order to stay in-doors was considered a great dishonor.

I have of course given only the barest outlines. All sorts of modifications of the above laws were issued at various times to meet particular necessities. For instance, the children of criminals were often executed. An edict, issued August 5, 1692, is as follows: "The children of criminals who have been executed either at the stake or by crucifixion or by exposure, shall suffer the death of their parent, except when they are below fifteen years of age and are proved not to have had any share in the crime. In the latter case they may be entrusted to a relative until the age of fifteen, after which they shall be exiled." Still other laws were issued that seem utterly preposterous to us at the present day. Thus the 5th Shōgun, who was very fond of dogs, caused an edict to be passed that whoever killed a dog should be beheaded. Under laws similar to this, many persons, it is said, suffered death.

As these laws were carried out with the utmost rigor in most cases, it is not too much to say that the

severity of punishments during the Tokugawa era was at least a minor check to the growth of population. At present the death punishment is a rare exception in Japan. In the old régime it was possible at almost any time to see at stated places criminals undergoing capital punishment. Men are still living who remember the crucifixions, the exposure of heads, and similarly cruel punishments in the neighborhood of Tōkyō and of other large cities.

(c.)—PUBLIC OPINION AND CUSTOM.

The effect of public opinion and customs upon the family life and the marriage institutions of a people is extremely difficult to trace; and yet there is perhaps no more potent force in the life of the people. In many parts of Japan, notably Satsuma and other parts of Kiushu, a samurai never married before the age of thirty, and it was considered degrading to have a family of more than three children. The whole education of a samurai tended to make him stoical and distant to his wife and children. He seldom indulged in conversation with his family. He did not even hand an article directly to his wife, but placed it so that she could take it. This stoical attitude, it may be remarked, was not inconsistent with sincere respect and often a very high standard of family life. The doctrines of Confucius taught that the sexes ought to be separated early in life. Filial duty and loyalty were enjoined as the highest virtues, but affection for the wife was discountenanced. Accordingly the family of a samurai was usually small, consisting of seldom more than three children and often fewer. The same rule extended to the richer class of farmers and merchants, who accepted the doctrines of Confucianism instead of Buddhism.

But with the downfall of the feudal system these ideals and customs passed away. The clans were dis-

banded and the samurai class no longer had anything to foster the idea of loyalty. The sentiments of personal liberty took the place of the old ideals. Instead of living a frugal stoical life this class began to engage like others in the struggle for wealth. Accordingly we find a great change in the life of the samurai, and this change undoubtedly has had an effect on the size of families. Numerous individual instances of this change have come to my notice, and, as it is manifestly impossible to give statistical evidence on such a point, I can only point out the fact in a general way.

Among the common people of Japan, however, early marriages, though not universal, were the rule. While prudence was undoubtedly exercised to some extent, yet it was not strong enough to keep the population within the narrow limits imposed by the conditions of the country. Other practices arose, especially the practice of abortion. The laws of the Tokugawa government, while, as we have seen, extremely severe in some ways, were extraordinarily lenient in others. The practice of abortion is a good illustration. Though not legally permitted it was never interfered with, if those practicing it took the commonest precautions. Both in Kyōto and Yedo there were physicians who were noted for their skill in this practice. The houses in which they received patients were somewhat similar to the private hospitals of the present day. Abortion was also part of the business of midwives. The charges were very high and even the poor were expected to pay 5 *ryō*, an extraordinary fee for those times. Child-murder also was not at all uncommon in the old régime, though the law forbade it. In some districts it is said that girls were killed and only boys permitted to live.[7]

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[7] One other cause which may have helped to retard the growth of population was the practice of pederasty. It existed chiefly in the south-western parts of the Empire. The boys were generally

In order to present a satisfactory account of all the causes that restrained the growth of population in the Tokugawa period, we must contrast the general mental and moral atmosphere of the people at that time with that of the present day. I have already indicated that the whole temper of the people took a different direction after the downfall of feudalism. The recurrence of famines and other calamities, though at first a positive check to population, in the end resulted in giving the people a cautious disposition, of which the relics exist even to-day. The Japanese people are often charged with being a short-sighted people in mercantile matters. They look more to an immediate than to a remote gain. They are deficient in the spirit of combination and in the organization of large enterprises. They have the habits of excessive timidity. I do not think these are original qualities of the Japanese people, but rather the result of the terrible experiences of the Tokugawa period. The terrors of famine, the irremediable epidemics, the severity of the criminal laws, all taught them to be satisfied with a little, be it but a pittance—without incurring the risks of new enterprises. These experiences probably gave them that air of pathetic resignation which we still see displayed among the lower ranks in the presence of death. As a people they bear losses of every kind more stoically than Europeans or Americans. By nature a spontaneously happy people, they have acquired the habit of submission to the inevitable. The European or American, untaught by such terrible experiences, opposes the most untoward circumstances and fights to the bitter

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noted for their beauty and were often destined for the stage. They were generally nominal servants in the household of the samurai. There is frequent mention of the practice in the Tokugawa laws, which though forbidding it, did not stop it, and even to-day the practice is said to be not wholly extinct.

end. Three hundred years of fairly steady expansion have given him a more resolute habit of mind. When Japan, however, was thrown open to foreign influences, the bonds which had fettered the people so long began to yield. A freer and more enterprising temper took possession of the people. Old customs which restrained them gave way. Class distinctions were largely abolished. Many individuals of the poorer classes saw a chance of acquiring wealth or of gaining distinction in other ways. It is not difficult, therefore, to see that these altered circumstances influenced, to a greater or less degree, the whole temper of the people and stimulated the growth of population.

This change of temper has been accompanied by a breaking down of the old economic restrictions. The old prohibitions against the sale of land or against turning rice land into dry land and *vice versa* have been withdrawn. Waste land can be cultivated, forest land is often turned into arable, the transfer of land has been made easy. These revolutionary changes must have made a great impression on the people. They must have been an object lesson teaching them that all their old fears were groundless. As a result, we often see in juxtaposition in Japan the most curious inconsistent conditions. We see the most radical spirit of liberty existing side by side with the most conservative customs, the boldest recklessness with the most absolute timidity. But these inconsistencies have a cause in the historical conditions of the country. The new tendencies that began with the opening of the ports and increased with the Revolution in 1868 also stimulated the desire to accumulate wealth, and hence we find a greater indifference to the number of children in the family. Sooner or later, however, the question of population will come up again, and then the old solution of the question will be

useless. The whole spirit of the feudal system is fast departing and with it all the checks and balances that made it possible.[8]

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[8] In discussing the influences at work to limit the growth of population in Japan during the Tokugawa period, only the special causes operating at that time must be considered and not those general causes that still continue to operate. In this connection I may add that I have neglected to consider a point on which further investigation might be spent, namely, the relative amount of prostitution in the Tokugawa period as compared with that at the present time. Certainly during the last century of the Tokugawa régime sexual morality was at a very low ebb in Japan, at least in the large cities. Prostitution was practised far more openly and widely than it is at the present time. Luxury and effeminacy prevailed among nearly all classes of birth and wealth. I have been told by a Japanese who is well versed in all matters pertaining to the ancient régime that many of the *Hatamoto* class (special vassals of nobility attached to the Shōgun) had become so effeminate at the end of the Tokugawa period that they could neither walk nor ride. Another proof of the moral decline of Japan at this time is furnished by the extraordinary growth of pornographic pictures. Nearly all the later members of the *Ukiyo-ye* school, such as Toyokuni, Hiroshige, Eisan, Utamaro and Hokusai, unquestionably men of the finest artistic ability, indulged more or less in this demoralizing business. Some of the scenes printed on the *Nishiki-ye*, as for instance those of the *Ryogoku-bashi*, give a vivid picture of the prevalence of the prostitute class. A great improvement has taken place in this respect in Japan. Mr. Chamberlain in his *Things Japanese* gives other instances of improvement in at least the outward morals and manners of the Japanese, since the introduction of Western standards. How far this sexual demoralization of the Tokugawa period retarded, and how far the modern advance has stimulated the growth of population is a matter I must leave to better judges than myself.

Curtis.

THREE POPULAR BALLADS.

[*Read October 17, 1894.*]

By Lafcadio Hearn.

I.

During the spring of 1891, I paid several visits to the settlement in Matsue, Izumo, of an outcast people known as the *Yama-no-mono*. Some results of that visit were subsequently communicated to the *Japan Weekly Mail*, in a letter published June 13th, 1891,—and some extracts from that letter I think it may be worth while to cite here, by way of introduction to the subject of the present paper.

"The settlement is at the southern end of Matsue, in a tiny valley, or rather hollow among the ring of hills which form a half-circle behind the city. Few Japanese of the better classes have ever visited such a village; and even the poorest of the common people shun the place as they would shun a centre of contagion,—for the idea of defilement, both moral and physical, is still attached to the very name of its inhabitants. Thus, although the pariah settlement is within half-an-hour's walk from the heart of the city, probably not half-a-dozen of all the thirty-six thousand residents of Matsue have visited it.

"There are four distinct outcast classes in Matsue and its environs:—the *Hachiya*, the *Koya-no-mono*, the *Yama-no-Mono*, and the *Eta*, of Suguta.

"There are two settlements of *Hachiya*. These were formerly the public executioners, and served under the police in various capacities. Although by ancient law the lowest class of pariahs, their intelligence was sufficiently cultivated by police service and by contact with superiors, to elevate them in popular opinion above the other outcasts. They are now manufacturers of bamboo cages and baskets. They are said to be descendants of the family and retainers of Taira-no-Masakado-Heishino, the only man in Japan who ever seriously conspired to seize the imperial crown by armed force, and who was killed by the famous general Taira-no-Sadamori.

"The *Koya-no-Mono* are slaughterers and dealers in hides. They are never allowed to enter any house in Matsue except the shop of a dealer in *geta* and other foot-gear. Originally vagrants, they were permanently settled in Matsue by some famous Daimyo, who built for them small houses—*koya*—on the bank of the canal. Hence their name. As for the *Eta* proper, their condition and calling are too familiar to need any remarks from me.

"The *Yama-no-Mono* are so called because they live among the hills (*yama*) at the southern end of Matsue. They have a monopoly of the rag-and-waste paper business; and are buyers of all sorts of refuse, from old bottles to broken down machinery. Some of them are rich. Indeed, the whole class is, compared with other outcast classes, prosperous. Nevertheless public prejudice against them is still almost as strong as in the years previous to the abrogation of the special laws concerning them. Under no conceivable circumstances could any of them obtain employment as servants. Their prettiest girls in old times often became *jorō*; but at no time could they enter a *jorōya* in any neighbouring city, much less in their own, so they were sold to establishments in remote places. A *yama-no-mono* to-day could not even become a *kurumaya*. He could not obtain employment as a com-

mon labourer in any capacity, except by going to some distant city where he could conceal his origin. But if detected under such conditions he would run serious risk of being killed by their comrade labourers. Under any circumstance it would be difficult for a *yama-no-mono* to pass himself off for a *heimin*. Centuries of isolation and prejudice have fixed and moulded the manners of the class in recognizable ways; and even its language has become a special and curious dialect.

"I was anxious to see something of a class so singularly situated and specialized; and I had the good fortune to meet a Japanese gentleman who, although belonging to the highest class of Matsue, was kind enough to agree to accompany me to their village, where he had never been himself. But on our way thither he told me many curious things about the *yama-no-mono*. In feudal times these people had been kindly treated by the *samurai*; and they were often allowed or invited to enter the courts of *samurai* dwellings to sing and dance, for which performances they were paid. The songs and the dances with which they were able to entertain even those aristocratic families were known to no other people, and were called *Daikoku-mai*. Singing of the *Daikoku-mai* was, in fact, the special hereditary art of the *yama-no-mono*, and represented their highest comprehension of esthetic and emotional matters. In former times they could not obtain admittance to a respectable theatre; and, like the *hachiya*, had theatres of their own. It would be interesting, my friend added, to learn the origin of their songs and their dances. For their songs are not in their own special dialect, but in pure Japanese. And that they should be able to preserve this oral literature without deterioration is all the more remarkable from the fact that the *yama-no-mono* have always been totally uneducated. Even to-day they cannot avail themselves of those new educational opportunities the era of Meiji has given to

the masses ;—prejudice is still far too strong to allow of their children being happy in a public school. A small special school might be possible, though there would perhaps be no small difficulty in obtaining willing teachers.[1]

"The hollow in which the village stands is immediately behind the Buddhist cemetery of Tokōji. The settlement has its own little Shintō temple. I was extremely surprised at the aspect of the place ; for I had expected to see a good deal of ugliness and filth. On the contrary, I saw a multitude of neat dwellings, with pretty little gardens about them, and pictures on the walls of the rooms. There were many trees ; the village was green with shrubs and plants, and picturesque to an extreme degree ; for, owing to the irregularity of the ground, the tiny streets climbed up and down hill at all sorts of angles, the loftiest street being fifty or sixty feet above the lowermost. A large public bath house and a public laundry bore evidence that the *yama-no-mono* love clean linen as well as their *heimin* neighbours on the other side of the hill.

"A crowd soon gathered to look at the two visitors who had come to their village—a rare event for them. The faces about me seemed much like the faces of the *heimin*, except that I fancied the ugly ones were much uglier, making the pretty ones appear more pretty by contrast. There were one or two sinister faces,—recalling faces of gipsies that I had seen ;—while some little girls, on the other hand, had remarkably pleasing soft features. There were no exchanges of civilities as upon meeting *heimin* ;—a Japanese of the better class would as soon

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[1] Since the time this letter to the *Mail* was written, a primary school was actually established for the *yama-no-mono*,—through the benevolence of Matsue citizens superior to prejudice. The undertaking did not escape severe local criticism, but it seems to have proved successful.

think of taking off his hat to a *yama-no-mono* as a West-Indian planter would think of bowing to a negro. The *yama-no-mono* themselves show by their attitude that they expected no forms, and they pay no greeting. Not the men at least; some of the women, on being addressed, made an obeisance, and thanked my companion for certain kindness as nicely as any of the common people could have done. Other women—weaving coarse straw sandals (an inferior quality of *zōri*)—would answer only 'yes' or 'no' to questions, and seemed to be suspicious of us. My friend also called my attention to the fact that the women dress differently from other Japanese women of the lower classes. For example, even among the very poorest *heimin* there are certain accepted laws of costume; there are certain colours which may or may not be worn according to the age of the person. But even elderly women among these people wear *obi* of bright red or variegated hues, and *kimono* of a showy tint. Those of the women seen in the city streets, selling or buying, are the elders only. The younger stay at home. The elderly women always go into town with large baskets of a peculiar shape, by which the fact that they are *yama-no-mono* is at once known. Numbers of these baskets were visible—principally at the doors of the smaller dwellings. They are carried on the back, and are used to contain all that the *yama-no-mono* buy:—old paper, old wearing apparel, bottles, broken glass, and scrap-metal.

"A kindly-faced middle-aged woman at last ventured to invite us to her house, to look at some old coloured prints she wished to sell. Thither we went; and were as nicely received as in a *heimin* residence. The pictures—including a number of drawings by Hiroshige, proved to be worth buying; and my friend then asked if we could have the pleasure of hearing the *Daikoku-mai*. To my great satisfaction the proposal was joyfully received; and on our agreeing to pay a trifle to each singer, a small band

of neat-looking young girls whom we had not seen before, made their appearance, and prepared to sing while an old woman made ready to dance. Both the old woman and the girls provided themselves with curious instruments for the performance. One or two had instruments shaped like mallets, made of paper and bamboo; these were intended to represent the hammer of *Daikoku*; they were held in the left hand, a fan being waved in the right. Other girls were provided with a kind of castanets,—two flat pieces of hard dark wood, connected by a string, and sounded by rapid tapping with the fingers. Six formed in a line before the house. The faces of all were both pleasing and characteristic. The old woman took her place facing the girls, holding in her hands two little sticks,—one stick being notched along a part of its length. By drawing it rapidly across the other stick, a curious rattling noise was made.

"My friend pointed out to me that the singers formed two distinct parties—of three each; and these carried different instruments and emblems. Those bearing the hammer and fan were the *Daikoku* band:—these sung the song proper,—the verses of the ballads. Those with the castanets were the Ebisu party, and formed the chorus.

"The old woman rubbed her little sticks together, and from the throats of the three girls representing the *Daikoku* band, there rang out a clear and really sweet burst of song, quite different from anything I had ever heard before, while the three castanets kept exact time to the syllabification of the words, which were very rapidly uttered. When these three girls had sung a certain number of lines, the voices of the other three women joined in, producing a very pleasant, though, of course, untrained harmony; and all sang the burthen together. Then the *Daikoku* party began again alone another verse; and the first performance was reiterated. In the meanwhile

the old woman was dancing a very fantastic dance which elicited hearty laughter from the crowd, and occasionally chanting a few comic words.

"The song was not comic, however, itself; but a pathetic ballad entitled *Yaoya-O-Shichi*. Yaoya O Shichi was a beautiful girl who, many hundred years ago in Kyōto, set fire to her own house in order to obtain another meeting with her lover, residing in a temple where she expected that her family would be obliged to take refuge after the fire. But being detected and convicted of the terrible crime of arson, she was condemned by the severe law of that age to be burnt alive. The sentence was carried into effect; but the youth and beauty of the victim, and the motive of her offence, evoked a sympathy in the popular heart which found later expression in song and drama.

"While singing, none of the performers, except the old woman, lifted their feet from the ground—only slightly swaying their bodies in time to the melody. The singing lasted more than one hour—during which the voices never failed in their sweet fresh quality; and yet so far from being weary of it, and although I could not understand a word uttered, I felt very sorry when it was all over. One could listen to such singing all day. Certainly no singing I ever heard from the *geisha* could compare in charm with this simple ballad-singing of a despised outcast class. And with the pleasure of it there came to the foreign listener also a strong sense of sympathy for the young singers—victims of a prejudice so ancient that its origin is no longer known."

II.

The foregoing extracts from my letter to the *Mail* tell the history of my interest in the *Daikoku-mai*. During the following year I was able to procure, through the kindness of my friend Nishida Sentaro, Esq., written copies

of three of the ballads as sung by the *yama-no-mono*; and translations of these were afterwards made for me. I now venture to offer my free prose renderings of them,—based on the translations referred to,—as examples of folk-song not devoid of interest. The renderings are not literal—though as nearly literal as I could make them, with the help of Japanese translators. An absolutely literal rendering, executed with the utmost care, and amply supplied with explanatory notes, would be, of course, more worthy the attention of this learned society. Such a version would, however, require a knowledge of Japanese which I do not possess,—as well as much time and patient labor. Were the texts in themselves of value sufficient to justify a scholarly translation, I should not have attempted any translation at all; but feeling convinced that their only interest was of a sort which could not be much diminished by a free and easy treatment, I presumed to undertake a simple prose version. From any purely literary point of view, the texts are disappointing,—exhibiting no great power of imagination, and nothing at all worthy to be called poetical art. While reading such verses we find ourselves very far away indeed from the veritable poetry of Japan, from those compositions which, with a few chosen syllables only, can either create a perfect colored picture in the mind, or bestir the finest sensations of memory with such marvellous penetrative delicacy. No: the *Daikoku-mai* are extremely crude; and their long popularity has been due, I fancy, rather to the very interesting manner of singing them than to any quality which could permit us to compare them for a moment with the old English ballads.

The legends upon which these chants were based still exist in many other forms,—including dramatic compositions. I need scarcely refer to the vast number of artistic suggestions which they have given; but I may

observe that their influence in this regard has not yet passed away. Only a few months ago, I saw a number of pretty cotton prints, fresh from the mill, picturing Oguri Hangwan making the horse Oni-kage stand upon a chessboard. Whether the versions of the ballads I obtained in Izumo were composed there or elsewhere, I am quite unable to say; but the stories of *Shintoku Maru*, *Oguri-Hangwan*, and *Yaoya-O-Shichi* are certainly well-known in every part of Japan.

Together with these prose translations, I submit to the Society the original texts,—to which are appended some notes of interest about the local customs connected with the singing of the *Daikoku-mai*, about the symbols used by the dancers, and about the comic phrases chanted at intervals during the performances,—phrases of which the coarse humor forbids any English rendering.

All the ballads are written in the same measure,—exemplified by the first four lines of *Yaoya-O-Shichi*.

Koe ni yoru ne no, aki no shika
Tsuma yori miwoba kogasu nari
Go-nin musume no sannō de
Iro mo kawasanu Edo-zakura.

The chorus, or *hayashi*, does not seem to be sung at the end of a fixed number of lines, but rather at the termination of certain parts of the recitative. There is also no fixed limit to the number of singers in either band: these may be very many or very few. I think that the curious Izumo way of singing the *Daikoku-mai*—so that the same vowel-sound in the word "*iya*" uttered by one band, and in the word "*sorei*" uttered by the other, are made to blend together,—might be worth the attention of some one interested in Japanese folk-music. Indeed I am convinced that a very delightful and wholly unexplored field of study offers itself in Japan to the student of folk-lore music and popular chants. The songs of the *Hōnen-odori*, or harvest dances,

with their queer burdens,—the chants of the *Bon-odori*, which differ in every district,—the strange snatches of song, often sweet, often weird, that one hears from the rice-fields, or the mountain slopes of remote provinces,—have qualities totally different from those we are accustomed to associate with the idea of Japanese music,—a charm indisputable even for Western ears, because not less in harmony with the Nature inspiring it than the song of a bird or the shrilling of *semi* or any of the rhythmic voices of the land. To reproduce such melodies, with their very curious fractional tones, would be no easy task, but I cannot help believing that it would fully repay the labor. Not only do they represent a very ancient, perhaps primitive musical sense: they represent also something essentially characteristic of the race; —and there is surely much to be learned in the course of time from the comparative study of such folk-music.

The fact, however, that none of those peculiarities which give so strange a charm to the old peasant-chants, are noticeable in the Izumo manner of singing the *Daikoku-mai*, would perhaps indicate that the latter are comparatively quite modern.

THE BALLAD OF SHŪNTOKU MARU.

"*Ara!—Joyfully young Daikoku and Ebisu enter dancing.*"

Shall we tell a tale, or shall we utter felicitations? A tale: then of what is it best that we should tell? Since we are bidden to your august house to relate a story, we shall relate the story of Shūntoku.

Surely there once lived, in the Province of Kawachi, a very rich man called Nobuyoshi. And his eldest son was called Shūntoku-maru.

When Shūntoku-Maru, that eldest son, was only three years old, his mother died. And when he was five years old, there was given to him a stepmother.

When he was seven years old his stepmother gave birth to a son who was called Otowaka-Maru. And the two brothers grew up together.

When Shūntoku became sixteen years old, he went to Kyōto, to the Temple of Tenjin-Sama, to make offerings to the God.

There he saw a thousand people going to the temple, and a thousand returning, and a thousand remaining: There was a gathering of three thousand persons.[2]

Through that multitude the youngest daughter of a rich man called Hagagiyama was being carried to the temple in a *kago*.[3] Shūntoku also was travelling in a *kago*; and the two *kago* moved side by side along the way.

Gazing on the girl, Shūntoku fell in love with her. And the two exchanged looks and letters of love.

All this was told to the stepmother of Shūntoku, by a servant that was a flatterer.

Then the stepmother began to think that should the youth remain in his father's home, the storehouses east and west and the graineries north and south, and the house that stood in the midst, could never belong to Otowaka-Maru.

Therefore she devised an evil thing, and spoke to her husband, saying:—"Sir, my lord, may I have your honored permission to be free for seven days from the duties of the household."

Her husband answered:—"Yes, surely; but what is it that you wish to do for seven days?" She said to him:—"Before being wedded to my lord, I made a vow to the August Deity of Kiyomidzu; and now I desire to go to the temple to fulfil that vow."

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[2] These numbers simply indicate a great multitude in the language of the people: they have no exact significance.

[3] *Kago*,—a kind of *palanquin*.

Said the master :—"That is well. But which of the manservants or maidservants would you have to go with you?" Then she made reply :—"Neither manservant nor maidservant do I require : I wish to go all alone."

And without paying heed to any advice about her journey, she departed from the house, and made great haste to Kyōto.

Reaching the quarter Sanjō in the city of Kyōto she asked the way to the street Kajiyamachi, which is the Street of the Smiths. And finding it she saw the smithies side by side.

Going to the middle one, she greeted the smith, and asked him :—"Sir smith, can you make some fine small work in iron?" And he answered :—"Aye, lady—that I can."

Then she said :—"Make me, I pray you, nine and forty nails without heads." But he answered :—"I am of the seventh generation of a family of smiths ;—yet never did I hear till now of nails without heads, and such an order I cannot take. It were better that you should ask elsewhere."

"Nay," said she : "Since I came first to you, I do not want to go elsewhere. Make them for me, I pray, Sir smith." He answered :—"Of a truth, if I make such nails, I must be paid a thousand *ryō*."[4]

She replied to him :—"If you make them all for me, I care nothing whether you desire one thousand or two thousand *ryō*. Make them, I beseech you, Sir smith." Thus the smith could not well refuse to make the nails.

He arranged all things conformably to honor the God of the Bellows.[5] Then taking up his first hammer

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[4] The ancient *ryō* or tael had a value approximating that of the dollar of 100 *sen*.

[5] Fuigo Sama, deity of smiths.

he recited the Kongō-Sutra;[6] taking up his second he recited the Kwannon-Sutra;—taking up his third he recited the Amida-Sutra,—because he feared those nails might be used for a wicked purpose.

So in sorrow he finished the nails. Then was the woman much pleased. And receiving the nails in her left hand, she paid the money to the smith with her right,—and bade him farewell, and went upon her way.

When she was gone, then the smith thought:—"Surely I have in gold *koban*[7] the sum of a thousand *ryō*. But this life of ours is only as the resting-place of a traveller journeying; and I must show to others some pity and kindness. To those who are cold I will give clothing, and to those who are hungry, I will give food."

And by announcing his intention in writings[8] set up at the boundaries of provinces and at the limits of villages, he was able to show his benevolence to many people.

On her way the woman stopped at the house of a painter, and asked the painter to paint for her a picture.

And the painter questioned her, saying:—"Shall I paint you the picture of a very old plum-tree, or of an ancient pine?"

She said to him:—"No: I want neither the picture of an old plum-tree nor of an ancient pine. I want the picturé of a boy of sixteen years, having a stature of five feet, and two moles upon his face."

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[6] "Diamond Sutra." The curious intermingling of Buddhist and of Shintō ideas in these ballads illustrates how the two faiths had became interblended and confused in popular fancy.

[7] *Koban*. A gold coin. There were *koban* of a great many curious shapes and designs. The most common form was a flat or oval disk, stamped with Chinese characters. Some *koban* were fully five inches in length by four in width.

[8] Public announcements are usually written upon small wooden tablets attached to a post; and in the country such announcements are still set up just as suggested in the ballad.

"That," said the painter, "will be an easy thing to paint." And he made the picture in a very little time. It was much like Shūntoku-Maru; and the woman rejoiced as she departed.

With that picture of Shūntoku she hastened to Kiyomidzu; and she pasted the picture upon one of the pillars in the rear of the temple.

And with forty-seven out of the forty-nine nails she nailed the picture to the pillar; and with the two remaining nails she nailed the eyes.

Then feeling assured that she had put a curse upon Shūntoku, that wicked woman went home. And she said humbly, "I have returned"; and she pretended to be faithful and true.

Now three or four months after the stepmother of Shūntoku had thus invoked evil upon him he became very sick. Then that stepmother secretly rejoiced.

And she spoke cunningly to Nobuyoshi her husband, saying: "Sir, my lord, this sickness of Shūntoku seems to be a very bad sickness; and it is difficult to keep one having such sickness in the house of a rich man."

Then Nobuyoshi was much surprised and sorrowed greatly; but, thinking to himself that indeed it could not be helped, he called Shūntoku to him, and said:—

"Son, this sickness which you have seems to be leprosy; and one having such a sickness cannot continue to dwell in this house.

"It were best for you, therefore, to made a pilgrimage through all the provinces in the hope that you may be healed by divine influence.

"And my storehouses and my graineries I will not give to Otowaka-maru, but only to you, Shūntoku—so you must come back to us."

Poor Shūntoku, not knowing how wicked his stepmother was, besought her in his sad condition, saying :—"Dear mother, I have been told that I must go forth and wander as a pilgrim.

"But now I am blind, and I cannot travel without difficulty. I would be content with one meal a day in place of three, and glad for permission to live in a corner of some store-room or outhouse,—but I should like to remain somewhere near my home.

"Will you not please permit me to stay, if only for a little time? Honored mother, I beseech you, let me stay."

But she answered :—"As this trouble which you now have is only the beginning of the bad disease, it is not possible for me to suffer you to stay. You must go away from the house at once."

Then Shūntoku was forced out of the house by the servants, and into the yard, sorrowing greatly.

And the wicked stepmother, following, cried out :—"As your father has commanded, you must go away at once, Shūntoku."

Shūntoku answered :—"See, I have not even a travelling-dress. A pilgrim's gown and leggings I ought to have, —and a pilgrim's wallet for begging."

At hearing these words, the wicked stepmother was glad ; and she at once gave him all that he required.

Shūntoku received the things, and thanked her, and made ready to depart, even in his piteous state.

He put on the gown and hung a wooden *mamori* (charm) upon his breast,[9] and he suspended the wallet about his neck.

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[9] See Professor Chamberlain's *Notes on some Minor Japanese Religious Preachers*, for full details of pilgrimages and pilgrim costumes, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* (1893). The paper is excellently illustrated.

He put on his straw sandals, and fastened them tightly, and took a bamboo staff in his hand and placed a hat of woven rushes upon his head.

And saying:—"Farewell, father:—farewell, mother:—" poor Shūntoku started on his journey.

Sorrowfully Nobuyoshi accompanied his son a part of the way, saying:—"It cannot be helped, Shūntoku. But if, through the divine favour of those august deities to whom that charm is dedicated, your disease should become cured, then come back to us at once, my son."

Hearing from his father these kind words of farewell, Shūntoku felt much happier, and covering his face with the great rush hat so as not to be known to the neighbors, he went on alone.

But in a little while,—finding his limbs so weak that he was afraid he could not go far, and feeling his heart always drawn back toward his home, so that he could not help often stopping, and turning his face thither,—he soon became sad again.

Since it would have been difficult for him to enter any dwelling, he had often to sleep under pine trees or in the forests; but sometimes he was lucky enough to find shelter in some wayside shrine containing images of the Gods.

And once in the darkness of the morning, before the breaking of the day, in the hour when the crows first begin to fly abroad and cry, the dead mother of Shūntoku came to him in a dream.

And she said to him:—"Son, your affliction has been caused by the witchcraft of your wicked stepmother. Go now to the divinity of Kiyomidzu, and beseech the Goddess that you may be healed."

Shūntoku arose, wondering, and took his way toward the city of Kyōto, toward the temple of Kiyomidzu.

One day, as he travelled, he went to the gate of the house of a rich man named Hagiyama, crying out loudly, "Alms!—alms!"

Then a maidservant of the house, hearing the cry, came out and gave him food, and laughed aloud, saying:—"Who could help laughing at the idea of trying to give anything to so comical a pilgrim?"

Shūntoku asked:—"Why do you laugh? I am the son of a rich and well-famed man, Nobuyoshi of Kawachi. But because of a malediction invoked upon me by my wicked stepmother, I have become as you see me."

Then Otohime, a daughter of that family, hearing the voices, came out and asked the maid:—"Why did you laugh?"

The servant answered:—"O my lady, there was a blind man from Kawachi, who seemed about twenty years old, clinging to the pillar of the gate, and loudly crying 'Alms! alms.'

"So I tried to give him some clean rice upon a tray; but when I held out the tray toward his right hand he advanced his left; and when I held out the tray toward his left hand, he advanced his right: that was the reason I could not help laughing."

Hearing the maid explaining thus to the young lady, the blind man became angry and said:—"You have no right to despise strangers. I am the son of a rich and well-famed man in Kawachi and I am called Shūntoku-maru."

Then the daughter of that house, Otohime, suddenly remembering him, also became quite angry, and said to the servant:—"You must not laugh rudely. Laughing at others to-day, you might be laughed at yourself to-morrow."

But Otohime had been so startled that she could not help trembling a little, and retiring to her room she suddenly fainted away.

Then in the house all was confusion: and a doctor was summoned in all haste. But the girl, being quite unable to take any medicine, only became weaker and weaker.

Then many famous physicians were sent for; and they consulted together about Otohime; and they decided at last that her sickness had been caused only by some sudden sorrow.

So the mother said to her sick daughter: "Tell me, without concealment, if you have any secret grief: and if there be anything you want, whatever it be, I will try to get it for you."

Otohime replied:—"I am very much ashamed; but I will tell you what I wish.

"The blind man who came here the other day was the son of a rich and well-famed citizen of Kawachi, called Nobuyoshi.

"At the time of the festival of Tenjin at Kitano in Kyoto, I met that young man there, on my way to the temple; and we then exchanged letters of love, pledging ourselves to each other.

"And therefore I very much wish that I may be allowed to travel in search of him, until I find him, wherever he may be."

The mother kindly made answer:—"That, indeed, will be well. If you wish for a *kago*, you may have one; or if you would like to have a horse, you can have one.

"You can chose any servant you like to accompany you: and I can let you have as many *koban* as you desire."

Otohime answered:—"Neither horse nor *kago* do I need, nor any servant; I need only the dress of a pilgrim, leggings and gown, and a mendicant's wallet."

For Otohime held it her duty to set out by herself all alone, just as Shūntoku had done.

So she left home, saying farewell to her parents, with eyes full of tears: scarcely could she find voice to utter the word "goodbye."

Over mountains and mountains she passed, and again over mountains; hearing only the cries of wild deer, and the sound of torrent-water.

Sometimes she would lose her way; sometimes she would pursue alone a steep and difficult path: always she journeyed sorrowing.

At last she saw before her—far, far away—the pine-tree called *Kawama-matsu*, and the two rocks called *Ota*;[10] and when she saw those rocks, she thought of Shūntoku with love and hope.

Hastening on, she met five or six persons going to Kumano; and she asked them:—"Have you not met on your way a blind youth, about sixteen years old?"

They made answer,—"No, not yet; but should we meet him anywhere we shall tell him whatever you wish."

This reply greatly disappointed Otohime; and she began to think that all her efforts to find her lover might be in vain; and she became very sad.

At last she became so sad that she resolved not to try to find him in this world any more, but to drown herself at once in the pool of Sawara, that she might be able to meet him in a future state.

She hurried there as fast as she could. And when she reached the pond, she fixed her pilgrim's-staff in the ground, and hung her outer robe on a pine tree, and threw away her wallet, and, loosening her hair, arranged it in the style called *Shimada*.[11]

Then, having filled her sleeves with stones, she was about to leap into the water, when there appeared

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[10] One meaning of "Ota" in Japanese is "has met" or "have met."

suddenly before her a venerable man of seemingly not less than eighty years, robed all in white, and bearing a tablet in his hand.

And the aged man said to her :—" Be not thus in haste to die, Otohime ! Shūntoku whom you seek is at Kiyomidzu San : go thither and meet him."

These were, indeed, the happiest tidings she could have desired : and she became at once very happy. And she knew she had thus been saved by the august favour of her guardian deity, and that it was the god himself who had spoken to her those words.

So she cast away the stones she had put into her sleeves, and donned again the outer robe she had taken off, and rearranged her hair, and took her way in all haste to the temple of Kiyomidzu.

At last she reached the temple. she ascended the three lower steps, and glancing beneath a porch she saw her lover Shūntoku lying there asleep, covered with a straw mat ;—and she called to him, " *Moshi ! moshi !*" [12]

Shūntoku, thus being suddenly awakened, seized his staff which was lying by his side, and cried out :—" Every day the children of this neighborhood come here and annoy me, because I am blind ! "

Otohime, hearing these words, and feeling great sorrow, approached and laid her hands on her poor lover, and said to him :—

" I am not one of those bad mischievous children ;—I

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[11] The simple style in which the hair of dead women is arranged. See chapter " Of Women's Hair " in *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*.

[12] An exclamation uttered to call the attention of another to the presence of the speaker,—from the respectful verb *moshi* " to say." Our colloquial " say ! " does not give the proper meaning. Our " please " comes nearer to it.

am the daughter of the wealthy Hagiyama. And because I promised myself to you at the festival of Kitano Tenjin in Kyōto, I have come here to see you."

Astonished at hearing the voice of his sweetheart, Shūntoku rose up quickly, and cried out :—" Oh ! are you really Otohime ? It is a long time since we last met—but this is so strange !—is it not all a lie ? "

And then, stroking each other, they could only cry, instead of speaking.

But presently Shūntoku, giving way to the excitement of his grief, cried out to Otohime :—" A malediction has been laid upon me by my stepmother,—and my appearance has been changed as you see :—

" Therefore never can I be united to you as your husband. Even as I now am,—so must I remain until I fester to death :—

" And so you must go back home at once, and live in happiness and splendour."

But she answered in great sorrow :—" Nay ! Are you really in earnest ? Are you truly in your right senses ?

" No, no ! I have disguised myself thus only because I loved you enough even to give my life for you :—

" And now I will never leave you—no matter what may become of me in the future."

Shūntoku was comforted by these words ;—but he was also filled with pity for her, so that he wept, without being able to speak a word.

Then she said to him :—" Since your wicked stepmother bewitched you only because you were rich, I am not afraid to revenge you by bewitching her also ;—for I, too, am the child of a rich man."

And then, with her whole heart she spoke thus to the divinity within the temple :—

" For the space of seven days and seven nights I shall remain fasting in this temple, to prove my vow ;—and if thou hast any truth and pity, I beseech thee to save us.

"For so great a building as this, a thatched roof is not the proper roof. I will re-roof it with feathers of little birds; and the ridge of the roof I with cover with thigh-feathers of falcons.

"This *torii* and these lanterns of stone are ugly: I will erect a *torii* of gold; and I will make a thousand lamps of gold and a thousand of silver; and every evening I will light them.

"In so large a garden as this there should be trees. I will plant a thousand *hinoki*, a thousand *sugi*, a thousand *karamatsu*.

"But if Shūntoku should not be healed by reason of this vow, then he and I will drown ourselves together in yonder lotus-pond;—

"And after our death, taking the form of two great serpents, we will torment all who come to worship at this temple, and bar the way against pilgrims."

Now strange to say on the night of the seventh day after she had vowed this vow, there came to her in a dream Kwannon-Sama, who said to her:—"The prayer which you prayed I shall grant."

Then Otohime awoke and told her dream to Shūntoku and they both wondered. They arose, and went down to the river together, and washed themselves, and worshipped the Goddess.

Then, strange to say, the eyes of blind Shūntoku were fully opened, and his clear sight came back to him, and the disease passed away from him. And both wept because of the greatness of their joy.

Together they sought an inn, and there laid aside their pilgrim-dresses, and rerobed themselves, and hired *kago*, and carriers to bear them home.

Reaching the house of his father, Shūntoku cried out:—"Honored parents, I have returned to you! By

virtue of the written charm upon the sacred tablet, I have been healed of my sickness, as you may see. Is all well with you, honored parents ?"

And Shūntoku's father, hearing, ran out and cried :—"Oh ! how much troubled I have been for your sake !

"Never for one moment could I cease to think of you ;—but now—how glad I am to see you, and the bride you have brought with you !" And all rejoiced together.

But, on the other hand, it was very strange that the wicked stepmother at the same moment became suddenly blind, and that her fingers and her toes began to rot—so that she was in great torment.

Then the bride and the bridegroom said to that wicked stepmother :—"Lo ! the leprosy has come upon you !

"We cannot keep a leper in the house of a rich man. Please to go away at once !

"We shall give you a pilgrim's gown and leggings, a rush hat, and a staff ;—for we have all these things ready here."

Then the wicked stepmother knew that even to save her from death, it could not be helped—because she herself had done so wicked a thing before. Shūntoku and his wife were very glad !—how rejoiced they were !

The stepmother prayed them to allow her only one small meal a day—just as Shūntoku had done ; but Otohime said to the stricken woman :—"We cannot keep you here—not even in the corner of an outhouse. Go away at once !"

Also Nobuyoshi said to his wicked wife :—"What do you mean by remaining here ? How long do you require to go ?"

And he drove her out, and she could not help herself, and she went away crying to hide her face from the sight of the neighbours.

Otowaka led his blind mother by the hand; and together they went to Kyōto, and to the temple of Kiyomidzu.

When they got there they ascended three of the temple-steps, and knelt down, and prayed the Goddess, saying:—"Give us power to cast another malediction!"

But the Goddess suddenly appeared before them, and said: "Were it a good thing that you pray for, I would grant your prayer; but with an evil matter, I will have no more to do.

"If you must die, then die there! And after your death you shall be sent to the hell, and there put into the bottom of an iron cauldron to be boiled."

This is the end of the Story of Shūntoku. With a jubilant tap of the fan we finish so! Joyfully,—joyfully,—joyfully!

THE BALLAD OF OGURI-HANGWAN.

To tell every word of the tale,—this is the story of Oguri Hangwan:—

I.—The Birth.

The famed Takakura Dainagon, whose other name was Kane-ie, was so rich that he had treasure-houses in every direction.

He owned one precious stone that had power over fire, and another that had power over water.

He also had the claws of a tiger extracted from the paws of the living aminal; he had the horns of a colt; and he likewise owned even a musk-cat (*jako-neko*).

Of all that a man might have in this world, he wanted nothing except an heir, and he had no other cause for sorrow.

A trusted servant in his house named Ikenoshōji said at last to him these words :—

" Seeing that the Buddhist deity Tamon-Ten, enshrined upon the holy mountain of Kurama, is famed for his divine favour far and near, I respectfully entreat you to go to that temple and make prayer to him ;—for then your wish will surely be fulfilled."

To this the master agreed, and at once began to make preparation for a journey to the temple.

As he travelled with great speed he reached the temple very soon ; and there, having purified his body by pouring water over it, he prayed with all his heart for an heir.

And during three days and three nights he abstained from all food of every sort. But all seemed in vain.

Wherefore the lord, despairing because of the silence of the God, resolved to perform *harakiri* in the temple, and so to defile the sacred building.

Moreover he resolved that his spirit after his death, should haunt the mountain of Kurama,—to deter and terrify all pilgrims upon the nine-mile path of the mountain.

The delay of even one moment would have been fatal ; but good Ikenoshōji came running to the place just in time, and prevented the *seppuku*.

" O my lord ! " the retainer cried :—" You are surely too hasty in your resolve to die.

" Rather first suffer me to try my fortune, and see if I may not be able to offer up prayer for your sake with more success."

Then after having twenty-one times purified his body, —seven times washing with hot water, seven times with

cold, and yet another seven times washing himself with a bundle of bamboo-grass, he thus prayed to the God :—

"If to my lord an heir be given by the divine favour, then I vow that I will make offering of paving-blocks of bronze wherewith to pave this temple-court ;—

"Also of lanterns of bronze to stand in rows without the temple, and of plating of pure gold and pure silver to cover all the pillars within !"

And upon the third of the three nights which he passed in prayer before the God, Tamon-Ten revealed himself to the pious Ikenoshōji and said to him :—

"Earnestly wishing to grant your petition, I sought far and near for a fitting heir,—even as far as Tenjiku (India) and Kara (China).

"But though human beings are numerous as the stars in the sky or the countless pebbles upon the shore, I was grieved that I could not find of the seed of man one heir that might well be given to your master.

"And at last, knowing not what else to do, I took away by stealth [the spirit ?] of one of the eight children whose father was one of the Shiten-O, residing on the peak Ari-ari, far among the Dandoku mountains. And that child I will give to become the heir of your master."

Having thus spoken, the Deity retired within the innermost shrine. Then Ikenoshōji, starting from his real dream, nine times prostrated himself before the God, and hastened to the dwelling of his master.

Ere long the wife of Takakura Dainagon found herself with child ; and after the ten[13] happy months she bore a son with painless labor.

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[13] That is ten, by the ancient native manner of reckoning time.

It was strange that the infant had upon his forehead, marked quite plainly and naturally, the Chinese character for "rice."

And it was yet more strange to find that in his eyes four Buddhas[14] were reflected.

Ikenoshōji and the parents rejoiced; and the name Ari-waka ("Young Ari") was given the child—after the name of the mountain Ari-ari—on the third day after the birth.

II.—The Banishment.

Very quickly the child grew; and when he became fifteen, the reigning Emperor gave him the name and title of Oguri Hangwan Kane-uji.

When he reached manhood his father resolved to get him a bride.

So the Dainagon looked upon all the daughters of the ministers and high officials, but he found none that he thought worthy to become the wife of his son.

But the young Hangwan, learning that he himself had been a gift to his parents from Tamon-Ten, resolved to pray to that deity for a spouse; and he hastened to the temple of the divinity, accompanied by Ikenoshōji.

There they washed their hands, and rinsed their mouths, and remained three nights without sleep,—passing all the time in religious exercises.

But as they had no companions, the young prince at last felt very lonesome, and began to play on his flute, made of the root of the bamboo-grass.

Seemingly charmed by these sweet sounds, the great serpent that lived in the temple pond came to the entrance

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[14] Shitai-no-mi-Hotoke: literally a four-bodied-august Buddha. The image in the eye is called the Buddha: the idea here expressed seems to be that the eyes of the children reflected four instead of two images. Children of supernatural beings were popularly said to have double-pupils.

of the temple,—transforming its fearful shape into the likeness of a lovely female attendant of the Imperial Court, —and fondly listened to the melody.

Then Kane-uji thought he saw before him the very lady he desired for a wife. And thinking also that she was the one chosen for him by the Deity, he placed the beautiful being in a palanquin and returned to his home.

But no sooner had this happened than a fearful storm burst upon the capital, followed by a great flood; and the flood and the storm both lasted for seven days and seven nights.

The Emperor was troubled greatly by these omens; and he sent for the astrologers that they might explain the causes thereof.

They said in answer to the questions asked of them that the terrible weather was caused only by the anger of the male serpent, seeking vengeance for the loss of its mate—which was no other than the fair woman that Kane-uji had brought back with him.

Whereupon the Emperor commanded that Kane-uji should be banished to the province of Hitachi, and that the transformed female serpent should at once be taken back to the pond upon the mountain of Kurama.

And being thus compelled by Imperial Order to depart, Kane-uji went away to the province of Hitachi, followed only by his faithful retainer,—Ikenoshōji.

III.—The Exchange of Letters.

Only a little while after the banishment of Kane-uji, a travelling merchant, seeking to sell his wares, visited the house of the exiled prince at Hitachi.

And being asked by the Hangwan where he lived, the merchant made answer, saying:—

"I live in Kyōto, in the street called Muromachi, and my name is Goto Sayemon.

"My stock consists of goods of one thousand and eight different kinds which I send to China,—of one thousand and eight kinds which I send to India, and yet another thousand and eight kinds which I sell only in Japan.

"So that my whole stock consists of three thousand and twenty-four different kinds of goods.

"Concerning the countries to which I have already been,—I may answer that I have already made three voyages to India, and three to China;—and this is my seventh journey to this part of Japan."

Having heard these things Oguri Hangwan asked the merchant whether he knew of any young girl who would make a worthy wife,—since he, the prince, being still unmarried desired to find such a girl.

Then said Sayemon:—"In the province of Sagami to the west of us, there lives a rich man called Yokoyama Chōja, who has eight sons.

"Long he lamented that he had no daughter, and he long prayed for a daughter to the August Sun.

"And a daughter was given him; and after her birth, her parents thought it behoved them to give her a higher rank than their own,—because her birth had come to pass through the divine influence of the August Heaven-Shining Deity: so they built for her a separate dwelling.

"She is, in very truth, superior to all other Japanese women; nor can I think of any other person in every manner worthy of you."

This story much pleased Kane-uji; and he at once asked Sayemon to act the part of match-maker for him; and Sayemon promised to do everything in his power to fulfil the wish of the Hangwan.

Then Kane-uji called for inkstone and writing-brush, and wrote a love-letter, and tied it up with such a knot as love-letters are tied with.

And he gave it to the merchant to be delivered to the lady, and he gave him also, in reward for his services, one hundred golden *ryō*.

Sayemon again and again prostrated himself in thanks; and he put the letter into the box which he always carried with him. And then he lifted the box upon his back, and bade the prince farewell.

Now although the journey from Hitachi to Sagami is commonly a journey of seven days, the merchant arrived there at noon upon the third day,—having travelled in all haste, night and day together without stopping.

And he went to the building called Inui-no-Goshyo, which had been built by the rich Yokoyama for the sake of his only daughter Terute-Hime,—in the district of Soba,—in the province of Sagami;—and he asked permission to enter therein.

But the stern gate-keepers bade him go away,—announcing that the dwelling was the dwelling of Terute-Hime, daughter of the famed Chōja Yokoyama; and that no person of the male sex whosoever could be permitted to enter; and further more that guards had been appointed to guard the palace—ten by night and ten by day,—with extreme caution and severity.

But the merchant told the gate-keepers that he was Goto Sayemon, of the street called Muromachi in the city of Kyōto;—that he was a well-famed merchant there, and was by the people called Sendanya;—that he had thrice been to India and thrice to China, and was now upon his seventh return-journey to the great country of the Rising Sun.

And he said also to them:—"Into all the palaces of Nihon, save this one only, I have been freely admitted;—so I shall be deeply grateful to you if you permit me to enter."

Thus saying, he produced many rolls of silk, and presented them to the gate-keepers; and their cupidity

made them blind; and the merchant, without more difficulty, entered rejoicing.

Through the great outer gate he passed, and over a bridge, and then found himself in front of the chambers of the female attendants of the superior class.

And he called out, with a very loud voice :—"O my ladies, all things that you may require I have here with me!

"I have all *jorogata-no-meshi-dogu;* I have hair-combs and needles and tweezers; I have *tategami*, and combs of silver, and *kamoji* from Nagasaki, and even all kinds of Chinese mirrors!"

Whereupon the ladies, delighted with the idea of seeing these things, suffered the merchant to enter their apartment, which he presently made to look like a warehouse of female toilet articles.

But while making bargains and selling very quickly, Sayemon did not lose the good chance offered him; and taking from his box the love-letter which had been confided to him, he said to the ladies :—

"This letter, if I remember rightly, I picked up in some town in Hitachi; and I shall be very glad if you will accept it,—either to use it for a model, if it be written beautifully, or to laugh at if it prove to have been written awkwardly."

Then the chief among the maids, receiving the letter, tried to read the writing upon the envelope,—"*Tsuki ni hoshi*"—"*ame ni arare ga*"—"*kori kana*,"—

Which signified,—"Moon and stars, rain and hail make ice." But she could not read the riddle of the mysterious words.

The other ladies who were also unable to guess the meaning of the words, could not but laugh;—and they laughed so shrilly that the Princess Terute heard, and came among them, fully robed, and wearing a veil over her night-black hair.

And the bamboo-screen having been rolled up before her, Terute-Hime asked:—"What is the cause of all this laughing. If there be anything amusing, I wish that you will let me share in the amusement."

The maids then answered, saying:—"We were laughing only at our being unable to read a letter which this merchant from the Capital says that he picked up in some street. And here is the letter: even the address upon it is a riddle to us."

And the letter, having been laid upon an open crimson fan, was properly presented to the Princess, who received it, and admired the beauty of the writing, and said:—

"Never have I seen so beautiful a hand as this: it is like the writing of Kōbōdaishi himself, or of Monjū Bosatsu.

"Perhaps the writer is one of those princes of the Ichijō, or Nijō, or Sanjō families,—all famed for their skill in writing.

"Or, if this guess of mine be wrong,—then I would say that these characters have certainly been written by Oguri-Hangwan Kane-uji,—now so famed in the Province of Hitachi. . . . I shall read the letter for you."

Then the envelope was removed; and the first phrase she read was "*Fuji no yama*" (the Mountain of Fuji), which she interpreted as signifying loftiness of rank. And then she met with such phrases as these:—

Kiyomidzu kosaka (the name of a place); *arare ni ozasa* (hair on the leaves of the bamboo-grass); *itaya ni arare* (hail following upon a wooden roof);—

Tamoto ni kori (ice in the sleeve); *nonaka ni shimidzu* (pure water running through a moor);—*koike ni makomo* (rushes in a little pond);—

Inoba ni tsuyu (dew on the leaves of the taro); *shakunaga obi* (a very long girdle); *shika ni momiji* (deer and maple-trees);—

Futamata-gawa (a forked river) ;—*hoso tanigawa ni marukibashi* (a round log laid over a little stream for a bridge) ;—*tsurunashi yumi ni hanuke dōri* (a stringless bow, and a wingless bird)."

And then she understood that the characters signified :—

"*Maireba au*"—they should meet when he should call upon her. "*Arare nai*"—then they should not be separated. "*Korobi au*"—they should repose together.

And the meaning of the rest was thus :—

"This letter should be opened within the sleeve, so that others may know nothing of it. Keep the secret in your own bosom.

"You must yield to me even as the rush bends to the wind. I am earnest to serve you in all things.

"We shall surely be united at last whatever chance may separate us at the beginning. I long for you even as the stag for its mate in the autumn.

"Even though long kept apart we shall meet, as meet the waters of a river divided in its upper course into two branches.

"Divine, I pray you, the meaning of this letter, and preserve it. I hope for a fortunate answer. Thinking of Terute Hime, I feel as though I could fly."

And the Princess Terute found at the end of the letter the name of him that wrote it,—Oguri-Hangwan-Kane-uji himself,—together with her own name, as being written to her.

Then she felt greatly troubled,—because she had not at first supposed that the letter was addressed to her, and had without thinking read it aloud to the female attendants.

For she well knew that her father would quickly kill her in a most cruel manner, should the iron-hearted Chōja come to know the truth.

Wherefore through fear of being mingled with the earth of the moor *Uka no ga hara*,—fitting place for a father in wrath to slay his daughter—she set the end of the letter between her teeth, and rent it to pieces, and withdrew to the inner apartment.

But the merchant, knowing that he could not go back to Hitachi without bearing some reply, revolved to obtain one by cunning.

Wherefore he hurried after the Princess even into her innermost apartment, without so much as waiting to remove his sandals, and he cried out loudly:—

"O my Princess! I have been taught that written characters were invented in India by Monjū Bosatsu, and in Japan by Kōbōdaishi.

"And is it not like tearing the hands of Kōbōdaishi, thus to tear a letter written with characters?

"Know you not that a woman is less pure than a man? Wherefore, then, do you, born a woman, thus presume to tear a letter?

"Now if you refuse to write a reply, I shall call upon all the gods,—I shall announce to them this unwomanly act; and I shall invoke their malediction upon you!"

And with these words he took from the box which he always carried with him, a Buddhist rosary; and he began to twist it about with an awful appearance of anger.

Then the Princess Terute, terrified and grieved, prayed him to cease his invocations, and promised that she would write an answer at once.

So her answer was quickly written, and given to the merchant, who was overjoyed by his success, and speedily departed for Hitachi, carrying his box upon his back.

IV.—How Kane-uji became a Bridegroom without his Father-in-law's Consent.

Travelling with great speed the *nakodo* quickly arrived at the dwelling of the Hangwan, and gave the letter

to the master, who removed the cover with hands that trembled for joy.

Very, very short the answer was: only these words,—*Oki naka bune*, "a boat floating in the offing."

But Kane-uji guessed the meaning to be:—"As fortunes and misfortunes are common to all, be not afraid, and try to come unseen."

Therewith he summoned Ikenoshōji, and bade him make all needful preparation for a rapid journey. Goto Sayemon consented to serve as guide.

He accompanied them; and when they reached the district of Soba, and were approaching the house of the princess, the guide said to the prince:—

"That house before us, with the black gate, is the dwelling of the far-famed Yokoyama Chōja; and that other house, to the northward of it, having a red gate, is the residence of the flower-fair Terute.

"Be prudent in all things, and you will succeed." And with these words, the guide disappeared.

Accompanied by his faithful retainer, the Hangwan approached the Red Gate.

Both attemped to enter, when the gatekeepers sought to prevent them; declaring they were much too bold to seek to enter the dwelling of Terute-Hime, only daughter of the renowed Yokoyama Chōja,—the sacred child begotten through the favour of the deity of the Sun.

"You do but right to speak thus," the retainer made reply. "But you must learn that we are officers from the city in search of a fugitive;—

"And it is just because all males are prohibited from entering this dwelling, that a search therein must be made."

Then the guards, amazed, suffered them to pass, and saw the supposed officers of justice enter the court, and many of the ladies in waiting come forth to welcome them as guests.

And the Lady Terute, marvellously pleased by the coming of the writer of that love-letter, appeared before her wooer, robed in her robes of ceremony, with a veil about her shoulders.

Kane-uji was also much delighted at being thus welcomed by the beautiful maiden. And the wedding ceremony was at once performed, to the great joy of both, and was followed by a great wine feast.

So great was the mirth, and so joyful were all, that the followers of the prince and the maids of the princess danced together, and together made music.

And Oguri Hangwan himself produced his flute, made of the root of a bamboo, and began to play upon it sweetly.

Then the father of Terute, hearing all this joyous din in the house of his daughter, wondered greatly what the cause might be.

But when he had been told how the Hangwan had become the bridegroom of his daughter without his consent, the Chōja grew wondrous angry, and in secret devised a scheme of revenge.

V.—The Poisoning.

The next day Yokoyáma sent to Prince Kane-uji a message, inviting him to come to his house there to perform the wine drinking ceremony of greeting each other as father-in-law and son-in-law.

Then the Princess Terute sought to dissuade the Hangwan from going there, because she had dreamed in the night a dream of-ill omen.

But the Hangwan, making light of her fears, went boldly to the dwelling of the Chōja, followed by his young retainers.

Then Yokoyama Chōja, rejoicing, caused many dishes to be prepared containing all delicacies furnished by the mountains and the sea[15] and well entertained the Hangwan.

[15] Or "with all strange flavors of mountain and sea."

At last, when the wine-drinking began to flag, Yokoyama uttered the wish that his guest, the lord Kane-uji, would also furnish some entertainment[16] [according to the custom].

"And what shall it be?" the Hangwan asked. "Truly," replied the Chōja, "I am desirous to see you show your great skill in riding."

"Then I shall ride," the Prince made answer. And presently the horse called Onikage[17] was led out.

That horse was so fierce that he did not seem to be a real horse, but rather a demon or a dragon—so that few dared even to approach him.

But the Prince Hangwan Kane-uji at once loosened the chain by which the horse was fastened, and rode upon him with wondrous ease.

In spite of all his fierceness, Onikage found himself obliged to do everything which his rider wished. All present, Yokoyama and the others, could not speak for astonishment.

But soon the Chōja, taking and setting up a six-folding screen, asked to see the Prince ride his steed upon the upper edge of the screen.

The lord Oguri, consenting, rode upon the top of the screen; and then he rode along the top of an upright *shōji*-frame.

Then a chess-board being set out, he rode upon it, making the horse rightly set his hoof upon the squares of the chess-board as he rode.

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[16] The word is really *sakana*, "fish." It has always been the rule to serve fish with *saké*; and gradually the word "fish" became used for any entertainment given during the wine-party by guests,—such as songs, dances, etc.

[17] Lit. "Demon-deer-hair." The term "deer-hair" only refers to colors. A nearly exact translation of the original characters would be "the Demon chestnut." *Kage* "deer-color," also means "chestnut." A chestnut horse is "*Kage-no-uma*."

And, lastly, he made the steed balance himself upon the frame of an *andon*.[18]

Then, Yokoyama was at a loss what to do, and he could only say, bowing low to the Prince:—"Truly I am grateful for your entertainment;—I am very much delighted."

And the lord Oguri, having attached Onikage to a cherry-tree in the garden, reëntered the apartment.

But Saburō, the third son of the house, having persuaded his father to kill the Hangwan with poisoned wine, urged the Prince to drink *saké* with which there had been mingled the venom of a blue centipede and of a blue lizard and foul water that had long stood in the hollow joint of a severed bamboo.

And the Hangwan and his followers, not suspecting the wine had been poisoned, drank the whole.

Sad to say, the poison entered into their viscera and their intestines; and all their bones burst asunder by reason of the violence of the poison.

Their lives passed from them quickly as dew in the morning from the grass.

And Saburō and his father buried their corpses in the moor of Uwanogahara.

VI.—Cast Adrift.

The cruel Yokoyama thought that it would not do to suffer his daughter to live, after he had thus killed her husband. Therefore he felt obliged to order his faithful servants, Onio and Oniji,[19] who were brothers, to take her far out into the sea of Sagami, and to drown her there.

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[18] A large portable lantern, having a wooden frame and paper sides. There are *andon* of many forms, some remarkably beautiful.

[19] Onio and Oniji, "the King of devils," "the next greatest devil."

And the two brothers, knowing their master was too stormy-hearted to be persuaded otherwise, could do nothing but obey. So they went to the unhappy lady, and told her the purpose for which they had been sent.

Terute-hime was so astonished by her father's cruel decision, that at first she thought all this was a dream from which she earnestly prayed to be awakened.

After a while she said:—"Never in my whole life have I knowingly committed any crime. . . But whatever happen to my own body, I am more anxious than I can say to learn what became of my husband, after he visited my father's house."

"Our master," answered the two brothers,—"becoming very angry at learning that you two had been wedded without his lawful permission, poisoned the young prince according to a plan devised by your brother Saburō."

Then Terute, more and more astonished, invoked, with just cause, a malediction upon her father for his cruelty.

But she was not even allowed time to lament her fate; for Onio and his brother at once removed her garments, and put her naked body into a roll of rush-matting.

When this piteous package was carried out of the house at night, the Princess and her waiting maids bade each other their last farewells, with sobs and cries of grief.

The brothers Onio and Oniji then rowed far out to sea with their pitiful burthen. But when they found themselves alone, then Oniji said to Onio that it were better they should try to save their young mistress.

To this the elder brother at once agreed without difficulty; and both began to think of some plan to save her.

Just at the same time an empty canoe came near them, drifting with the sea-current.

At once the lady was placed in it; and the brothers exclaiming, "That indeed was a good piece of luck," bade their mistress farewell, and rowed back to their master.

VII.—The Lady Yorihime.

The canoe bearing poor Terute was tossed about by the waves for seven days and seven nights, during which time there was much wind and rain. And at last it was discovered by some fishermen who were fishing near Nawoye.

But they thought that the beautiful woman was certainly the spirit that had caused the long storm of many days; and Terute might have been killed by their oars, had not one of the men of Nawoye taken her under his protection.

Now this man, whose name was Murakimi Dayū, resolved to adopt the princess as his daughter,—as he had no child of his own to be his heir.

So he took her to his home, and named her Yorihime, and treated her so kindly that his wife grew jealous of the adopted daughter, and therefore was often cruel to her when the husband was absent.

But being still more angered to find that Yorihime would not go away of her own accord, the evil-hearted woman began to devise some means of getting rid of her forever.

Just at that time the ship of a kidnapper happened to cast anchor in the harbor. Needless to say that Yorihime was secretly sold to this dealer in human flesh.

VIII.—Becoming a Servant.

After this misfortune the unhappy princess passed from one master to another as many as seventy-five

times. Her last purchaser was one Yorudzuya Chōbei, well-known as the keeper of a large *jorōya* in the province of Mino.

When Terute-Hime was first brought before this new master, she spoke meekly to him, and begged him to excuse her ignorance of all refinements and of deportment. And Chōbei then asked her to tell him all about herself, her native place, and her family.

But Terute-Hime thought it would not be wise to mention even the name of her native province,—lest she might possibly be forced to speak of the poisoning of her husband by her own father.

So she resolved to answer only that she was born in Hitachi—feeling a sad pleasure in saying that she belonged to the same province in which the lord Hangwan, her lover, used to live.

"I was born," she said, "in the province of Hitachi; but I am of too low birth to have a family name. Therefore may I beseech you to bestow some suitable name upon me?"

Then Terute-Hime was named Kohagi of Hitachi, and she was told that she would have to serve her master very faithfully in his business.

But this order she refused to obey, and said that she would perform with pleasure any work given her to do, however mean or hard,—but that she would never follow the business of a *jorō*.

"Then," cried Chōbei in anger, "your daily tasks shall be these:—

"To feed all the horses, one hundred in number, that are kept in the stables, and to wait upon all other persons in the house when they take their meals;—

"To dress the hair of the thirty-six *jorō* belonging to this house—dressing the hair of each in the style that best becomes her; and also to fill seven boxes with threads of twisted hemp;—

"Also to make the fire daily in seven furnaces, and to draw water from a spring in the mountains half a mile from here."

Terute knew that neither she, nor any other being alive, could possibly fulfil all the tasks thus laid upon her by this cruel master; and she wept over her misfortune.

But she soon felt that to weep could avail her nothing. So wiping away her tears, she bravely resolved to try what she could do, and then putting on an apron, and tying back her sleeves, she set to work feeding the horses.

The great mercy of the gods cannot be understood; but it is certain that as she fed the first horse, all the others, through divine influence, were fully fed at the same time.

And the same wonderful thing happened when she waited upon the people of the house at meal time, and when she dressed the hair of the girls, and when she twisted the threads of hemp, and when she went to kindle the fire in the furnaces.

But saddest was of all ti to see Terute-Hime, bearing the water buckets upon her shoulders, taking her way to the distant spring to draw water.

And when she saw the reflection of her much-changed face in the water with which she filled her buckets, then indeed she wept very bitterly.

But the sudden remembrance of the cruel Chōbei filled her with exceeding fear, and urged her back in haste to her terrible abode.

But soon the master of the *jorōya* began to see that his new servant was no common woman, and to treat her with a great show of kindness.

IX.—Drawing The Cart.

And now we shall tell what became of Kaue-uji.

The far-famed Yugyō Shōnin, of the temple of Fuji-

sawa in Kagami, who travelled constantly in Japan to preach the law of Buddha in all the provinces, chanced to be passing over the moor Uwanogahara.

There he saw many crows and kites flitting about a grave. Drawing nearer, he wondered much to see a nameless thing, seemingly without arms or legs, moving between the pieces of a broken tombstone.

Then he remembered the old tradition that those who are put to death before having completed the number of years allotted to them in this world, reappear or revive in the form called *Gaki-ami*.

And he thought that the shape before him must be one of those unhappy spirits or *gaki;* and the desire arose in his kindly heart to have the monster taken to the hot springs belonging to the temple of Kumano, and so cause its return to its former human state.

So he had a cart made for the *Gaki-ami*, and he placed the nameless shape in it, and fastened a wooden tablet, inscribed with large characters, to its breast.

And the words of the inscription were these:—"Take pity upon this unfortunate being, and help it upon its journey to the hot springs of the Temple of Kumano.

"Those who draw the cart even a little way, by pulling the rope attached to it, will be rewarded with very great good fortune.

"To draw the cart even one step shall be equal in merit to feeding one thousand priests; and to draw it two steps shall be equal in merit to feeding ten thousand priests;—

"And to draw it three steps shall be equal in merit to causing any dead relation,—father, mother, or husband,—to enter upon the way of Buddhahood."

Thus very soon travellers who travelled that way took pity on the formless one;—some drew the cart several miles; and others were kind enough to draw it for many days together.

And so, after much time, the *Gaki-ami* in its cart appeared before the *jorōya* of Yorodzuya Chōbei; and Kohagi of Hitachi, seeing it, was greatly moved by the inscription.

Then becoming suddenly desirous to draw the cart if even for one day only, and so to obtain for her dead husband the merit resulting from such work of mercy, she prayed her master to allow her three days' liberty that she might draw the cart.

And she asked this for the sake of her parents; for she dared not speak of her husband, fearing the master might become very angry were he to learn the truth.

Chōbei at first refused, declaring in an angry voice that since she had not obeyed his former commands, she should never be allowed to leave the house, even for a single hour.

But Kohagi said to him :—"Lo! master!—the hens go to their nests when the weather becomes cold; and the little birds hie to the deep forest. Even so do men in time of misfortune flee to the shelter of benevolence.

"Surely it is because you are known as a kindly man that the *Gaki-ami* rested awhile outside the fence of this house.

"Now I shall promise to give up even my life for my master and mistress in case of need, providing you will only grant me three days' freedom now."

So at last the miserly Chōbei was persuaded to grant the prayer; and his wife was glad to add even two days more to the time permitted. And Kohagi, thus freed for five days, was so rejoiced that she at once without delay commenced her horrible task.

After having, with much hardship, passed through such places as Fuhanoseki, Musa, Bamba, Samegaye, Ōno, and Suenaga-tōge she reached the famed town of Otsu, in the space of three days.

There she knew that she would have to leave the cart, since it would take her two days to return thence to the province of Mino.

On her long way to Otsu, the only pleasing sights and sounds were the beautiful lilies growing wild by the road side,—the voices of the *hibari* and *shijugara* and all the birds of spring that sang in the trees,—and the songs of the peasant girls who were planting the rice.

But such sights and sounds could please her only a moment; for most of them caused her to dream of other days, and gave her pain by making her recollect the hopeless condition into which she had now fallen.

Though greatly wearied by the hard labor she had undertaken for three whole days, she would not go to an inn. She passed the last night beside the nameless shape, which she would have to leave next day.

"Often have I heard," she thought to herself, "that a *Gaki-ami* is a being belonging to the world of the dead. This one, then, should know something about my dead husband.

"Oh! that this *Gaki-ami* had either the sense of hearing or of sight!—then I could question it about Kane-uji, either by word of mouth, or in writing."

When day dawned above the neighboring misty mountains, Kohagi went away to get an inkstone and a brush; and she soon returned with these to the place where the cart was.

Then, with the brush, she wrote, below the inscription upon the wooden tablet attached to the breast of the *Gaki-ami*, these words:—

"When you shall have recovered and are able to return to your province, pray call upon Kohagi of Hitachi, a servant of Yorodzuya Chōbei of the village of Obaka in the Province of Mino.

"For it will give me much joy to see again the person for whose sake I obtained with difficulty five days' freedom,

three of which I gave to drawing your cart as far as this place."

Then she bade the *Gaki-ami* farewell, and hurried back upon her homeward way,—although she found it very difficult thus to leave the cart alone.

X.—The Revival.

At last the *Gaki-ami* was brought to the hot springs of the famed [*Shintō*] temple of Kumano Gongen, and by the aid of those compassionate persons who pitied its state, was daily enabled to experience the healing effects of the bath.

After a single week the effects of the bath caused the the eyes, nose, ears, and mouth to reappear ;—after fourteen days all the limbs had been fully reformed ;—

And after one-and-twenty days the nameless shape was completely transformed into the real Oguri Hangwan Kane-uji—perfect and handsome as he had been in other years.

When this marvellous change had been effected, Kane-uji looked all about him, and wondered much when and how he had been brought to that strange place.

But through the august influence of the God of Kumano, things were so ordained that the revived Prince could return safely to his home at Nijō in Kyōto, where his parents, the Lord Kane-iye and his spouse, welcomed him with great joy.

Then the August Emperor, hearing all that had happened, thought it a wonderful thing that any of his subjects after having been dead three years, should have thus revived.

And not only did he gladly pardon the fault for which the Hangwan had been banished, but further appointed him to be lord-ruler of the three provinces,—Hitachi, Sagami, and Mino.

XI.—The Interview.

One day Oguri Hangwan left his residence to make a journey of inspection through the provinces of which he had been appointed ruler. And reaching Mino, he resolved to visit Kohagi of Hitachi, and to utter his thanks to her for her exceeding goodness.

Therefore he lodged at the house of Yorodzuya, where he was conducted to the finest of all the guest-chambers, which was made beautiful with screens of gold, with Chinese carpets, with Indian hangings, and with other precious things of great cost.

When the Lord ordered Kohagi of Hitachi to be summoned to his presence, he was answered that she was only one of the lowest menials, and too dirty to appear before him. But he paid no heed to these words, only commanding that she should come at once,—no matter how dirty she might be.

Therefore, much against her will, Kohagi was obliged to appear before the lord, whom she at first beheld through a screen, and saw to be so much like the Hangwan that she felt a start of surprise.

Oguri then asked her to tell him her real name; but Kohagi refused, saying:—"If I may not serve my lord with wine, except on condition of telling my real name, then I can only leave the presence of my lord."

But as she was about to go, the Hangwan called to her:—"Nay, stop a little while. I have a good reason to ask your name, because I am in truth that very *Gaki-ami* whom you so kindly drew last year to Otsu in a cart."

And with these words he produced the wooden tablet upon which Kohagi had written.

Then she was very much moved, and said:—"I am very happy to see you thus recovered. And now I shall gladly tell you all my history,—hoping only that you,

my lord, will tell me something of that ghostly world from which you have come back, and in which my husband, alas! now dwells.

"I was born—(it hurts my heart to speak of former times!)—the only child of Yokoyama Chōja, who dwelt in the district of Soba, in the province of Sagami, and my name was Terute Hime.

"I too well remember, also, having been wedded three years ago, to a famous person of rank whose name was Oguri Hangwan Kane-uji, who used to live in the Province of Hitachi. But my husband was poisoned by my father at the instigation of his own third son, Saburō.

"I myself was condemned by him to be drowned in the sea of Sagami. And I owe my present existence to the faithful servants of my father,—Oniō and Oniji."

Then the lord Hangwan said,—"You see here before you, Terute, your husband Kane-uji. Although killed together with my followers, I had been destined to live in this world many years longer.

"By the learned priest of Fujisawa temple I was saved, and being provided with a cart, I was drawn by many kind persons to the hot springs of Kumano, where I was restored to my former health and shape. And now I have been appointed lord-ruler of the three provinces, and can have all things that I desire."

Hearing this tale, Terute could scarcely believe it was not all a dream; and she wept for joy. Then she said:—"Ah! since last I saw you, what hardships have I not passed through!

"For seven days and seven nights I was tossed about upon the sea in a canoe;—then I was in a great danger in the Bay of Nawoye, and was saved by a kind man called Murakami Dayū.

"And after that I was sold and bought seventy-five times; and the last time was brought here where I have

been made to suffer all kinds of hardship only because I refused to become a *jorō*. That is why you now see me in so wretched a condition."

Very angry was Kane-uji to hear of the cruel conduct of the inhuman Chōbei, and desired to kill him at once.

But Terute besought her husband to spare the man's life, and so fulfilled the promise she had long before made to Chōbei,—that she would give even her own life if necessary for her master and mistress, on condition of being allowed five days' freedom to draw the cart of the *Gaki-ami*.

And for this, Chōbei was really grateful; and in compensation he presented the Hangwan with the hundred horses from his stables, and gave to Terute the thirty-six servants belonging to his house.

And then Terute-hime, appropriately attired, went away with the Prince Kane-uji; and they began their journey to Sagami with hearts full of joy.

XII.—The Vengeance.

This is the district of Soba in the province of Sagami, the native land of Terute: how many beautiful and how many sorrowful thoughts does it recall to their minds.

And here also are Yokoyama and his son who killed Lord Oguri with poison.

So Saburō, the third son, being led to the moor called Totsuka-no-hara, was there punished.

But Yokoyama Chōja, wicked as he had been, was not punished;—because parents must be for their children always like the sun and moon, however bad they may be. And hearing this order, Yokoyama repented very greatly for that which he had done.

Oniō and Oniji, the brothers, were rewarded with many gifts for having saved the Princess Terute off the coast of Sagami.

Thus those who were good prospered, and the bad were brought to destruction.

Fortunate and happy, Oguri-Sama and Terute-Hime, together returned to Miako, to dwell in the residence at Nijō, and their union was beautiful as the blossoming-time of Spring.

Fortunate ! Fortunate !

THE BALLAD OF O-SHICHI, THE DAUGHTER OF THE YAOYA.[20]

In autumn the deer are lured within reach of the hunters by the sounds of the flute, which resemble the sounds of the voices of their mates,—and so are killed.

Almost in like manner, one of the five most beautiful girls in Yedo, whose comely faces charmed all the capital even as the spring-blossoming of cherry trees, cast away her life in the moment of blindness caused by love.

When, having wrought a vain thing, she was brought before the Mayor of the City of Yedo, that high official questioned the young criminal, asking :—"Are you not O-Shichi, the daughter of the *yaoya* ?' And being so young, how came you to commit such a dreadful crime as incendiarism ?"

Then O-Shichi, weeping and wringing her hands, made this answer :—"Indeed that was the only crime that I ever committed ; and I had no extraordinary reason for it, but this :

"Once before, when there had been a great fire—so great a fire that nearly all Yedo was consumed,—our house

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[20] *Yaoya*, a seller of vegetables.

also was burned down. And we three—my parents and I,—knowing no other where to go, took shelter in a Buddhist temple, to remain there until our house could be rebuilt.

"Surely the destiny that draws two young persons to each other is hard to understand! . . In that temple there was a young acolyte, and love grew up between us.

"In secret we met together, and promised never to forsake each other,—and we pledged ourselves to each other by sucking blood from small cuts we made in our little finger, and by exchanging written vows that we should love each other forever.

"Before our pillows had yet become fixed[21] our new house in Hongo was built and made ready for us.

"But from that day when I bade a sad farewell to Kichiza-sama whom I had pledged myself for the time of two existences, never was my heart consoled by even one letter from the acolyte.

"Alone in my bed at night, I used to think and think, and at last in a dream there came to me the dreadful idea of setting fire to the house,—as the only means of again being able to meet my beautiful lover.

"Then, one evening, I got a bundle of dry rushes, and placed inside it some piece of live charcoal, and I secretly put the bundle into a shed at the back of the house.

"A fire broke out, and there was a great tumult, and I was arrested and brought here—oh! how dreadful it was.

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[21] This curious expression can only be understood by help of the fact that lovers are said to exchange pillows. Thus the pillows may be confused. "While the pillows were yet not definite or fixed," would mean, therefore, while the two lovers were still in the habit of seeking each other at night.

"I will never, never commit such a fault again. But whatever happen, O pray save me, my *Bugyō!*—O pray take pity on me!"

Ah! the simple apology! But what was her age?—not twelve?—not thirteen?—not fourteen? Fifteen comes after fourteen. Alas! she was fifteen and could not be saved!

Therefore O-Shichi was sentenced according to the law. But first she was bound with strong cords, and was for seven days exposed to public view on the bridge called Nihonbashi. Ah! what a piteous sight it was!

Her aunts and cousins,—even Bekurai and Kakusuke, the house servants, had often to wring their sleeves,—so wet were their sleeves with tears.

But, because the crime could not be forgiven, O-Shichi was bound to four posts, and fuel was kindled, and the fire rose up! . . . And poor O-Shichi in the midst of that fire.

Even so the insects of summer fly to the flame.

as Vaishnavas affirm the eternal existence of Vishnu. It gives them divine attributes, and ends like Hinduism in polytheism and idolatry."

It is abundantly clear (and I must still acknowledge my indebtedness to the same author) that the historical Buddha did not intend to found a new religion, but a monastic order existing within the old, and distinguished from the old mainly by its greater universality of aim. No new doctrine was propounded—the universality of sorrow, and the desire to escape from it by a life of asceticism and self-devotion which should ultimately lead to union with the universal nothing—all these are clearly to be found in Brahmanical writings. Nay, the very technical terms of philosophical Buddhism—*Bodhi* or enlightenment, *Karma*, *Dharma*, the five *Skandhas*, *Kalpas*, *Moksha*, all come to us from Brahmanism rather than from Buddhism. It was Sakyamuni's intention, not to overthrow the old thoughts, but to make the sound conclusions of philosophical Brahmanism available for the whole population of his country, irrespective of rank and caste. This will account for the comparative ease and rapidity with which Buddhism has disappeared from the land of its birth. The Indian Buddhist under the stress of religious persecution, found in one or other of the Hindoo sects all that he required, or valued, in the way of doctrine or morality. The Buddhist faith therefore was never destroyed by Brahmanism, but completely re-absorbed. And so it comes to pass that whilst India is no longer the home of the Buddhist Church, it still remains, for every true disciple of Sakyamuni, the true Holy Land, the place nearest to Heaven, the place still hallowed by the traditions and doctrines of the Great Teacher of the East.

If it be true that philosophic Buddhism is thus intimately connected with the philosophic Brahmanism which preceded it, it is equally true that the theistic Buddhism of the Northern, or so-called Great Vehicle,

School is similarly connected with the theistic Hinduism out of which it sprang, and especially with that mystic religionism which was ever seeking to find the spiritual truths underlying the popular mythology.

Perhaps a few words on the subject of the "Vehicles" may here be in place. By Vehicle is meant such a body of doctrine as will enable the believer to ride thereon to the perfect consummation of his humanity. It is in other words a "body of saving doctrine." Buddhism knows two, if not three such Vehicles—the Hînayâna, or Small Vehicle, the Mahâyâna, or Great Vehicle, and the Ekayâna, or One Vehicle. The professors of the Hînayâna, generally predominant in Ceylon and Burmah, charge the Mahâyâna teachings with being an illegitimate development of the Great Master's teachings, whilst those who follow the Great Vehicle, and still more those who are enlightened by the superior illumination of the One or True Vehicle, look down upon the Hînayâna as a rudimentary and imperfect Buddhism. It is my belief that all three find a place in the legitimate preachings of Buddhism. I will give my reasons for this belief. It is not given to many teachers to have their sphere of activity extended over a period so long as that which comprises the missionary activity of Sakyamuni. Our Lord's Ministry was barely three years, that of the Buddha was for fifty. It is impossible to think that, during that half century, he did not increase in wisdom and develop in his teachings. He would have been no true man had he not done so. Neither is it credible that his original disciples, during all the long period of his tuition, were not growing day by day in spiritual insight, so that that which satisfied them at the beginning ceased to meet their spiritual requirements even a year after their first conversion. It seems to me therefore but natural to suppose that the teachings of the Bhagavat progressed as time went on, in accordance with the

proportion of faith, both in himself and in his hearers, from the denials and prohibitions of the Smaller Vehicle to the positive assertions and commands of the Great, and through these to the spiritualized truths of the One Vehicle of Universal Teaching.

The earlier teachings of Sakyamuni were in the Pali language, the Prakrit colloquial spoken in the Kingdom of Maghadá, and were addressed entirely to persons who were in the habit of using the language. This may be seen by examining the introductory notices to the various Sutras of the Sutta Nipâta, or of any other of the Hînayâna Sutras. But by degrees the teaching spread beyond the confines of the Kingdom of Magadha, to the larger India outside, and was addressed to persons of a higher rank than those to whom the preaching was first addressed. This necessitated a change in the language. Pali was no longer useful, but Sanskrit. Neither was popular Brahmanism the only rock upon which to base. Sakyamuni and his expositors (for Sakya himself wrote nothing) appealed to the wider constituency of the Sanskrit-using peoples throughout India, and based their appeal not on the philosophic Brahmanism, but on the popular Hinduism of which Buddhism claimed to be the logical development and conclusion.

M. Senart, in an article entitled *La Légende du Buddha*,[2] has an interesting argument to show that all the theological attributes which are ascribed to the Buddha in the writings of the Great Vehicle, are in reality taken from the Hindoo writings, and especially from those which are capable of a spiritualized meaning, such as the Mahâbhârata, the Bhagavadgita, and the Vishnu Purana.

Thus when the Prince Siddhartha was born, the Brahmans, to whose care the marvellous boy is en-

[2] Journal Asiatique, 1874, 7 series, vol. 3.

2. The love of virtue.
3. Patience and firmness.
4. The retired life.

M. Feer, continuing his examination, shows that the spirit of wisdom denotes that special characteristic of the Bodhisativa, without which he cannot attain to perfect enlightenment; that is, the constant desire for the truth. The love of virtue is especially explained in another Sûtra, which gives us the master's reply to Ananda's question. It consists in the abhorrence of evil, and the desire after truth. This Sutra is in Sanskrit *Kalyâna Mitra-Sevanam Sutra*.

The third quality is found, by a comparison of the Sanskrit with the Thibetan, to represent that perfect manliness which is the highest outcome of the sum-total of all the parâmitas, forbearance towards the weak; whilst the fourth precept of the Mahâyâna bears to the fourth precept of the Hînayâna the same relationship that the beatitude, pronounced on the "poor in spirit" in St. Matthew, bears to that on the "poor" in St. Luke.

It will be found that all the precepts given in the Mahâyâna Sutra are very ancient and primitive; and that they all form a part of the personal teachings of Sakyamuni, as they are all to be found in various sutras which are undoubtedly primitive. This tends to the conclusion that the Mahâyâna is not a later production, an unwarrantable and unauthorized development of Sakya's teaching, but that it is all included in his original idea, and is to be explained by his well-known method of preaching the truth to men, according to the proportion of the faith, according as they were able to bear it.

Chapter II.

The life of the Founder of Buddhism does not, in the modern Japanese accounts, differ very much from that of the same personage given in the Tibetan and Chinese

accounts. Both Mr. Beal[3] and Mr. Rockhill[4] have given biographies of the Great Teacher from the point of view of northern Buddhism. There is also an admirable summary of the Life of Shaka (to give him his Japanese name), based on the Japanese work *Shaka Jitsu Roku*, in the Introduction to Messrs. Satow and Hawes' Handbook for Central and Northern Japan.

It would not, however, be right to say that such a book as the *Jitsu Roku* gives us a view of the now current version of Sakyamuni's life. Wherever modern studies have penetrated (and they have penetrated very far in this country), there the fact is recognized that, amongst the many legends connected with the Life of the Founder, there are many which are fabulous; and, in fault of better, they have adopted the criticisms of western scholars, and lay very little stress on any story which would not be endorsed by the scholars of England, France or Germany. The general outlines of this great life are, I presume, known to all my readers, and I shall therefore content myself with a very short summary of its principal features.

According to Japanese chronology, Siddartha, the son of King Suddhodhana, was born in the country of Kapilavastu in Central India in the year B.C. 1027. There are some Japanese, however, who assign B.C. 743 as the year of his birth, whilst foreigners generally place it as late as B.C. 653. It is remarkably strange that there should be such a variety of opinions as to the birth of the founder of so great a system as Buddhism; and, were it not for the well-known indifference to dates which characterizes the Oriental mind, we should be tempted to take this uncertainty as strengthening the conjecture of some Orientalists, that Sakyamuni is not a historical personage, but merely a mythological creation.

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[3] Catena of Chinese Classics. [4] Life of Buddha from the Tibetan.

Many marvels are related, both of his previous births, and of his miraculous conception in the womb of Maya his mother, to whom he came in a dream, entering her womb in the shape of a white and spotless elephant. (In Japanese his father's name is Jōbon Dai Ō, that of his mother Maya Bunin).

A child of marvelous beauty and size, such as became one whose birth had been attended by so many prodigies, he had at three years the appearance of a child of six; had mastered the sciences of astronomy, geography and arithmetic by the time that he was seven; was skilled in archery and fencing;—and, being of great beauty and taller than all his compeers, was formally acknowledged as heir apparent to his father, and at the age of eighteen married to the beautiful Yasodhara. His life had hitherto been one ceaseless round of happiness and pleasure; but the happiness ceased when his perambulations of the city revealed to him the existence of the painful things,—birth, old age, disease and death.

With that sympathy for human suffering which was always one of the main characteristics of the Blessed One, he set himself to work to find a means for saving his suffering fellow-beings; and secretly leaving his home and youthful bride in the beginning of his nineteenth year, he spent twelve years in seeking for the truth, first by means of asceticism and fasting, and then by the path of abstract meditation. At last, while sitting under the Bodhi Tree, or Tree of Wisdom, he achieved that enlightenment which made him able to save both himself and others.

We may pause just one moment here to consider a discrepancy or inconsistency which is very important in connection with the question of Buddha's personality. If, before his birth as the Prince Siddhartha, the Tathagata had already attained the perfect enlightenment, and was waiting in the Tushita heaven

for a favourable moment for accomplishing this design, then the account of the conflict with the evil One, which culminated in the enlightenment of the Buddha, must be interpreted as referring to a conflict with Mara for the possession of immortality. If, on the other hand, the Buddha then for the first time obtained his enlightenment, we need not take the higher conflict into account. It is, in that case, merely a strife for knowledge;—though when we come to the utmost issues, knowledge is life, for life eternal, as we know, consists in the knowledge of God.

To the Hînayâna believer, the meaning of the conflict with the Tempter is only a conflict in the lower sense. Shall the prince become a Cakravartin, a mighty ruler over the earth, or shall he attain to the higher rank of a Buddha, able to teach? The Mahâyâna believer sees in it something farther; shall the Buddha (for he is one already) extort eternal life for his followers, or not? The end set before the one class of followers is freedom from pain by means of following one who is enlightened: the Nirvana set before the other is eternal life, in union with the eternal spirit, as a consequence of perfect enlightenment.

The Hînayâna sees, in the results of this conflict, that the Buddha understood the meaning of the Four Great Truths. He understood that pain was the universal fact attached to life, that ignorance was the universal cause of pain, and desire the universal cause of life; whilst the universal means for escaping, from both pain and existence, was the noble eight-fold path of right conduct, thought, and desires.

The Mahâyâna however sees in it, further, a kind of Transfiguration of the Buddha. Sitting under the Bodi tree he realizes the existence of his three-fold transfigured body. With the one, the Nirvana Kâya (Jap. *Ōjin* or *Keshin*), he appears in a transfigured form before Pratyeka Buddhas, S'ravakas, gods and men; with his "compensation body" (Sambhōga Kâya, Jap.

Hōshin), he appears before all the Bodhisattvas of the ten regions; whilst with his "law-body" (Dharmakaya, *Hosshin*), which is colourless, and formless, he sits for ever in the region of the Absolute and the Unseen. It is this Trinity that the Mahâyâna Buddhist is taught to recognize in the transfigured Buddha. When he advances to the higher teachings of the One Vehicle, he learns to pay no more attention to the Man, Sakyamuni, but to concentrate his faith and hope on the everlasting Trinity (*san jin ittai* "three bodies one substance") which are embodied in him.[5]

After his great conflict was over, and the victory had been gained, the Buddha remained for one week in beatific contemplation of the Truths to which he had attained; and then, whilst still apparently in an ecstatic condition, he preached a sermon, repeated nine times in seven different places. This sermon is known in Sanskrit as "*Buddhâvatamsaka mahâ vaipulya Sutra*," in Japanese as *Kegon Kyō*.[6]

We should have expected that the first teachings of the Blessed One would have been marked by simplicity, and that the *Kegon Kyō*, as the first discourse pronounced by him, would have been a sermon containing the very

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[5] "The Mandala also typifies the great truth that all things in time and space are in essence one and the same, and that in their reality or actual nature, they are pure and eternal. In short, the Mandala represents the Buddha of Original Enlightenment, not the man Buddha of gigantic stature and the glorious features. The Buddha of Original Enlightenment is universal and omnipresent. Earth, air, fire, water, colour, sound, smell, taste, touch, form the Buddha's Spiritual Body. Form, perception, conception-name, and knowledge, as well as the functions of body, mouth and will, are the Buddha's Compensation Body. Head, trunk, hands and feet, eyes, nose, tongue and so forth, consitute his Transformation Body." (Doctrines of Nichiren, p. 19.)

[6] A Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripitaka by Bunyu Nanjo, Oxford, 1883.

elements of his teachings, and so have corresponded somewhat to Our Lord's Sermon on the Mount. But the *Kegon Kyō* is an extremely complicated system of teaching, and as a matter of fact, in the Chinese arrangement of the Tripitaka, the *Kegon Kyō* and its kinded Sutras are placed much later.

To the Japanese mind, however, the *Kegon Kyō* is a discourse spoken to angels, gods, and men. Without leaving the spot where he had attained to enlightenment, the Buddha delivers a sermon which is listened to by eight different congregations in seven different rooms (two congregations are in one room); and half these congregations are earthly and half heavenly. The *Kegon Kyō* is therefore the formal manifestation of that full body of Truth which the Buddha is now, during the long period of his Ministry, going to apply to the varying needs of mankind.

Having thus delivered his initial manifesto, the Buddha descends from his mountain, and commences his human ministry. For twelve years he preached the Lesser Vehicle, adapted to the capacities of those numerous hearers, to whom the abstract truths of the earlier manifesto would have been entirely incomprehensible. His earliest convert was the Snake-king Mak″ilinda (Mon-rin Ryū-ō), whom he converted on his way to Vârânasî (Benares), where he was going to commence his real labours as a preacher. Nor was his preaching amongst men unsuccessful: kings and peasants, learned and ignorant, men and women, all flocked to his simple teachings; and in a short time he found himself surrounded by so large a company of disciples that he was obliged to add to his labours of preaching the care of a large number of religious communities, who looked to him for spiritual guidance and discipline as well as for continual instruction. This period of the Buddha's activity is known as the *Roku on* (Sanskrit Mrigadâva—"deer park") period, from the place which formed his

principal place of residence. It is also known as the *Agon*, or *Agama* period, from the general name given to the Sutras and other writings connected with this period. The Sutras coming under this head are extremely numerous, and all are included amongst the Hînayâna teachings. The curious will find a complete list of them in Mr. Nanjo's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, already alluded to.

The time had now come for the Law to be preached in other places besides the capital of Hinduism (Benares), and the Blessed one accordingly sets out on his journeys to the various places embraced in his ministry; reaching even as far as Ceylon, from which he had received a pressing invitation. It is in connection with these journeys that arose the legend about the famous footprint of Buddha which is still shown to the traveller in Ceylon, and of which there is a facsimile in the court of the Zōjōji Temple in Shiba, Tōkyō. But with this period there comes a change in his methods. We read of a visit paid by Shaka, with two of his disciples, to the Tushita heaven where his mother was now residing, in order to preach her the Law of which she had hitherto been in ignorance. It may be that this refers to some trance or period of ecstasy akin to those into which Swedenborg was in the habit of falling. Certain it is that during his absence his disciples mourned for him as one that was dead, and that on his return his teachings were considerably amplified. This period is known as the *Hōdō*, or *Vaipulya* period, and embraces eight years, during which he preached to the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas from all the ten regions, who had assembled around him by "a staircase made between the world of desire and that of form." The Vaipulya, or amplified, Scriptures form a separate department of the Chinese Tripitaka; but there are many Sutras in other parts of the collection which are also thus designated. It is possible that in such

cases they are expansions of originally simple teachings, made to suit the greater illumination of the *Hōdō* period.

From the period of expansion, to the period of Transcendent Wisdom is one more step, and a very natural one. From the age of fifty to seventy-one, the Buddha preached the Transcendent Wisdom. It is difficult to summarize this great Wisdom, which was thus preached by him from the four places which were his head-quarters during this period:—the Vulture's Peak hermitage on Mt. Gridhrakuta, the garden presented to him by Anathapindada at Sravatî, the Abode of the Paranirtmi-tavasavartins, and the much cherished retreat of the famous Bamboo grove. The Prajnâparamita (Jap. *Hannya*) doctrines are mainly contained in two Sutras, the *Hannya Shin Gyō*, a short Sutra, of which a translation is given by Mr. Beal in his Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese, and the larger *Dai Hannya Kyō* (Mahâprajnâpara-mita Sutra) which has the honour of being the largest of all the Buddhist books, and is about the length of the New Testament. Another well-known Sutra of this period is the *Kongōkyō* (Vajracchedika Sutra) of which there exists an excellent French translation.

The characteristic teaching of this period is the doctrine of the Absolute, which Shaka seems to be aiming at, but cannot define. When we get into the region of the Absolute and Unconditioned lying at the back of the transitory phenomena which the Vaipulya has taught as to mistrust, we get into a region where words fail us. Form and space cannot exist, nor yet the variations of time. There is nothing for the mind to lay hold of; and, consequently, there is nothing by which the Absolute can be known or described. In other words, man cannot by thinking find out God.

But the Buddha did not thus leave his disciples in an absolute negation. The Japanese biographer, basing his

system on an old "harmony" made by Tendai Daishi, tells us that yet once more did he advance a stage in his doctrine.

Sakyamuni is not the only Buddha, for he has already in previous ages preached to many other Buddhas, and these Buddhas have repeatedly come to his assistance. But all these Buddhas partake of one nature; and one heart permeates them all, the heart of that Absolute Mind which cannot be described by human words. Yet in order that men may be able to gain some idea of that absolute mind which permeates the universe, it has become personified in a single great Buddha of original existence, of whom the earthly Buddhas are but Incarnations.

In accordance with this, during his last period (*Hokke*, or *Nehan*), he speaks of this personal deity (for there is no other word to describe him) whom necessity has as it were forced upon him. To this period are ascribed the Sutras which more than any others are read and prized in Japan:—the two Sukhāvati Vyūhas (*Dai-muryōjukyō* and *Mida Kyō*) which speak the praises of Amitābha, the Buddha of infinite life, light and love; and the Saddharma pundarika (*Hokekyō*) which further expands this being into the Tathāgata of Original Enlightenment in whom there resides a Trinity of three persons. This forms the end of Sakyamuni's teaching and the *Nehankyō*, or Sûtra of the Great Decease, forms a fit conclusion to the labours of the Great Apostle of the East.

It is important for the reader to bear in mind this five-fold distribution of Sakyamuni's teachings. It is held in Japan that not only was Sakyamuni's life so arranged, but that the whole subsequent course of the history of the Buddhist Church arranges itself on his plan. It will perhaps enable us to distinguish among the Buddhist sects those which are legitimate descendants of Sakyamuni and those which are not, and to systematize the develop-

ments of doctrine which have taken place in this land. The visitor to Nikkō will perhaps remember with interest that the waterfalls on the road between Chiuzenji and Nikkō are named after these periods in the life of the Great Founder of Buddhism.

Chapter III.

When Sakyamuni died, the teaching which he had given as a seed during his life-time was left to bring forth its fruit in the ages, according to the period of development which he himself had assigned to it.

The first period, as we have seen, was the period of *Kegon*, the period during which, whilst under the influence of the spiritual excitement resulting from his conflict with the Tempter, he preached, in an almost ecstatic condition, the whole fulness of his Truth. To this period corresponds what may be called the Apostolic Age of the Buddhist Church. The Tathagata had during his life-time chosen one especial disciple to be his successor. This was Kas'yapa, or Kashō, the first patriarch of United Buddhism.

Under Kas'yapa and his immediate successors the Buddhist community retained its unity and catholicity. There was no difference between Great Vehicle and Little; and in the strength of that (may I call it?) divine impetus which the congregations had received from their founder, they proclaimed to angels and men the whole Body of Shaka's doctrines, the mystic depths of the Great, as well as the simpler fundamentals of the Smaller Vehicle.

But the world was not ready to receive so full a doctrine, nor were the succeeding generations of Buddhist converts equal in spiritual depth to those who had themselves heard with their own ears the teachings of the great sage. It became therefore a necessity to go back to the foundation, and once more to bring into prominence those elementary truths which form the basis of the

Yet, practical and apparently indifferent to religion as are the Chinese, the soil upon which Buddhism was to be planted was not absolutely unfitted for its reception. Its ancient patriarchal religion, with its invisible god worshipped by the sovereign on behalf of the people, its time honoured systems of practical morality connected with the venerable names of Confucius and Mencius, its system of mystic divinity, often degenerating into mere magic, founded by Laotse, and known as Taouism,—all these had given to the Chinese mind a religious and devout bent;—whilst at the same time that culture which is of so great value to the reception of religious truth was well represented by its ancient poetry, the taste for which seems to be almost universal.

The introduction of Buddhism to China is said to have been, in a measure, miraculous. At least such is the story, that, in obedience to a dream, the Emperor *Mei* (Chinese *Ming*) sent an embassage to the West to seek a new Truth lately revealed to mankind. It has often been hoped that, in this vision accorded to the Chinese Emperor, we have a confirmation of the New Testament story, of the wise men who came from the East to pay honour to the birth of the Saviour. It is of course within the bounds of possibility that such may have been the case, for the dates of Chinese history at this early period, are not quite accurate; but at any rate the result of the embassage as far as Christianity is concerned must be considered a failure, for the messengers came back with Buddhist scriptures and idols, instead of the faith of the Cross.

Certain features have been noticed as differentiating the Chinese Buddhism from that of India.

It was a long time before it took root. Though encouraged by some of the Emperors, it was in common with Taoism subjected to many penal measures, and even to persecutions, so that it was not till the fourth century A. D.

that it began to take root and definite shape. We [illegible] at times, and are disappointed, at the tardy results of [illegible] Christian Missionary efforts in China, but in proportion [illegible] time devoted to it, the success of the Church has [illegible] as rapid as that which attended the efforts of [illegible] propaganda.

Many points in the development of Buddhism in China deserve mentioning, as they form [illegible] for comparison with the progress made [illegible] in the west. Whilst Christianity during the first three centuries had to make its way against the [illegible] opposition of the existing powers, Buddhism [illegible] by the powers of the State, to whom it [illegible] though it met with a bitter opposition [illegible] of Laotse and Confucius.

Again, Christianity was fierce[illegible] the honour which it claimed for Christ; and put the theological side of its Faith before the moral. Buddhism came with an easy tolerance of ancient sages and gods. As it had built itself in India upon the Hindoo pantheon, spiritualized to suit its views, so now it did not seek to overthrow the foundations of Confucius, Mencius, and Laotse, but to build further upon foundations already laid; and, leaving its theological and mystical side in the back-ground, presented first and above all, the ethical teachings it brought with it. Its earliest text books in China were the Sutra of the Forty-Two Sections, "the Four Verities," and the "Dhammapada,"—ethical books all of them; and the pre-existing technical terms and moral examples were freely employed in the service of the Buddhist Faith. "It is true," says Mr. S. Johnson, "that a highly speculative Sutra (the Dasabhumi) was translated among the earliest; but [illegible] was to obtain works of a simpler and more ethical [illegible] that Fa Hian travelled to India in the fourth [illegible] Not till eight hundred years after the commen[illegible]

Buddhist missions did the mystical doctrines called the Great Vehicle begin to affect the character of the faith in China.

Not only did Buddhism win its way into the affections of the Chinese people by its wonderful power of adapting and embodying all that was good in the native systems, but it gained much advantage from its powers of organization. "It gave point and system to weak mythological instincts and lent the authority of association and hierarchy to the ascetic impulse."

But above all, Buddhism came as a literary form of thought to a literary nation. There is nothing in the world like the Chinese scriptures of the Mahâyâna. "The Canon in China is seven hundred times the amount of the New Testament. Hiouen Thsang's translation of the Prajnâ Paramita is twenty-five times as large as the whole Christian Bible." Some idea of the immensity of the Buddhist Chinese Scriptures may be gathered from Mr. Nanjo's Catalogue of the Tripitaka, published by the University of Oxford.

It contains 1662 books, but as in some cases more than a hundred separate Sûtras are included under one title, this number must be very considerably enlarged.

Its arrangement is as follows:

I.—*Sutra Pitaka.* Department (lit. "basket") containing Sutras or discourses.

(i.) *Mahāyāna Sutras.*	*Nos.*
1. Prajnā Paramita Class	1–22
2. Ratnakuta Class	23–60
3. Mahasannipâta Class	61–86
4. Avatamsaka Class	87–112
5. Nirvâna Class.....	113–125
6. Sutras excluded from the above classes (duplicated)	126–375

7. Sutras of which there is only one translation, but which are still excluded from the five classes..... 376–541

(ii.) *Sutras of the Hînayâna.*

1. Agama Sutras. (Some of these contain many Sutras under one title) 542–678
2. Sutras of single translation excluded from the above..... 679–781

(iii.) *Deutero-Canonical Sutras* admitted into the Canon after A. D. 960 782–1081

II.—*Vinaya Pitaka.*

(i). Vinaya of the Mahâyâna 1082–1106

(ii). Vinaya of the Hînayâna 1107–1166

III.—*Abhidharma Pitaka.*

(i). Abhidharma of the Mahâyâna 1167–1260

(ii). Abhidharma of the Hînayâna 1261–1297

Miscellaneous (apocryphal)..... 1298–1320

IV.—*Miscellaneous Works.*

(i). Indian Works 1321–1467

(ii.) Chinese Works 1468–1621

(iii.) Later books admitted to the Canon in or before A. D. 1584.

One consequence of the immense extent of Chinese Buddhist Literature is that there is an immense field for eclecticism. It is absolutely impossible for any one person to read through and assimilate the whole of the Canon of Scripture. Most men therefore choose a certain number of works only and devote all their attention to these few. This will account very largely for the sectarian subdivisions of Northern Buddhism.

According to the Japanese historian,[8] the earliest of the Mahâyâna sects to arrive in China, was the Bidon-shū or Abhidharma sect, which was originated during the last

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[8] Rev. Bunyu Nanjo. "A Short History of the Twelve Buddhist Sects." I am much indebted to this book.

decade of the fourth century of our era, but which does not seem to have come to its full development for two centuries after its origination. The Abhidharma Pitaka is that section of the Budddist Canon which devotes itself to the metaphysical speculations growing out of the religion, and corresponds roughly to the Sapiential books of the Christian or Jewish Canon. A glance at the table above given will show that it contains about two hundred works, more than half of which belong to the Great Vehicle teachings. As a matter of fact, the Hinayâna has but little to do with metaphysical speculation, as it is a teaching meant principally for the lower classes of the religious community. The Metaphysics came with the later developments, when Sakyamuni and his Church, alike in their turns, felt the necessity of a speculative justification of the Faith, as against the metaphysical speculations of a mystic Hindooism quickened into activity by the aggressive encroachments of the younger creed.

A glance at the Catalogue of the Tripitaka will show us the names of many commentaries which will meet us frequently on the subsequent pages of the book. We have commentaries on the *Vajracchedikâ* sutra, one by Asanga (No. 1167) and one by Vasubandhu (No. 1168); and a third one combining both the preceding (No. 1231). There is a commentary by Vasubandhu of the Saddharma pundarika (No. 1232) which was translated as early possibly as A. D. 386, but certainly during the Northern Wêi dynasty A. D. 386–504; another by the same author, and translated about the same time, of the *Amitâyus sûtra* (No. 1204), and a long one, in 100 volumes, on the lengthy treatise known as the Mahâprajnâ paramitâ Sutra, which I have already mentioned as being many times the length of the New Testament. Most of the commentaries mentioned in this section are from the pens of As'vaghosha, Nagarjuna, Vasubandhu, Deva, and others of the great founders of the Mahâyâna School. Of the Shasters of the

Hînayâna which form a part of this collection, there are some which were translated into Chinese during the first century of our era, but the vast majority of them seem to have put on their Chinese dress during the fifth and sixth centuries, so that we may safely conclude that mystical and metaphysical Buddhism were not much preached in China before that period. Mr. Nanjo especially mentions the Abhidharma Kosa (1267, 1269, 1270) and the Mahâ-vibhâshâ Sâstra (1263) as having contributed to the establishment of this school. If moreover we turn from the Abhidharma Section of the Catalogue to the Sutra pitaka, we shall find that the Sutras and their Commentaries were introduced into China much at the same time. The establishment of the Mahâyâna school must undoubtedly have been the cause of a great outburst of missionary zeal amongst the Buddhist clergy and laity of India.

Mr. Nanjo gives a list of various sects which in those early days existed in China. I do not give them here. They no longer exist in their native country, but have mostly perpetuated themselves in Japan. It will be sufficient for us to recall them one by one, as we need them, in describing the various sects now existing in Japan.

I have felt it my duty to make some general observations on the growth and development of Buddhism in India and China, as being the countries from which Japan has directly, or indirectly, received her faith in the many Buddhas and the One Buddha. It is now time for us to go on to our main work, the description of Buddhism in Japan.

Chapter IV.

It was during the year 522 A.D. that a man named Shiba Tatsu erected the first Buddhist shrine in Japan at the village of Sakatahara in Yamato. Of this first recorded

attempt we have no particulars at all, but it does not seem to have been successful. It was probably unaccompanied by any teaching, as we do not read of any foreign priest having belonged to the mission; and so speedily passed away.

But when thirty years later an ambassador appeared at the court of the Emperor Kimmei Tennô (30th Emperor, A. D. 540–571) bringing from the King of Kudara, a part of the present Kingdom of Korea, an image of Shaka (I shall henceforth call Sakyamuni by his Japanese name), and several Buddhist works, he was received with marked favour by the King and Prime Minister; and, in spite of the opposition of the courtiers, a temple was erected and placed under the care of Soga no Inamé, the Prime Minister. Soon afterwards, however, an epidemic broke out, which was attributed by the conservatives to the anger of the gods; the temple was destroyed and the image thrown by the Emperor's command into the sea. As Shintôism is a religious system which has no visible idols, we can perhaps understand some of the feelings of the Japanese at the introduction of image worship. It is not known what form of Buddhism was recommended to the Emperor by the King of Kudara. The names of the books sent are not given. As to the image, some say, as above, that it was an image of Shaka; and that it was some form of Hînayâna teachings that was thus presented. The image itself is said to have been miraculously preserved from the sea; and at the Temple of Tennôji at Ôsaka there is preserved an image of Kwannon, which is said to be the identical image sent by the King of Korea. Unfortunately there is another Temple, the Zenkôji at Nagano, which claims to possess the genuine article,—a triple figure of *Amida*, *Kwannon*, and *Daiseishi* (Skt. Amitâbha, Avalokitesvara, and Mahasthâna-prâpta),—and until one or the other claim can be verified, it will be hard to say what was the precise form of Buddhism

introduced. Both stories however agree in saying that the image was cast into the sea and miraculously recovered near Ōsaka, that the Emperor's palace was soon afterwards set on fire by flames which fell from a cloudless sky, and that Okoshi and Kumako, the principal opponents of the new faith, perished in the conflagration. These portents so alarmed the Emperor that he ordered the rebuilding of the Temple; and a further mission of nine priests from Korea took the places of those who had been driven away a few months previously.

Eighteen years after this, in the reign of Bitatsu Tennô, son of the above Emperor, (A. D. 572) there came yet a third mission from Kudara, bringing with them priests, nuns, carpenters, image-makers and diviners, and thus laying the foundation of useful arts in the country. They were all housed in a Temple near Ōsaka, and were favoured, not only by Umako, the Prime Minister, but also by some Japanese of high rank, who had been sent as ambassadors to Korea, and had returned as converts to Buddhism.

In the reign of the next emperor (Yômei Tenno A.D. 585), who was allied by marriage with the family of that Soga who, in a previous reign, had done what he could as Prime Minister to favour the introduction of Buddhism, the Court did much to push the interests of the new religion, in spite of the strong anti-foreign feeling of a part of the ruling class, who resented the continually increasing influence of Korea. At his death, the popular discontent broke out into open rebellion, which however only ended in the defeat of the Shintōists, and the death of Moriya their leader; and the accession of the new Emperor, Shujun (A. D. 588), practically secured the triumph of Buddhism, at least as far as the Court was concerned. Shujun died after a few years, and was succeeded by the Empress Suiko (A. D. 593), a sister of the Emperor Yômei. A woman, at the head of affairs in a rough and undisciplined

nation, cannot expect to have as much influence as a man. Still, whatever influence Suiko possessed was exerted on the side of Buddhism; and the cause of the new religion was fortunately much advanced by the Prime Minister Shōtoku Taishi, who may be said to have done more than any other for the establishment of Buddhism in the land.

Shōtoku's "name has been linked with many legends, which are still current after the lapse of fourteen hundred years." It is said that, even as a babe of four months old, he was able to speak, that he betrayed not only a singular precocity of intellect, but an early piety such as is but rarely met with in the world. His capacity for carrying on many different things at the same time gained for him the nickname of Yatsu mimi no Oji, the Prince of Eight Ears. He seems to have fully understood that Buddhism, with its discipline and organization, was an invaluable ally in the government of a country which was only half-conquered and less than half-civilized. He therefore threw the whole weight of his influence into the scale of Buddhism, and did his best to make it *de facto* the established religion of the country; as he did indeed make it by Imperial Edict in 621. Many new temples were established throughout the country, which was parcelled out into dioceses, with Buddhist bishops and archbishops; the services of the monks were used for practical purposes, such as the construction of roads and bridges, as well as for the more spiritual functions of their profession; and Japanese priests were sent across the sea to study, in China and elsewhere, the mysteries of the faith, and especially the *Vinaya* or rules of discipline. With Shōtoku Taishi practically ends the Korean period of Japanese Buddhism. Henceforth, the increasing influence of China shows itself in its true light. It was recognized that the Korean was but as the moon in comparison with the brightness of the Chinese Buddhism; and the Japanese nation henceforth turned to the true source of learning, and investigated

Chinese Buddhism at its native Chinese streams. For the next century we have nothing but a list of the introduction from China of sects, more or less imperfect, all of them based on the incomplete teachings of the Hînayâna system, and destined eventually to make room for more perfect systems of religious philosophy.

For purposes of reference, I give the names of these various early sects with their dates; always premising, that they must be considered as schools of thought within one communion rather than as distinct religious organizations; and that, owing their inception and propagation to Chinese missionaries, they must be considered as alien bodies. Buddhism did not take definite form in Japan until it became an institution entirely in the hands of Japanese priests.

1. *Kusha Shū* ..... A. D. 658... (introduced to Japan.)
2. *Jōjitsu Shū* ..... A. D. 625... "
3. *Ris-Shū* ..... A. D. 753... "
4. *Hossō Shū* ..... A. D. 653... "
5. *Sanron Shū* ..... A. D. 625... "
6. *Kegon Shū* ..... A. D. 736... "

It is not worth our while, with more pressing claims before us, to give a detailed account of the religious teachings of each of these sects. Still a summarized view of the general teachings of these sects may be given, sufficient to enable us to understand the more fully developed views of the later sects.

As the Brahman religion divides mankind into four classes, so Buddha divided his followers also into a corresponding number of divisions; the difference between the two being that, in the one, men are divided by the iron barriers of birth, which they cannot overpass; in the other, spiritual advancement depends on the degrees of spiritual progress.

These four divisions are (i) *Śrāvaka* (Jap. Shamon) "hearer," a class corresponding very nearly to the

catechumen of the Christian system; (ii) *Pratyeka buddha* (Jap. Engaku), or instructed believer; (iii) *Bodhisattva*, (Jap. Bosatsu), one who having comprehended the true meaning of the law has but one more death to face; after which he is born as (iv) *Buddha* (Jap. Butsu or Hotoke), a perfected being who "dieth no more, but is passed from death into life" by the attainment of perfected wisdom.

In the earlier sects which we are now considering, we get the elementary stages of this teaching, as suited to the capacities of the lower grades of believers.

Buddhism, it is said, is as broad as the ocean, yet can all its doctrines be summed up in one short verse

"Abstain from evil, practise thou the good,
Cleansing the heart; for this is Buddhahood."

It is a verse that even a small boy can remember, but many a grown man has great difficulty in putting it into practice. That which hinders man from walking the path of all the Buddhas is *lust* (*bonnō*), which involves us in a continual chain of *karma*, and causes us perpetually to be reborn in one or other of the six paths of life. These paths (Jap. *Rokudō*) are as follows:—

1. *Jigoku*—the world of hell.
2. *Gaki*—the world of hungry devils.
3. *Chikushō*—the world of beasts.
4. *Shūra*—the world of disembodied spirits.
5. *Jin*—the world of man.
6. *Ten*—the world of heaven.

In one or other of these paths, or spheres, or worlds, we are continually being born, living, or dying, until we grasp the law, and following its sure guidance advance step by step through the three grades of discipleship; until at last we reach to the highest stage of perfected Buddhaship. Buddhism presents its teachings, as we have seen, in very graded forms, to suit all capacities.

To the lowest stage of intelligent beings it presents a form of teaching which may be described as

Nintengyō, the relations between man and Heaven; or, as we might put it in Christian terminology, the duty towards God and the duty towards one's neighbour. It inculcates in the first place a loving respect for the three precious things—Buddha, the Law, and the Church (*sambō no takara*)—and enjoins upon the believer the observance of the five moral precepts (*go kai*).

1. Abstain from taking life.
2. Abstain from theft and dishonesty.
3. Abstain from all lewdness.
4. Abstain from untrue words.
5. Abstain from intoxicants.

From these five prohibitory precepts the believer is taught to practise the ten virtuous actions which spring as it were out of them (*jū zen*).

1. Not to take life, but, on the contrary, to show all the kindness in our power.
2. Instead of theft and dishonesty, liberality.
3. Chastity, instead of mere abstinence from adultery.
4. Truth-speaking, in the place of abstinence from lying.
5. The use of words calculated to produce and preserve harmony amongst men.
6. The avoidance of vulgar expressions and the use of words of refinement.
7. Plain speaking, as opposed to a false or exaggerated style of expression.
8. The avoidance of unclean thoughts by moral considerations.
9. Charity and patience, instead of wrath.
10. The cultivation of a pure intention, as including in it all the above commandments.

This forms the lowest class of teachings which are within the reach of those who are very little advanced in spiritual power. The man who is in the lowest class of Buddhism (the *Shōmon*) is taught that if, in his present state of development,

Chisha was not indeed the orginator of the doctrines taught by the sect which takes its name from the mountain on which stands its principal monastery. He only developed teachings which he had received from *Emon* a few years previously, and Emon had found the germ of his teaching in that very remarkable work, the Saddharma pundarika, or "Lotus of the Good Law."

Of the sects then existing in China, each seemed to have a different system. Some, as for instance, the Abhidharma sects, gave long lists of categories and antitheses, and sought to define the truth with a more than Aristotelian precision of detail. Others again, such as the Jōdo, or Pure Land Sect, established in China as early as 400 B.C., sought to lead men to salvation by faith alone, whilst the Dhyâna or Contemplative sects which had arrived in China from India only a few years previous to the foundation of the Tendai monastery, maintained, with great vehemence, that abstract contemplation was the sufficient and true method to come to a knowledge of saving Truth. It was the thought of Emon, afterwards expanded by Chikai, and transmitted by Dengyō Daishi to Japan, that "the true method[9]" is found neither in book-learning, nor external practice, nor ecstatic contemplation; neither in the exercise of reason, nor the reveries of fancy; but that there is a middle condition, a system which includes all and rejects none, to which all others gravitate, and in which alone the soul can be satisfied." This system Emon and his followers found, or professed to find, in the Saddharma pundarika Sutra, an important Scripture of which I here venture to give an analysis.

In a large assembly of all classes of hearers, at the monastery of Rajagriha, on the Vulture's Peak, the Buddha

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[9] Beal's Catena of Buddhist Scriptures, p. 247.

has finished a discourse on the Law, after which he falls into an ecstatic condition of deep meditation during which he is visibly transfigured before them; and from his brow there issues a ray of light of extraordinary brightness. The whole audience is astonished, and Maitreya asks the meaning of the portent, whereupon Manjusri replies that, from former experience, he knows it to be a sign that the Lord intends to deliver a great discourse, containing some fresh revelation of the Truth.

Presently, the Buddha emerges from his meditation, and, addressing Sariputra, commences a discourse on the Buddha-knowledge, the highest, indeed the only, vehicle of knowledge. Hitherto, the law has been preached in different manners, according to the advancement of those who heard it; from henceforth he declares that there is but one vehicle—the Buddha Vehicle,—by which those to whom it is given may at once attain to the full perception of Buddhaship, without waiting for the long process of the ages; and that this is Nirvana, viz., the perfecting of wisdom and knowledge. This revelation rather astonishes Sariputra, for the whole of that audience had been hitherto under the opinion that Nirvana was a negation, and consisted in freedom from all false views, and were now much distressed at finding another Nirvana set before them to which they had not yet attained. This difficulty the Lord meets by the parable of the burning house, in which there are playing a number of mischievous children, utterly blind to their danger. To bring them out from the danger, their father offers them a variety of toys, according to their tastes. When they have safely escaped, he gives to each of them one toy, the same to all, but that toy far exceeds all that he had promised. Such are the temporary expedients of Buddhism, as compared with the one Truth of which they are the preparatives.

When the believer has mastered this second stage he has practically mastered all the body of saving truth, contained in the Lesser Vehicle, and is ready to advance from the condition of an Engaku (Pratyeka Buddha) to that of a Bosatsu, or candidate for the full perfection of the Buddhahood.

When a man reaches this stage of development there arises within him a great desire, not only to save himself but to save others, and he conceives in himself a four-fold desire, which takes effect in a six-fold practice of transcendental virtne.

The fourfold desire.

(i.) That though living Creatures are innumerable, he desires to save them all;

(ii.) That though passions and lusts are infinite, he desires to conquer them all;

(iii.) That though the doctrines of Buddhism are innumerable, he desires to learn them all.

(iv.) That though the final salvation is incalculably high, he desires to attain to it.

In order to carry out these vows, he practises the six-fold transcendental virtue of the Bodhisat;

1. Almsgiving and preaching—*i. e.* distribution of bodily and spiritual food.

2. Obedience to precepts;

3. Patience, long suffering, and self restraint.

4. Manliness, (Skt. vîrya).

5. Contemplation.

6. Wisdom.

I am indebted for this exposition of the earlier stages of Buddhism to a paper kindly written for me by the Venerable Abbot Kobayashi, Principal of the Daidan Rin College, Takanawa, Tōkyō. The student of Japanese will find some admirable articles on this subject in a magazine, entitled *Juzenkaizasshi*, ably edited by the Rev. S. Unsho of the Shingon sect.

Armed with these teachings and aids, the believer is now able to work out his own salvation. It is a salvation which is indeed possible to man's unaided efforts, if we postulate, as Buddhism does, a long series of successive lives in which the work is continually carried on. But what man, how much less a Japanese, would have patience to work at a salvation, the ultimate accomplishment of which can only be arrived at after the lapse of "three immeasurable periods of time"? It is practically an impossibility, and no religion can be attractive which sets an impossible object before the human mind. The subsequent history of Japanese Buddhism will show us a series of attempts to bring that ultimate salvation nearer to mankind, and to make it easier of attainment.

In conclusion, we cannot wonder that this form of doctrine should have failed to take root amongst the Japanese. The patient Hindoo, or the industrious China-man, may be contented to wait and labour for hope long deferred. We cannot blame the ardent Japanese for longing for something which shall place the object of his soul's strivings more within the sphere of "practical politics."

Chapter V.

The popular Buddhism of the Vaipulya School, which came to Japan with the Ritsu, Jōjitsu, Hossō and other sects, had prepared the mind of the people for that change in the teachings of Buddhism, which was sure to come with the progress of the religion. It had taught the people to reverence a certain number of Buddhas and Buddhist saints, some of them companions and disciples of Shaka, and others pure creations of fancy, or borrowed from the mythological systems of India. Such were *Fudō* (Acala) whose image, a black figure surrounded with flames, stands conspicuously in many an ancient temple, and in whose honour is dedicated the picturesque shrine

at Meguro which is so well known to all residents of Tōkyō; *Jizō* (Kshitigarbha), whom popular suffrage has erected into a helper of all those who are in trouble. His stone image, holding a pilgrim's staff in one hand, and a ball (symbolic of wisdom) in the other, is frequently seen by the road sides in the country; for Jizō is the patron saint of travellers, and is frequently turned to practical use as a sign post. It is also frequently covered with stones piled up by the piety of passers-by; for, in the next world, Jizō is the patron of little children, whose souls, falling into the hands of an ugly old hag on the banks of the Sōdzugawa, (one of the Stygian streams), are compelled to perform the endless task of piling up stones on the river bank, before they are allowed to recover the clothes of which they have been robbed. Another popular deity is *Bindzuru* (Skt. Pindola), one of the sixteen Rakan (Arhats) that formed the bodyguard of the great Teacher, whose red image at Asakusa and other famous places of worship, is supposed to have miraculous power of healing; and the traveller who passes through Shiba Park will often hear the big drums which are on solemn occasions beaten with great noise at the temple of *Emma San*, who is a Buddhist edition of the Hindoo Yama, the god of hell.

But the most popular of all these mythological conceptions is undoubtedly the Goddess *Kwannon*, the deity of mercy, whose Temple at Asakusa in Tōkyō is one of the most popular shrines in the country, and who figures more than any other deity in the literature and legend of Japan. Originally, a male deity (Skt. Avalokitesvara), she has changed her sex in her travels through China and Japan, and appears to her devotees in the greatest variety of forms. In the Mangwanji Temple at Nikkō she has three faces and four pairs of arms, whilst above the central face there is a fourth head, the head of a horse; in the same place she is represented as the 'thousand-handed one,' though

on her image there is actually room for not more than forty of these arms. In other places she appears as eleven-faced,—indeed, as she has had one thousand different incarnations, there seems to be no limit to the forms under which she is represented.

But all these mediæval Buddhist saints lack in moral conception. They help mankind in difficulties; it is impossible to read an old story without coming across some tale of the marvellous interposition of one or other of these personages on behalf of their worshippers; but they do not seem to do anything to improve their moral and spiritual condition. I have for instance, read a Buddhist novel which records the assistance given to a virtuous country maiden by the goddess Kwannon, who, to reward the girl for her filial piety, enables her to become the wife of one of the principal nobles of the Court, quite regardless of the fact that the noble in question has already got a wife, who has to be discarded to make room for the heroine of the tale.

In the period of Enriaku (A. D. 782–806), the Emperor Kwammu Tennō, founded Kyōto as the capital of his Empire, and in order to obtain for his enterprise the blessing of Heaven, he built on the adjacent mountain of Hiyeizan, a monastery which was destined to play an important part in the religious history of the country. As head of this religious community he selected a priest of great sanctity, Dengyō Daishi, whom he sent with a few companions to China, to study the latest developments of Buddhism.

Whilst in China, Dengyō Daishi and his companions came to the monastery of *Tientai* which had been founded towards the end of the sixth century of our era, on a lofty range of mountains in the province of Chehkiang, by the celebrated preacher Chikai, better known by his posthumous name of Chisha Daishi (Daishi=great teacher.)

Chisha was not indeed the orginator of the doctrines taught by the sect which takes its name from the mountain on which stands its principal monastery. He only developed teachings which he had received from *Emon* a few years previously, and Emon had found the germ of his teaching in that very remarkable work, the Saddharma pundarika, or "Lotus of the Good Law."

Of the sects then existing in China, each seemed to have a different system. Some, as for instance, the Abhidharma sects, gave long lists of categories and antitheses, and sought to define the truth with a more than Aristotelian precision of detail. Others again, such as the Jōdo, or Pure Land Sect, established in China as early as 400 B.C., sought to lead men to salvation by faith alone, whilst the Dhyâna or Contemplative sects which had arrived in China from India only a few years previous to the foundation of the Tendai monastery, maintained, with great vehemence, that abstract contemplation was the sufficient and true method to come to a knowledge of saving Truth. It was the thought of Emon, afterwards expanded by Chikai, and transmitted by Dengyō Daishi to Japan, that "the true method[9]" is found neither in book-learning, nor external practice, nor ecstatic contemplation; neither in the exercise of reason, nor the reveries of fancy; but that there is a middle condition, a system which includes all and rejects none, to which all others gravitate, and in which alone the soul can be satisfied." This system Emon and his followers found, or professed to find, in the Saddharma pundarika Sutra, an important Scripture of which I here venture to give an analysis.

In a large assembly of all classes of hearers, at the monastery of Rajagriha, on the Vulture's Peak, the Buddha

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[9] Beal's Catena of Buddhist Scriptures, p. 247.

has finished a discourse on the Law, after which he falls into an ecstatic condition of deep meditation during which he is visibly transfigured before them; and from his brow there issues a ray of light of extraordinary brightness. The whole audience is astonished, and Maitreya asks the meaning of the portent, whereupon Manjusri replies that, from former experience, he knows it to be a sign that the Lord intends to deliver a great discourse, containing some fresh revelation of the Truth.

Presently, the Buddha emerges from his meditation, and, addressing Sariputra, commences a discourse on the Buddha-knowledge, the highest, indeed the only, vehicle of knowledge. Hitherto, the law has been preached in different manners, according to the advancement of those who heard it; from henceforth he declares that there is but one vehicle—the Buddha Vehicle,—by which those to whom it is given may at once attain to the full perception of Buddhaship, without waiting for the long process of the ages; and that this is Nirvana, viz., the perfecting of wisdom and knowledge. This revelation rather astonishes Sariputra, for the whole of that audience had been hitherto under the opinion that Nirvana was a negation, and consisted in freedom from all false views, and were now much distressed at finding another Nirvana set before them to which they had not yet attained. This difficulty the Lord meets by the parable of the burning house, in which there are playing a number of mischievous children, utterly blind to their danger. To bring them out from the danger, their father offers them a variety of toys, according to their tastes. When they have safely escaped, he gives to each of them one toy, the same to all, but that toy far exceeds all that he had promised. Such are the temporary expedients of Buddhism, as compared with the one Truth of which they are the preparatives.

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Before telling this parable, Buddha has foretold the future greatness of Sariputra, as a reward for the readiness with which he has believed this new revelation of the Buddha-knowledge. This gives Subhûti, Kasyapa, and one or two other disciples, the opportunity of speaking about the joys of predestination. "Though we have exhorted other Bodhisattvas, and instructed them in supreme perfect enlightenment, we have in doing so never conceived a single thought of longing. And now, O Lord, we are hearing from the Lord that disciples also may be predestined to supreme perfect enlightenment. We had not sought nor searched nor expected, nor required so magnificent a jewel." To this the Lord answers that what he has taught now is nothing new:—the teaching of the Buddha is like the rain which falls impartially on all soils, and waters here one plant and there another; or like the clay which is always the same, though it serves to make vessels of the most different qualities; whilst the Buddha himself is like the oculist who, step by step, as the eye can bear it, introduces the light of the sun to the vision of the blind man. It is not therefore Sariputra alone that is destined to Supreme Enlightenment, but four others are joined with him in this supreme felicity. Then, in order to show that his knowledge refers to the past as well as to the present, he gives an account of the sixteen Great Buddhas who have preceded him in the course of the world, and proceeds to announce the destiny of Ananda, Râhula, and the five hundred monks who form a part of his audience.

He then proceeds to expound the method in which the Lotus Law is to be preached. The preacher must assume the robe of the Tathāgata, enter his abode, and occupy his pulpit. The abode of the Tathāgata is "the abiding in charity (or kindness) to all beings: the robe is "the apparel of sublime forbearance": the pulpit is "the complete abstraction of all laws":—and the text of the

sermon is apparently Nirvana in its highest sense,—the knowledge of the Tathāgata,—the original Tathāgata of whom Sakyamuni is but a later manifestation.

As the Buddha thus preaches, there appears to his audience a Stupa containing the true relics of the Buddha—the essential being of the original Buddha:—wherever in any world, the highest lotus law in preached,—that is the body of the Tathāgata:—and again is manifested the identity between the original Buddha, and the historical Buddha that sat before his audience. The audience now promise that they will, in spite of opposition, preach the Law throughout the world, and the Buddha promises them the brightest of all his jewels, the jewel of eternal rest.

We are now shown a vision of the future:—multitudes which no man can number arise through the gaps in the earth to hear the preaching of the Buddha,—and yet they have all been in the past also the disciples of the same Lord. For his life is immense in the past as well as the future, and the belief in him is the cause of all blessedness.

The genuine portion of the Sûtra then ends with a miraculous display in which the identity of Sakyamuni with Prabhūta ratna (the original Buddha) is once more displayed.[10]

From the imperfect account which I have given of the Sutra (anyone acquainted with Buddhist Sutras will

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[10] I say the genuine portion, because there are other six chapters which however are supposed to be later additions. See Introduction to Kern's translation of the Saddharma pundarika. vol. xxi. of the Sacred Books of the East. One of the chapters "on spells" contains the veriest rubbish that the mind of man can well conceive; and I can but hope that when the Higher Criticism gets to work amongst the Buddhist Scriptures, it will succeed in dislodging all such rubbish from the teachings of Sakyamuni's followers. Buddhism will have to clear itself from all complicity with spells, charms, and talismans.

know how difficult they are to analyse), it will be seen that the central thought of the Lotus Law is this:—Sakyamuni the Tathāgata is identical with the Tathāgata of Original Enlightenment, a being known by several names, (but especially in this Sutra by the name of Prabhûtaratna); and wherever his law is preached there is his body in a collective form. Nirvana consists in the knowledge of this Tathāgata, and he who gains this knowledge enters at once upon Buddhahood.

Upon this foundation Chikai built his system. If this knowledge be the Saving Knowledge, how are we to attain to it? Chikai answers that as the chariot has two wheels and the bird two wings, so meditation and wisdom are the two powers by which we may rise to the knowledge of the Buddha Nature. In order to do this Chikai gives the following means.

I. Accomplishment of external means.

1. To observe the precepts purely and perfectly.
2. To regulate clothing and food.
3. The choice of a suitable home.
4. Freedom from all worldly concerns and influences.
5. The promotion of all virtuous desires.

II. Chiding of evil desires. The believer is to make an effort to conquer,

1. The lust after beauty,
2. The lust of sound,
3. The lust of perfumes,
4. The lust of taste,
5. The lust of touch.

Having succeded in chiding his desires, he is now to go on to,

III. Casting away hindrances:—Covetousness, anger, sloth, restlessness, unbelief. He is next to,

IV. Harmonize the faculties, *i.e.* adjust his limbs, and regulate his breath etc.; and then he will be able to enter upon,

V. The Meditation of Absolute Truth.[11]

Such was a portion of Chikai's system, but in the Tendai Sect in Japan there is a further development of doctrine, which seems to be of the greatest interest. We have already seen that the connection between the Buddha of Original Enlightenment and the historical Sakyamuni is very close, and very possibly some of my readers will have seen in it an analogy to the close relationship existing between the Father and the Son of Christian Theology. In the *action of Vairocana* which is the highest yâna or vehicle of salvation we shall find a striking similarity to the Holy Ghost of the Christian verities.

The moral precepts were, it is said,[12] first received by Shaka from a Buddha named Vairocana, who was a sort of go-between between Shaka and the Buddha of Original Enlightenment. This Buddha Vairocana, further, is said to to have handed down, through Vajrasattva and others, a doctrine entitled the Action of Vairocana, whereby is produced the secret union between the soul of the individual and the soul of the universe, thus, as it were, foreshadowing the work which the Christian believes is done by the Holy Spirit.

When we come to consider the Shingon sect we shall hear a great deal about Vairocana. It will perhaps be well to say a few words about him in this place.

If the visitor to the tomb of the Forty Seven Ronins in Shiba, Tōkyō, will continue his walk towards Shinagawa for a couple of hundred yards, he will come to the Temple of *Nyorai-ji* in which he will see five gigantic images of the Buddhas of Contemplation. Their names are Yakushi (Bhaichagyaguru), Taho (Prabhutaratna), Dainichi (Vairocana), Ashuku (Akshobhya), and Shaka.

These five Buddhas of Contemplation are very different to the Buddhas, Jizō, Fudō, Kwannon, mentioned at the

[11] Beal's Catena.

[12] Naujo's History of XII Buddhist Sects, p. 73.

commencement of this chapter. They are with the exception of Shaka, ideal personages, personifications of those qualities of Wisdom which we associate with God.

But it will be seen from the following extract [13] that the Dhyâni Buddhas were, in an earlier stage of development, not five but three.

"Once I heard the following discourse (said Ananda) while the Blessed One was stopping at Rajagriha on the Vulture's Peak, together with an innumerable number of bodhisattvas, devas and nâgas who were doing him homage. Then from out this company, the Bodhisattva Kshitigarba, who was also there, arose from his seat, and spoke as follows to the Blessed One: 'Has the Blessed One a body?' The Blessed One said 'Kshitigarba, the Blessed One has three bodies: the body of the law, the body of perfect enjoyment, the apparitional body. . . . Purity in the abode of the soul, the science like a mirror, is the body of the law; purity in the abode of the sinful mind is the science of equality; purity in the perceptions of the mind, the science of thoroughly analysing, is the body of perfect enjoyment; purity in the abode of the perceptions of the five doors, the science of the achievement of what must be done, is the apparitional body." . . . If we refer to the work of the Chinese Buddhist Jin Ch'an we find that Dharmakâya has become Vairocana (the omnipresent) Sambhogakâya is called Rajana (*i.e.* the infinitely pure or glorious), and Nirmânakâya is Sakyamuni.' "Now these three Tathâgatas are all included in one substantial essence. The three are the same as one: not one, and yet not different; without parts or composition. When regarded as one, the three persons are spoken of as Tathâgata. But, it may be asked, if the persons are one substance, how is it that this one substance is differently

[13] Rockhill's Life of the Buddha. Trübner's Oriental Series, p. 100.

manifested? In reply we say that there is no real difference; these manifestations are only different views of the same unchanging substance."

But we must not suppose that the Tendai teachings are as simple, and (if I may be allowed the expression) as orthodox, as I have described.

Dengyodaishi was not the only priest sent over at this time to study in China. We have the names of learned priests, such as Jikakudaishi and others belonging to this sect. Nor was the Saddharma pundarika the only Sutra studied. Dengyo himself based his teachings on other books as well, such as the "Sûtra of the Great Decease." Nor is it the habit of Japan blindly to borrow any foreign system. It has always been the practice of the Japanese to adapt what they borrow so as to fit it to what they possess. And therefore the Japanese system of Tendai is in reality a system of Japanese eclecticism, fitting the disciplinary and meditative methods of Chisha Daishi on to the preexisting foundations of the previous sects. Hence it comes that the Buddhas worshipped in various Tendai temples are so very various. In some there is a Trinity, such as I have above explained, whilst in others, *i.e.* in all those temples which trace their descent from the temple of *Mi-i-dera*, Amida, the Buddha of Infinite Life and Light, is the sole object of worship. Hence too in the same temple, *e.g.* at Nikkō, meditation is practised in two ways,—according to the Sukhâvatî Vyûha Sûtra, and according to the Saddharma pundarîka Sutra. In the one, the devotee prefaces his meditation by the cry *Namuamida butsu*: in the other by the repeated invocation of *Namumyō hōren-gekyō*.

The comprehensiveness of the Tendai System has caused it to be the parent of many schisms. It tried to reconcile contradictory systems, and, sooner or later, the contradictories were bound to come to the light and to separate. All the larger sects, with the exception of the

Shingon, have come out of the Tendai. The founder of the Japanese Zen was originally a priest of Tendai; the Amida-worshipping sects of Jōdo and Shinshū, and the noisy followers of Nichiren, with their cries of *Namumyō-hōren-gekyō*, have all originated from the same religious house on Hiyeizan.

On the other hand, this comprehensiveness ensured the success of the Tendai Sect. With the conception of the Dhyâni Buddhas came the idea that these fantastic personages had frequently been incarnated for the welfare of mankind. Had they left Japan all these centuries without a trace of their presence? No,—the ancient gods, whom the Japanese worshipped, were but manifestations of these same mystical beings, and the Buddhist faith had come, not to destroy the native Shintō, but to embody it into a higher and more universal system. From that moment, the triumph of Buddhism was secured. Just as an ancient Chinese priest is represented as wearing the hat of a Confucianist, the shoes of a Taoist, and the scarf of a Buddhist priest, so Buddhism in Japan learned to be both Confucian and Shinto in turns, and the triumph of the organized faith was secured.

The monastery at Hiyeizan became very famous and rich; at one time it numbered as many as 3,000 monks, and was the most powerful centre of Buddhist life, until Nobunaga, the political supporter of the Jesuit Missions, destroyed it in consequence of the aid which its denizens had given to his opponents. Since that time Hiyeizan has never recovered its former prosperity, and the mother-sect of Tendai has been far outstripped by the growing popularity of her undutiful daughters.

Chapter VI.

When we come to the history of the Shingon Sect, we come to what is most mysterious in Buddhist

doctrines. At the same time, when we come to consider the life of its founder, Kukai, now known as Kōbō Daishi, we come to what is most romantic. With the sole exception of Nichiren, none of the Buddhist Apostles of Japan has been so well known for what he has done and suffered, or has so deeply impressed his personality upon the nation at large.

Whilst Dengyō Daishi was labouring (successfully as we have seen) to establish in Japan, with such modifications as local circumstances required, the system which Chisha Daishi had set up in his monastery of Tendai, the priest Kukai was also labouring at a very different system, the germ of which he did indeed receive in his own country, but which he fully developed during a visit to China, which was almost contemporary with the visit of Dengyō Daishi.

Born in 776 A.D. in the small village of Biōbugaura, in the province of Sanuki, he could trace his descent to one of the followers of the celebrated Prince Yamatodake no Mikoto, the conqueror of the Emishi, or aboriginal inhabitants of the main island of Japan. Ere Kukai (he had several names previous to this, but we will give him the name by which he was best known during his life-time)—ere Kukai was born, his mother dreamed that the spirit of some great Indian Saint had entered her body; and the vision seemed to be verified, when the infant came into the world with his hands folded in the attitude of prayer. The boy himself seems to have been haunted by dreams predicative of his future greatness, and to have impressed the villagers with the notion of sanctity. It is said that a governmental official, visiting the village, dismounted from his horse and prostrated himself before the lad of nine, because, as he said, the child seemed to be under the almost visible protection of the Four Deva Kings. A boy of such pre-eminent sanctity could not fail to realize his vocation to the priesthood, and accordingly his whole education tended in that direction. He was trained at

first by his uncle at home, and afterwards received a course of Chinese classics at Kyōto, the newly established seat of the empire, after which he wrote his first book *Sankyo Shuki*; in which, after comparing the three then prevalent systems of Confucius, Mencius and Buddhism, he gave his reasons for accepting the last as his guide in life; and soon after entered the priesthood (A. D. 791.) But his profession of religion did not bring with it peace of mind; and he appears to have wandered about for two years in great distress, until he once more met with Ishibuchi Gonzo, the priest who had taught him Buddhism in Kyōto, and retired with him to the Temple of Makiō in Izumi, from which he shortly afterwards removed to the Temple of Todaiji in Nara. During this period he seems to have been once more assaulted with spiritual templations, and there is a story of how being attacked by evil demons at Cape Muroto in Tosa, he overcame the evil one by a flash of light which issued from his mouth in answer to his prayer. But, if his spiritual condition had its griefs, it had also its joys, as for instance, when, entering a temple, he was accosted by the widow of the former incumbent, as a long-foretold Bodhisattva who had appeared at the very moment when he was expected.

One day, he had a dream which had a great influence on his future development; for he was instructed by it to go to the monastery of Kume, at Takaichi, in Yamato, and there to study a celebrated but difficult Sutra which was there preserved. This Sutra (Mahâvairocana vaipulya Sutra; Jap. Dainichikyō) afterwards became the foundation of all his system of study. It was indeed a very difficult book, and he seems to have made little progress with it, until he went to China to have it more fully explained. It is said that this Sutra was brought to Japan by an Indian priest of the name of Zenmui, who deposited it in the Temple at Takaichi, saying that he left it there as a legacy till a Bosatsu should appear capable

of understanding its hidden meaning. This fact seems to point to the great activity of these Mahâyâna missionaries. Even in a remote village in Japan were they to be found at work.

In the year 804 he got his wish, and was sent as a government student to China. On his way he had a miraculous deliverance from tempest which reads very like our Lord's stilling of the sea. (We shall find an almost similar incident in connection with one of the founders of the Contemplative sect of the Zen).

Of old, when Holy Kōbō sailed.
To China, there to seek the Law,
From lips of Indian priests, who saw
Truths that from mortal view are veiled,

A mighty storm arose, with waves
High as the mountain-tops, and gales,
That broke the masts, and tore the sails,
And deeps that opening yawn'd like graves.

The sailors feared the tempest's height,
Plying the oar with might and main,
And cried for succour, but in vain;
No help was near, no friendly light.

But Kōbō, on the heaving deck,
Counting his beads, with eyes in air,
Stood deeply wrapped in quiet prayer,
As one that feared nor storm nor wreck.

Then, when the howling waves and wind
Beheld the quiet form, that stood,
And braved the furies of their mood,
Daring their strength with placid mind,

The wind lost heart and ceased to fight;
The waves, that round the vessel dashed,
Conceiving shame, sank down abashed;
And, lo! the haven was in sight.

an innovation.[15] If we define a Buddhist as a follower of Sakyamuni, then Kōbō Daishi is no Buddhist; for, as a Shingon priest remarked to me the other day, "we do not make much of Shaka in our sect." Based on the mysterious personage of Vairocana, it would perhaps be more properly called Vairocanism; viewed, however, in the light of the influence exerted upon it by its Japanese founder, it can have no better name given it than Kōbōism.

The current expositions of Buddhism he asserts (in common with the whole Mantra sect to which he belongs) to be true as far as they go, but imperfect. It is a temporary expedient, suitable to the needs of ordinary men. But just as Swedenborg maintained that under the apparent literal sense of the Holy Scriptures there lurks a spiritual sense, which none can apprehend but those who have mastered the divine science of correspondences, so in Kōbō's estimation there is also a secret doctrine of Buddhism, a doctrine of more than transient value, which he has to propound to his fellow countrymen.

As the centre of his system (I put it first, though it is probably the last reached by the searcher) he postulates the Great Buddha Vairocana,—a being anterior to Sakyamuni, and greater than him.

Very little is known about this Buddha,[16] but he is represented as the spirit of Truth, which taught Sakyamuni,

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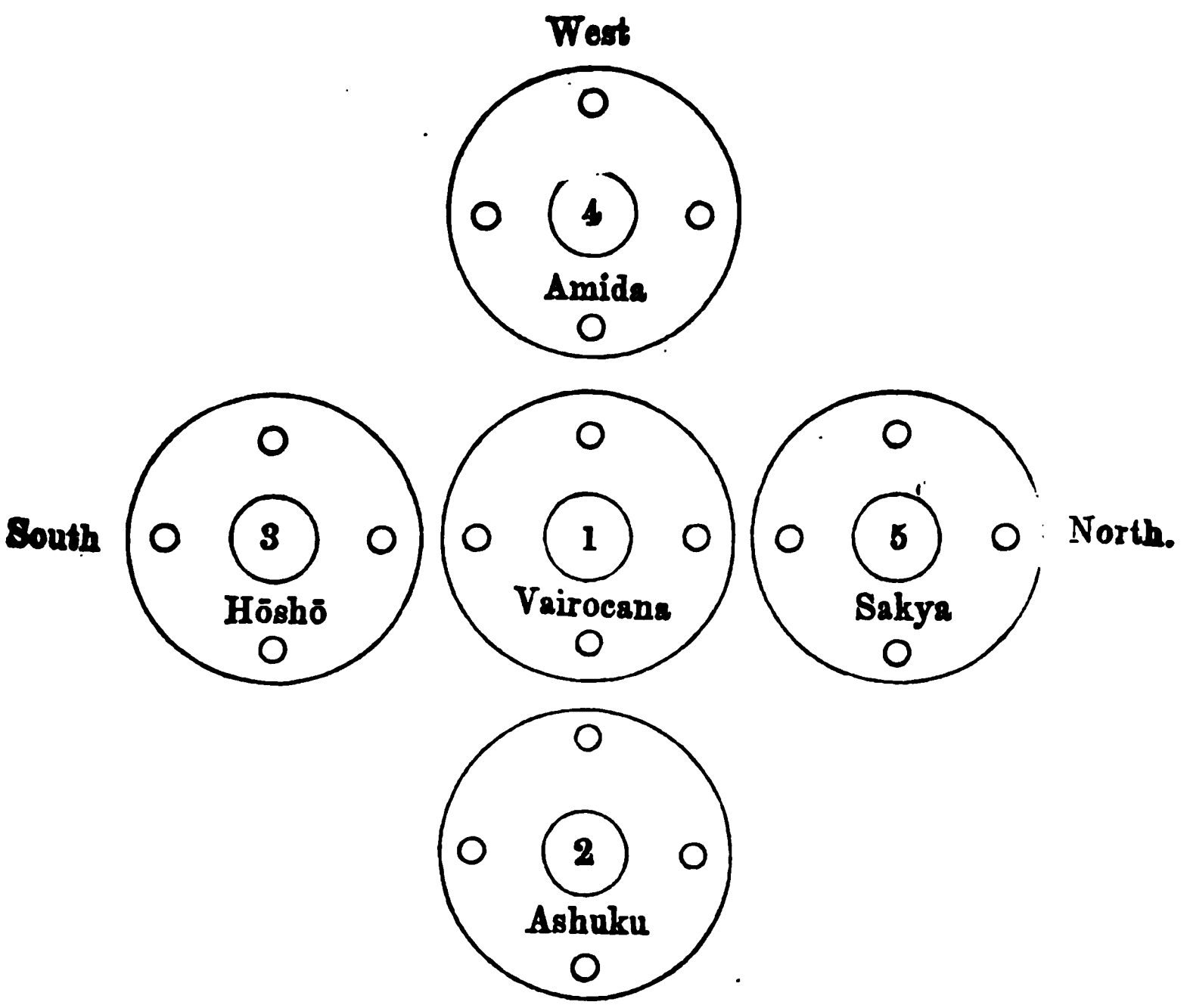
[15] The fact that the *Dainichi Kyō*, *Kongōchō Kyō* and *Soshitchi Kyō*, three of the principal books relied upon by this sect are classed by Nanjo in his Catalogue (Nos. 528, 529, 530) amongst the doubtful Sutras, "of which there is but one translation, and which are excluded from the five Classes," seems to point a later origin. It is also a significant fact that all three are wanting in the Tibetan Canon.

[16] In the "Vocabulaire de l'Analyse du Kandjour" which appears in the "Annales du Musée Guimet" for 1881, *Vairocana* is described as the first of the five Dhyani Buddhas, and as the most perfect of the Bodhisattvas. He appears as one of the

and then in later times inspired Vajrasattva, and a succession of patriarchs down to the times of Kōbō, with his divine illumination. From his Japanese name of *Dainichi* (Great Sun) it is clear that he is considered as a source of light, intellectual and spiritual, and as a centre of life around which can group itself a planetary system of subsidiary Buddhas and angels.

From the accompanying diagram, it will be seen that whilst Vairocana is the sun, the four principal planets revolving round him are (2) Akshobhya, or Ashuku, (3) Ratnasambhava, or Hōshō (4) Amitabha, or Amida, (5) Amoghasiddhi, or Fukū jō ju, *i.e.*, Sakyamuni.



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interlocutors in some of the Sutras; is honoured with the title of Bhagavat; and his name is sometimes first, sometimes second, and sometimes third in order, of the beings thus honoured. In the same vocabulary we find *Vajrasattva* (Jap. Kongō shitsu) mentioned as the president of the five Dhyani Buddhas, and

Again, as in the planetary system, each planet revolves not only around the sun, but on its own axis; taking with it one or more subsidiary satellites, to which each acts as a subsidiary sun, so each of the five Dhyâni Buddhas has revolving round him a set of Bodhisattvas of corresponding qualities.

Each Bodhisattva again has his own subsidiary planetary system, and so on almost *ad infinitum*. Now, if we remember that Vairocana and his four great satellites are Dhyâni Buddhas, "Buddhas of Contemplation"—imaginary beings, representing the One Truth and its four constituent elements; and that each subsidiary planetary system represents a further subdivision of the general *idea*, conveyed by Amida, Sakya and the rest, we have at once the picture before us of a *world of ideas*, all grouped logically and systematically according to genera and species, so as to be summed up in one comprehensive whole.

To this "world of ideas," unchangeable and everlasting, having no existence in reality, but existing only in universal thought, the Shingon sect gives the name of Kongōkai (Vajradhātu), the *diamond* world, *i.e.*, a world possessing all the strength, brilliancy and endurance of the diamond.

Corresponding to the diamond world, is the *womb element* or *Taizōkai* (Gharbha dhâtu)

Here again, Vairocana is the centre, but not, as before, the centre of a planetary system. It is the tendency of the centre of a planetary system, to draw each individual member of the system toward itself, and so ultimately to absorb it. Such is Vairocana's action in the Diamond World, the world of ideas.

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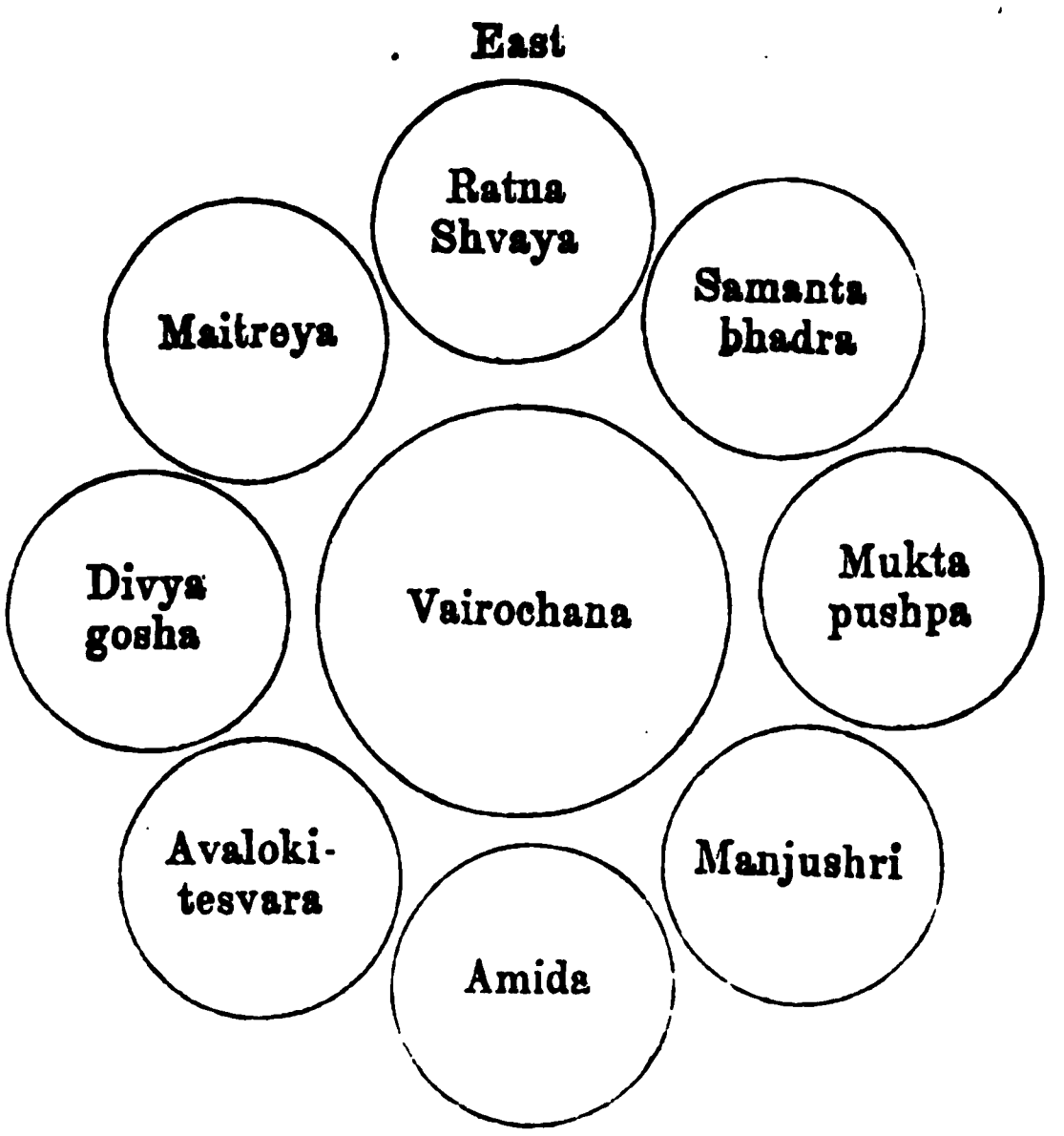
equally with Vairocana, bearing the title of Bhagavat. He is identified with the supreme Intelligence (Pradhâna) or Great Man (Mahâpurusha, Cf. Swedenborg's Magnus Homo); and union with Him is recommended as an object to be striven after.

In the "womb element," or world of existing phenomena, the material counterpart of the immaterial ideas, Vairocana, the source of organic life, is the heart of an eight-leaved lotus,



As in the contemplative world he was the centre of ideas, so, in the phenomenal world, he is the centre of phenomenal existence; and the first things emanating from him are the actual Buddhas, those who actually became incarnate and assumed a visible tangible shape.

Round this eight-leaved lotus flower, like the leaves of the calix, groups itself, in a definite arrangement, all phenomenal existence.

The Shingon believer is therefore taught to look upon Vairocana as at once the centre and source of all life, phenomenal and noumenal. From him, as from a bud, all things visible proceed; in him, as in a mighty sun, all things visible and invisible have their consummation and absorption.

To reach the realization, moral and intellectual, of this great Truth, that Vairocana is omnipresent, and that everything exists only in him, we must apparently ascend by a double ladder, each half of which has ten steps.

I.—*The intellectual ladder.*

1. *Ishōtei yōshin* "different birth ram sheep thought" —*i.e.* the thought which characterizes the lowest grades of life, which, like the ram and sheep, are only guided by appetite and lust.
2. *Gudōji sai shin*, "the obstinate thought of ignorance." The first step of teaching is to impart a fact to the pupil which he is to grasp firmly even though he cannot understand it.
3. *Fidō muishin*—"the fearless thought of innocence." He that keeps the commandments which he has received in a former stage, now advances with fearless step along the path of wisdom.
4. *Yui-un-mu-ga-shin*—"the concentrated thought of self devotion." Forgetful of self, withdrawing his attention from all side issues, he now concentrates his whole attention on the object to be attained.
5. *Batsu-gō-in-shu-shin.*—"The thought which extracts the seed of action." By the concentrated thought of the former stage, he learns to see the chain of causation, and to distinguish between thoughts which are fruitful of good works, and those which are not.
6. *Ta-en-dai-jō-shin.*—"The thought of others." He now sees that the chain of causation brings him into connexion with all other beings, and that he that would save himself must also strive to save all beings. This is essentially the characteristic of the Buddhist who has reached to the Mahâyâna stage.
7. *Kakushin fushōshin.*—"The thought which understands thought without production," *i.e.*,

"abstract meditation," which can only be reached from the standpoint of 6, and which infallibly leads to,

8. *Ichidō mu i shin.*—"The thought which travels along one path without doing"—that peculiar thought which is the product of a developed faïth.
9. *Gokumuji shō shin.*—"The power of thinking without any admixture of self."
10. *Himitsu shōgon shin.*—"The secret thought which cannot be described," and is the peculiar characteristic of the perfected Tathagata.

Corresponding to the ten steps of the intellectual ladder are the ten steps of the moral law—the decalogue. I have already given them elsewhere, (p. 367) so do not repeat them now. I will only say that whilst the first three refer to the body, and the middle ones to the mouth, which is the intermediary between body and-will, the last group have connection with the will which is the centre of a man's life, and the arbiter of his destiny. Indeed if a man can carry out the tenth commandment, he has carried out all the rest; "purity of intention" is love, "which is the fulfilment of the law."

But, as in morals the believer goes on to the practice of a sixfold range of transcendental virtues (see above p. 370), so in intellectual matters, he is taken on to consider the six elements which constitute the universe, and which are to the physical world what the transcendental virtues are to the moral.

They are

1. *Earth.*
2. *Water.*
3. *Fire.*
4. *Air.*
5. *Ether.*
6. *Wisdom.*

To these in the "Ideal World" we have corresponding "ideas."

1. To *earth*—the wisdom by which we see things as in a mirror.
2. To *water*—the wisdom which sifts and distinguishes.
3. To *fire*—the wisdom which equalizes all things.
4. To *air*—the wisdom which makes our actions universal.
5. To *ether*—the wisdom whereby we identify ourselves with what we are.
6. To *wisdom*—the Universal Mind.

Thus, by a two-fold gradation, intellectual and moral, we are brought to the same point—to *Vairocana* "from whom are all things, and to whom are all things."

In modern times the Shingon sect has not been as popular as it was in earliest days. Like the Tendai, it has had to suffer a great deal from the rivalry of the more modern and simpler bodies. Still it has by no means exhausted its vitality, and of late years one of its priests, Mr. S. Unsho, has done very much good in promoting the morality of his fellow countrymen. I give a summary of some of his work extracted from his magazine. He says: the commandments of the Bosatsu amount to a desire and vow to practice the whole of morality, after gaining a clear knowledge of its fundamental truths. This whole body of morality consists of two parts, (i) the acquisition of perfect perception for oneself, (ii) the bringing others to this perfect perception. Perfect perception shows us the connection between morality on the one hand, and the truth of the Universe on the other. When a man arrives at this perfect perception he is a living Buddha:—*i.e.* the truth has made him free from worldly affections, and he has passed into Nehan—the place beyond. To attain to this is the highest limit of intellectual education.

When a man has himself attained to this highest limit, it is both his duty and pleasure to teach to others the path by which he himself has mounted to his high enlightenment. This path is described by the terms Rokudō, and Shishō, otherwise termed—the six transcendental virtues (Paramitas) and the four right conducts.

These Six *Do* or Paramitas are described as.

1. *Dan*, "Charity."—A virtue not merely confined to almsgiving, but one which has for its object the blessing of all human creatures, in accordance with the charitable principles of the three and the eight blessings. The three blessings are: 1. Reverence for religion. 2. Filial piety. 3. Compassion for the poor. The Japanese word for master of a house is derived from this Paramita, it being the especial virtue of the *danna* (as the Shingon believer is also called), to dispense charity and hospitality.

The 8 blessings are described in two ways.

1. To dig wells.	1. Buddha.	These bear a strong resemblance to the works of corporal and spiritual mercy found in many Christian manuals of devotion.
2. To build bridges.	2. The Law.	
3. To make roads.	3. The priesthood.	
4. To support one's parents.	4. Father.	
5. To support the Church	5. Mother.	
6. To nurse the sick.	6. Teacher.	
7. To help the poor.	7. The poor.	
8. To promote charity.	8. The sick.	

2. *Kai.*—"Morality." Many moral precepts may be found scattered throughout the various Sutras of the Greater and Lesser Vehicles, but they can all be summarized in the well-known Decalogue of the *Jūzen*. It is therefore stated both in the *Kegon* and the *Dainichi Sutras* that this paramita

corresponds with the Decalogue. Further analysis will however show that the Ten Commandments really rest on three principles of evil which are to be avoided, covetousness, anger, and folly; and that the avoidance of these three sins again rests upon the acknowledgement of the 'one heart' which is really the 'heart of Buddha.' Morality therefore is based upon the holding fast of this one abiding principle. In Christian phraseology, morality depends on the perception of God. But how is that perception to be attained? The path is made clear as we advance in the practice of the other transcendent virtues.

3. *Nin*, "patience"—not only as against the obstacles to which all religious life is exposed;—but patience in the pursuit of the truth which is to set us free. Patience may be produced in a man by the practise of self-imposed austerities, but it must always be remembered that the end sought after is more valuable than the means used in its attainment.

4. To our patience we must add "energy" (*ju*, or *shojin*) though energy is not quite a good word to express this virtue. It is really that virtue by which, clearly setting before ourselves the object in view, we work out our own salvation. It includes abstinence from animal food, fasting, the observance of days and seasons, all those religious practices and means which want some energy to keep up. When St. Paul urges his readers not to neglect the assembling of themselves together as the manner of some is, he is in reality advocating this virtue.

5. *Ten* "Meditation." It is not by what we hear, but by what we mentally and spiritually digest that we make progress intellectual or moral.

6. And lastly *Wisdom*. But it must be remembered that *Hannya* (skt. prajná) is not earthly wisdom, the result of study and experience, but a transcendental wisdom, proceeding from a true intuition, and obtained by a proper course of meditation based on the preceding Paramitas which have already been attained to.

When this highest paramita has been reached the soul may be considered as having attained to perfect freedom which consists in perfect knowledge.

But for the perfecting of *Hannya*, three things are necessary. These are decribed by Mr. Unsho as

a. *Shinryoshi* or "the investigating mind."

b. *Ketsujōshi*, or "the decided mind."

c. *Tōhatsushōshi*, or the confessed mind.

(*a*) The investigating, or enquiring mind, works itself back to the law of cause and effect, and remembers that, "though the sun should grow cold and the moon hot," the everlasting law of retribution cannot fail, but that every infraction of the moral law must be followed by a corresponding penalty. Ignorance of the law cannot shield a man from its consequences. A man stands by a pool of water without knowing it; yet his ignorance does not save him from getting his clothes wet.

And even supposing ignorance to entail upon us no positive punishment, it always and necessarily increases our difficulties. Life is like a dark room through which we must grope our way. The wise man is like one who has been there before, and can steer his course safely without colliding with the furniture. The ignorant man, on the other hand, is like one to whom the dark room is unknown, who must carefully feel and grope, and counts himself fortunate if he escape without a crash of some sort.

The spirit of enquiry, therefore, and investigation is necessary in order that a man may know his moral and religious position. It is that requisite which in Christian theology is the first preliminary for baptism. Before entering upon the path of life, the Christian must examine himself whether he repents himself truly of his past sins. He must also set himself down and count the cost of his new undertaking.

(*b*) But there must also be the decided mind, which always pre-supposes a moment of decision. When that moment of decision arrives, the believer goes to the priest, and, before him, makes the promise of obedience, and receives the law.

(*c*) This is followed by the confessed mind, which is more properly treated of in the following section, as it is in reality the fulfilment of the commandments.

Before proceeding to the consideration of this it is well for us to stop and consider an extremely interesting point. Mr. Unsho laments that the ceremony of baptism has fallen into desuetude. At the present time, in the older sects at least, there is a distinct ceremony of initiation, and this was formerly accompanied by *Kwanjō* (Sansk. *abhisheka*) which consisted in baptism by affusion, water being poured over the head of the candidate. In view of the possible Gnostic origin of Great Vehicle Buddhism it is very important to keep this initiation ceremony before us. In the older sects, this initiation ceremony always includes a delivery of the law to the postulant, and a vow or promise made by him to observe the moral and religious commandments of the Law in which he professes his belief. The Pure Land Sects ask for no such vow. With them, and especially with the Monto sect, belief in Amida takes the place of works for salvation, and the law is kept not as a means for obtaining salvation, but out of gratitude for a salvation already obtained. It is, however, the teaching of the *Bosatsu-kai-kyō* that all

public officers should receive this Kwanjō at their entry upon office, it being essential for the welfare of the state, that it should have the blessing and recognition of the Church.

The grace said to be derived from this act of decision and public confession is compared with a seed. It cannot develop into perfection unless it be continually nurtured and fed. The public profession of faith therefore must be followed by a holy life.

Now the best means for leading a holy life is continually to keep the "end of our profession" before us. In the lower or Hînayâna Buddhism the end is individual salvation. The believer is taught that by a certain course of action, by self-restraint, meditation, and good works, he can succeed in annihilating passion, and pass into the Absolute Unconditioned Mind in which the individual soul is for ever lost.

But this aim is after all a lower, because a selfish, aim. The soul, when lost in Nirvana, ceases to be a benefit to others, and the salvation of one soul does not bring any others in its train.

The Mahâyâna Buddhism however is much higher. Its aim is nobler, because altruistic. It teaches the soul to strive, not after an extinction of self, so much as a perfect enlightenment, which, when attained, gives it the "infinite perception" of a "beatific vision"; and at the same time enables it to stretch forth a helping hand to all those that are connected with it by any of the various relationships of life. Here therefore comes the special work of those who in this life have reached to the perfect enlightenment. They form a band of great intercessors, pleading continually for their ignorant struggling brethren, that they also may attain to the same heights of perfect enlightenment and bliss.

The Shingon sect is not however contented with teaching morality. It seeks to enforce its morality by a

system of worship. I have before me what I may term a Treasury of Devotion, giving directions for the daily worship of the man who is striving after wisdom. It is evidently based on the manual used by the corresponding Chinese sect, as given in Beale's Catena of Buddhist Scripture, but has been modified to suit local circumstances.

Immediately after waking, and whilst folding up the *futons* (quilts used for sleeping purposes), the devotee is taught to recite a four-lined metrical prayer expressing the hope that as his quilts are being folded up and placed in their proper receptacle, so all his relations in life may be aroused from the slumber of delusion and eventually stored in their proper receptacle. A similar prayer is to be recited whilst washing the face and hands for the purification of all the relationships included in the *shi on*[17]

The worshipper then comes into the presence of the Buddha (perhaps we should say 'the Buddhas'), *i.e.* he kneels before the domestic shrine or shelf; and there makes an Act of Thanksgiving for the mercies obtained for him by the Buddhas of all the Quarters, together with a prayer for grace (if I may use the term) to follow them in all virtuous living.

He then makes a confession of sins,—and not only the sins committed in this life, but those innumerable unknown sins of previous existences that have kept him entangled in the cycle of life and death. Having confessed his sins, he recites his Creed—; inextricably entangled in the results of his own Karma, he flees, that is, for salvation to the Three Refuges—the Buddhas, the Law, and the Community. (It is noticeable that the word here

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[17] The *shion* or four favours, represent the duty we owe to those with whom we are brought into contact or connection.

1. All sentient beings.
2. Our parents.
3. Sovereign.
4. Buddha, the Law, and the Community.

used in the commentary for Buddhas, is not *butsu* which may be singular, but *hotoke* which, I believe, is almost always plural). Having thus given expression to his faith he repeats the Ten Commandments given above, and makes an Act of Obedience to them.

Then follows the répetition of three or four mantras —*shingon*—from the use of which this sect gets its title. These mantras are called respectively Bodaishin Shingon, Sammayakai Shingon, Kōmyō Shingon.

After these a verse in honour of Kōbō Daishi, not only as being the Japanese founder of the sect, but as being one of the manifestations of Dainichi Vairocana,—the Personified Symbol of Heavenly Wisdom. Then follows the recitation of the Hymnary of the Decalogue, and the Ekōmon.

The worship then closes with an Act of Reverence towards the gods of the country, and a Memorial of Parents.

We next come to the worship to be offered up at mealtimes. Coming into the dining hall or refectory, the worshipper, whilst preparing the meal, and arranging the tables, is directed to repeat certain formularies. When the preparations are completed, he is to offer three spoonfuls as a sacrifice, one in honour of all the Buddhas one in honour of all the saints, one in honour of all sentient beings within the six spheres of existence. He is then before eating, and with his heart directed to the dangers and temptations to which the soul of man is exposed from want of self-restraint in matters of food and drink, to meditate on his own failings, and to practise self-examination. A great deal is made of this, the commentary upon it extending over several closely printed pages. Then, taking the bowl in his hand, he is to eat in silence, concluding with an Act of Thanksgiving which is to be, repeated when he is cleansing the vessels that he has used for his meal.

The day's work is then sanctified by a short ejaculatory prayer.

The other meals of the day are to be accompanied by the same devotions as the morning meal.

After supper (somewhere about sunset) the worshipper again approaches the Presence of the Buddhas, and prays as in the morning. A short form of compline is added in the form of two short prayers to be used at bed-time

The rest of the manual is made up of prayers and collects to be used on the most various occasions. Almost all the events that occur in the ordinary life of plain citizens seem to be provided for.

The worship prescribed to the priests in the Temples is a great deal more elaborate than this. I have not however attempted to give any account of it. It is an extremely difficult subject, and involves an amount of technical knowledge of Chinese terms and symbols which would make it a very uninteresting subject to an ordinary reader. It would also take up more time and space than my present limits will allow me. But, after all, it is a subject which has very little to do with the daily life of an ordinary Buddhist layman. The connection between the ordinary Buddhist layman and his Temple is of the slightest. He visits it on certain family occasions, chiefly the anniversaries of the deaths of near relatives: he has an opportunity, if he wishes to avail himself of it, of hearing sermons. Sermons are delivered, in some temples every day, in others every ten days, in others twice, in others once a month, in others at still wider intervals. The layman subscribes money to the support of the temple, and has some voice in the appointment of the incumbent: a paper on his door indicates the sect to which he belongs, and is a guide to the begging friars who perambulate the streets. When he dies, his remains will be taken to the Temple, and the priests will give

him a new name to be inscribed upon his tombstone. In all other respects, the two classes are quite apart, and go each their own way.

In reading this account of the Shingon sect we shall see many points of resemblance to other religious systems.

In the repeated incarnations of Vairocana, as Sakya-muni, Vajrasatta, Kōbō Daishi, and others, we shall find resemblances to the avatars of Vishnu in Hindoo mythology, and to the Lamaism of Thibet.

In the doctrine of the Diamond Element and Womb Element we see analogies to Plato, and—strangely enough—to Swedenborg!

But the most striking resemblances of all are those which exist between the system successfully established by Kōbō Daishi in Japan, and that which strove in vain to captivate the Western mind—the Gnosticism of Early Christian days. It is no chance similarity, but one so minute in many ways as to leave no doubt that the two systems are identical, or, at least, sprung from one and the same source. The student of Christian theology may see a living Gnosticism, at its worst as well as at its best, in the Shingon sects of Japan.

On his deathbed Kōbō Daishi left to his followers a a testamentary which is interesting as summing up his religious position. I give a translation of it which will I think form a fitting conclusion to this chapter:

KŌBŌ DAISHI'S COMMANDMENT.

I speak to all my disciples. A man who becomes a priest and learns the way, must have a desire to attain to Buddhaship, and not to search for a Wheelking, S'aka, or Brahma, even though these are the lesser rewards of man.

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If a man purpose to go a long journey he cannot do so except by his feet: even so, if a man wish to know the ways of the Buddha, he cannot do so but by keeping his commandments.

Strictly preserving the two-fold doctrine, the apparent and the hidden, he must not commit the sin of cleaving (to life).

The Commandments of the aforesaid apparent doctrine are the Three Refuges, the Eight Precepts, the Five Precepts and the Commandments of the Shōmon and Bosatsu. Each of the four classes has its own special commandment.

The Commandments of the hidden doctrine are the so-called Rules of Sammaya (Skt. Samâdhi-"meditation"), which are also called the Rules for attaining to Enlightenment.

All these rules have the Ten Commandments for their basis. What are called the Jūzen, are three commandments concerning the body, four concerning the mouth, and three concerning the heart. If you reverse the order and from the end return to the beginning, you will find that the elemental principle is the One Heart. The nature of the One Heart does not differ from that of Buddha. There is no difference between my heart, the heart of all sentient beings, and the heart of Buddha. If you abide in this heart, it is to learn the faith of Buddha; being carried in this vehicle, you may enter the place of teaching.

Knowing these commandments, keep them as a treasure: even at the risk of life you must not break them.

If therefore you break them you are not the disciple of Buddha: you are neither Kongōshi, nor Kengeshi, nor Bosatsushi nor Shamonshi. Such a man is not my disciple either: nor am I his teacher. He does not differ from a piece of mud or a broken tree.

The relations between teacher and disciple are closer than those between parent and child. Though parent and

child are connected by ties of bodily relationship, yet their love belongs to one life only, and is terminated by death; disciple and teacher are bound by a law of spiritual affinity, and their love leads away from the miseries of this world and gives happiness. What comparison, therefore, is there between the two?

This is the reason why I teach you with kindness.

If a man follow my commandments he obeys the teachings of the Buddhas of the three worlds. This teaching is not mine: it is the teaching of all the Buddhas.

Therefore, all priests of both ranks, all laymen, adult and juvenile, practise these commandments; observe the contemplation of Buddha; pass beyond the three hindrances; make proof of the three perceptions; perfect the two rules of conduct; base your conduct on the four favours. Will ye not then become Bodhisattvas and Hinin (angels)?

If you depart from my teaching, you depart from the teaching of all the Buddhas. This is called *Is-sen-dai*,—this is to be an unbeliever ("one outcast"). It is to be sunk forever in the sea of pain, without possibility of escape.

I shall not speak with you again: go away, remain not here; go away, remain not here.

VII.

I have said in a former chapter that the immense extent of the Mahâyâna Canon Buddhist Scriptures necessarily tended to promote eclecticism. It being impossible to make a study of the whole, it evidently followed that each priest was at liberty to take that part of the system (if such a heterogeneous mass can be systematic) which was not in accordance with his own spiritual conditions. We have already seen that the Tendai and Shingon sects, described in the two preceding chapters, are eclectic, and base themselves, the one

If a man purpose to go a long journey he cannot do so except by his feet: even so, if a man wish to know the ways of the Buddha, he cannot do so but by keeping his commandments.

Strictly preserving the two-fold doctrine, the apparent and the hidden, he must not commit the sin of cleaving (to life).

The Commandments of the aforesaid apparent doctrine are the Three Refuges, the Eight Precepts, the Five Precepts and the Commandments of the Shōmon and Bosatsu. Each of the four classes has its own special commandment.

The Commandments of the hidden doctrine are the so-called Rules of Sammaya (Skt. Samâdhi-"meditation"), which are also called the Rules for attaining to Enlightenment.

All these rules have the Ten Commandments for their basis. What are called the Jūzen, are three commandments concerning the body, four concerning the mouth, and three concerning the heart. If you reverse the order and from the end return to the beginning, you will find that the elemental principle is the One Heart. The nature of the One Heart does not differ from that of Buddha. There is no difference between my heart, the heart of all sentient beings, and the heart of Buddha. If you abide in this heart, it is to learn the faith of Buddha; being carried in this vehicle, you may enter the place of teaching.

Knowing these commandments, keep them as treasure: even at the risk of life you must not break them.

If therefore you break them you are not the disciple Buddha: you are neither Kongōshi, nor Rengeshi, nor Bosatsushi nor Shamonshi. Such a man is not my disciple either: nor am I his teacher. He does not differ from a piece of mud or a broken tree.

The relations between teacher and disciple are closer than those between parent and child. Though parent

child are connected [illegible] love belongs to [illegible] disciple and teacher [illegible] and their love leads away [illegible] and gives happiness. [illegible] between the two?

This is the reason why I [illegible]

If a man follow my [illegible] teachings of the Buddhas of the [illegible] ing is not mine: it is the teaching of all the Buddhas.

Therefore, all priests of [illegible] and juvenile, practise these [illegible] contemplation of Buddha: pass [illegible] rances; make proof of the [illegible] two rules of conduct: base [illegible] favours. Will ye not then become [illegible] (angels)?

If you depart from my teaching, you depart from the teaching of all the Buddhas. This is called [illegible]—this is to be an unbeliever [illegible]. It is to be sunk forever in the sea of pain, without possibility of escape.

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mainly on the scripture known as the Saddharma pundarika, the other almost exclusively on that set of Buddhist writings which describe the action of the Great Buddha Vairochana, or Dainichi.

We now come in the course of history to another development of eclecticism; the system of Jōdo, or the pure Land. There is a set of three books upon which this system is entirely based.

In the shorter Amitâyus-Sûtra [18] (or as it is sometimes called, the Lesser Sukhâvatî Vyûha), Sakyamuni gives a description of the various great Buddhas of the Ten Regions, but dwells especially upon the merits of one particular Buddha, the Buddha of the West—whose Paradise is open to all those who desire to be born in it. This is the book known as the Amidakyō in Japan.

In the larger Sukhâvatî Vyûha (Muryōjukyō),[19] we have "a history of the Tathāgata Amitâbha from the first spiritual impulses which led him to the attainment of Buddhahood in remote Kalpas down to the present time when he dwells in the western world called Sukhavatî (Gokuraku: or 'happy'), when he receives all beings from every direction, helping them to turn away from confusion, and to become enlightened." (Nanjo).

In the third or Amitâyus dhyâna Sûtra, (Kwan-muryō-ju-Kyō) [20] we have an account of how Sakyamuni instructed Vaidehî, wife of King Bimbisara of Magadha, as to the right way to be born in the Pure Land ruled over by the Tathagata Amida.

It is on these three scriptures that is based the *Jōdo* sect which I purpose to discuss in the present chapter, and also its daughter, the *Shinshū* sect, which will come up for description in the next.

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[18] No. 200 in Nanjo's Catalogue. [19] No. 27 in the Catalogue.
[20] No 198.

To begin with:—Who is Amida, the Being thus described in these important Sutras?

In "a Catechism of Shinshū Buddhism," published at Madras by the Theosophical Society, Amitâbha is described as having made his vows to save mankind innumerable Kalpas ago, when he was yet a monk, Dharmâkara by name, in the time of the Buddha Lokesvarâja ("King Lord of the World.") But Amitabha was not an ordinary man, for though at the time of making his vows he was an ordinary mendicant monk of some pre-buddhistic order, yet he was originally "a Buddha without beginning"; that is, being "the truth itself—the body of abstract existence, all other Buddhas have attained to the perfect knowledge only after worshipping him, and he is, therefore, called the original matter of all Buddhas. Still more it is said even that all Buddhas are the transformed bodies of Amitâbha." Thus, the Tendai sect goes back to a quasi divine being; the Shingon goes back to another; and now the Jōdo sect goes back to a third. There can be but one source of all the Buddhas, yet Amida, Vairocana, and the Buddha of Original Enlightenment are not identical, but are three.

In order to prepare the means of salvation for mankind, whom he knew to be absolutely incapable of procuring this salvation for themselves, he became a mendicant and, by a course of holy lives, raised himself to a state of Buddhahood. Having reached this stage he paused, and before accepting the prize which he had merited, made a series of vows by which he bound himself not to enter into Nirvana until certain great objects had been accomplished. The essence of these vows was as follows:—that by his power he should create a pure Land all his own,—the Western Paradise,—over which he should rule with immeasurable light; that his name should be exalted as the Buddha of Endless Life and Light over

all the other Buddhas and be glorified by them; that whosoever, in this world should rely on him with true faith, should at his death be reborn in this Paradise, from whence he should without fail attain to the blessed condition of Nirvana.

Such is the splendid conception sketched for us in the Sutras now mentioned. The patriarchs of the Mahâyâna in India, Asvagosha, Nâgârjuna, and Vasubanhu, are credited with having been the first to teach the doctrines contained in them; and their successors in China are given as E-on (416 A.D.), Don-ran (A.D. 542), Dōshaku (600–650) and Tendo (600–650); from whom, five centuries later, it came to Japan.

One of these Chinese patriarchs, Dōshaku, in his book called *An-raku-shū*, divides Sakyamuni's teachings as follows. Its two principal divisions are Hînayâna (Shōjō) and Mahâyâna (Daijō).

"The Hînayâna is the doctrine by which the immediate disciples of Buddha, and those of the period of five hundred years after Buddha practised the three Sikshas (Sangaku) or trainings of Adhivîla (Kai) or "higher morality,' Adhicitta (Jō) or 'higher thought,' and Adhiprajûâ (E), or 'higher learning,' and obtained in their present life the four holy fruits of Srota-âpanna, Sakrid-âgâmin, Anâgâmin and Arhat." (Nanjo.)

But the Shōjōkyō or Hînayâna is a doctrine only intended for believers of lower qualifications, and, in consequence, the standard of teachings is low. For believers of a more advanced type, and consequently, for the whole Buddhist Church in the period of her greatest development, the Mahâyâna doctrines are more especially intended. Here also there are the three trainings of "higher thought," "higher morality" and "higher learning," but they are of a more advanced type, and the lower teachings are the stepping stones to the higher. If we come to particularize differences between

the two systems (I am now quoting from a popular Japanese Catechism), we have, first, the distinction between a negative and positive Nirvâna. The Hînayâna teaches man to extinguish all desires, and abandon all wicked conduct, to free himself from all the pains of this illusory world, and thus to plunge into a Nirvâna of total extinction. In the Mahâyâna, on the contrary, Nirvâna may be more properly described as Jôbutsu ("becoming a Buddha") and is "a positive result, everlastingly safe, free, and pure." A second difference is found in the relative wideness of scope. In the Lesser Vehicle, the believer is taught only to work out his own salvation; in the Greater Vehicle, he works also for that of others. And a third most important difference lies in the teaching and non-teaching of Shinnyo (Skt. Bhūtatathāta). In the one, only the laws of the phenomenal world are explained, for the doctrine is intended for those who are not yet developed in their spiritual condition. The Mahâyâna, on the contrary, explains the substance and real nature of the Universe, for it is intended for developed intellects. It teaches therefore that at the heart of the Universe is Shinnyo, of which the Universe is only a manifestation; and that this Shinnyo is the "True and Immutable," "a self-existing absolute being which permeates through all existence, and is the substance, the noumenon of it." It is "free from the relations of time and space, and has an active quality of setting forth the phenomena of the universe."

In the same way as the philosophic speculations of the Mahâyâna are higher than those of the Hînayâna, so is it with the moral practices. The believer is taught to look higher and to practise a higher morality as he advances in spirituality.

This is called the Holy Path, by which men through their own exertions enter into Buddhahood by following the Holy Path set before them. It is the doctrine of

jiriki, "self-exertion," and was the special characteristic of the first fifteen centuries after the death of Buddha, when the Buddhist Law was in its greatest vigour, and men from time to time arose to accomplish the great aim of perfection that they aimed at.

But (and this tacit confession of failure on the part of the Buddhists deserves to be noticed) those fifteen centuries of splendour should be succeeded by five centuries (or more) of degradation, known as the Latter Days of the Law (Mappō), a period "when iniquity should abound and the love of many should wax cold." During this period, the gate of self-exertion which stands at the end of the Holy Path should be closed, but the "gate opened by the exertion of another (*tariki mon*)" should be opened wide, and men should be saved by the faith in Amida.

The Jōdo sect was introduced into Japan by a priest named Genkū. Born 1153 A.D. he was induced to enter the priesthood by his father's dying word, at the age of nine, and five years afterwards became a priest of the Tendai sect, and went to Hiyeizan to study. It was a time not calculated to encourage a novice at such a place. The Taira family were at the head of affairs; and a quick succession of abdicating Emperors, shows how troubled were those times for the heads of the State. The proximity of Hiyeizan to Kyoto, and the well-known political tendencies of its ambitious abbots and monks would make it a very uncongenial abode for a studious recluse, while the intimate acquaintance with the political disturbances would serve to emphasize the belief in the arrival of the Latter Days of the Law. We are not therefore surprised to find that he retired in his eighteenth year to the neighbouring valley of Kurodani, where he lived in a small hut and devoted himself to study with a view to finding out a way of helping the poor and ignorant. We can well understand how miserable must have been

the spiritual condition of the poor during this rule of turbulent nobles, ambitious monks, and weak sovereigns, and how the heart of a compassionate man must have yearned over the sufferings of his fellow-countrymen. During his retirement at Kurodani, which lasted for twenty-five years, he is said to have read through the whole of the Canon, and in the course of his studies, whilst reading the Kwan-Muryōjukyō with the aid of of Zendō's commentary, he grasped the meaning of the Sutra, and perceiving that faith in Amida was the true refuge for men in the degenerate later days on which his lot had fallen, he commenced to teach in accordance with the doctrines which I have already explained, summing up his religious practices by the frequent repetition of Namo amida butsu (Skt. Namo Amitâbhaya Buddhâya) Glory to Amida the Buddha.

Genkū received the posthumous name of Honen Shōnin, and his teachings were received with great favour in high quarters. Three Emperors, Takakura, Go Shirakawa, and Go Toba became his pupils. When they fell from their high state and were forced to abdicate, we can well understand that they would find a great deal of comfort in the belief in the merciful interpositions of Amida. The sect continued to receive a large share of exalted patronage until quite recent times. A large number of the Tokugawa Shōguns lie buried in the Jōdo temple of Zōjōji at Shiba, and the Imperial House gave the sect many tokens of esteem. The biography of the Founder was compiled by Imperial Order, and subsequent Emperors ordered fresh editions of the life to be published.

We may now summarize in a few words the leading characteristics of the Jōdo system. It is salvation by faith, but it is a faith ritualistically expressed. The virtue that saves comes not from the imitation of and conformity to the person and character of the Saviour Amida, but from the blind trust in his efforts, and

the ceaseless repetition of pious formulæ. It does not therefore necessitate any conversion or change of heart. It is really a religion of despair rather than of hope. It says to the believer: the world is so very evil that you cannot possibly reach to Buddhaship here. Your best plan therefore is to give up all such hope, and simply set your mind upon being born in Amida's Paradise after death; and if you once get entrance into that land your ultimate salvation is secure.

It is very remarkable how little of history Buddhism has. The history of the Buddhist communities is generally wonderfully uneventful. It is only here and there, when some great person comes into temporary prominence that the smooth surface of the stream seems to be disturbed. And even when such a person appears, he comes and goes without fuss or disturbance. He becomes a priest in one of the existing sects, and presently finds that he is thoroughly out of sympathy with the teaching of his sect. But he does not attempt to reform it. He quietly retires to some other place, erects a small cottage, and commences a sect by himself. There is very little bad feeling about it; and in course of time the new sect takes its place along with the others as one of the recognized forms of the Buddhist faith, and as it grows splits itself into three, four, or even ten subsidiary sects, the differences between which are often merely local.

VIII.

Before coming to the Shinshū sect, we should, if we adhered strictly to the chronological order, first describe the Zen sects. But the Jōdo and Shinshū are so nearly related to one another that it seems better to treat them together.

One of the favourite pupils of Honen Shōnin was Shinran (born A.D. 1173, died A.D. 1262), a man of very good family, and belonging to the Fujiwara clan. Whilst

still young he was placed as a novice in the Tendai monastry at Hiyeizan, where he remained until he was twenty-nine years of age, when he became a pupil of Hōnen Shōnin, then in the height of his influence, and joined the Jōdo priesthood. Hōnen died A.D. 1212, and the subsequent policy of the sect did not commend itself to Shinran's mind as a true development of his teachings. There arose much discussion and dissension about this, which eventuated in Shinran's being banished from Kyōto to the distant province of Hitachi, where, about the year 1224, he established his sect of *Jōdo Shinshū*, "True Sect of Jōdo."

The Shinshū teachings, like those of the Jōdō, were originally intended for people of a lower class of intelligence; and indeed the ignorance of a great proportion of the laity of this sect has given rise to a Japanese proverb (*monto mono wo shiradzu*) "the Monto believers know nothing."

If faith in Amida and his vow is the sole necessary for that present salvation which is to land the believer in Paradise at his death, it is clear that to trouble the mind of a believer with the metaphysical subtleties and high speculations which form so important a part in the teachings of other sects, such as, for instance, the Tendai and Shingon, is a very needless work. Once in Paradise, and the whole of the speculative and metaphysical system of the Truth will come spontaneously to the mind without any teaching at all. The Shinshū therefore, at any rate, in its earlier and more popular presentments, divests itself of all metaphysics. It knows nothing of a philosophy of religion: faith in Amida is the all in all.

In the same way, the older sects had insisted upon as necessary, and the Jōdo had retained as advisable and useful, the performance of many acts of religion and devotion. This was compared by one of the great Buddhist doctors (Nâgârjûna, I think,) to a hard journey over mountainous country, perilous and laborious. When the traveller instead of taking that perilous land journey, goes to his

destination by sea, he sits still and is wafted along in his boat by wind and wave. Such is the faith of Amida as preached by the Shinshū: it is *i-gyō-do* ("the way of easy acts").

Again, in the older sects, as we have seen, morality depends on the keeping of many commandments carefully graded according to the capacity of the devotee. In the Shinshū, the "thankful remembrance of the mercies of Amida" sums up the law. He that keeps that mercy ever before him will without fail keep all the commandments. It is a case of love being the fulfilling of the law.

Hence, Rennyo Shōnin, one of the principal priests of this sect, composed the following Creed:

"Rejecting all religious austerities and all other action, giving up all idea of self-power, we rely upon Amida Buddha with the whole heart for our salvation in the future life, which is the most important thing; believing that at the moment of putting our faith in Amida Buddha, our salvation is settled. From that moment, invocation of his name is observed as an expression of gratitude and thankfulness for Buddha's mercy. Moreover, being thankful for the reception of this doctrine from the founder and succeeding chief priests whose teachings were so benevolent, and as welcome as light in a dark night, we must also keep the laws which are fixed for our duty during our whole life."

Again, in the older sect, whilst Amida was made the only hope of man's salvation, supplication to the other Buddhas was not forbidden, and consequently, in the temples of the Jōdo sect, Amida is sometimes found in juxtaposition with other objects of worship, and especially those Buddhas whose favours are of a temporary nature, such as Kwannon and others. But Shinran forbade all worship to any but Amida, and would not allow

his followers to ask for any blessings of a temporary nature. Prayer to Amida should be confined to those objects which concern man's ultimate salvation.

And man's ultimate salvation, when is it attained? The Jōdo sect teaches that if we call the mercy of Amida to remembrance, then Amida will meet us at the hour of death and conduct us to his Paradise. The Shinshū believer is taught that the coming of Amida is present and immediate, that he receives, whilst in this life even, the assurance of his salvation, that in other words, Buddha dwells in his heart now by faith.

If then faith is the sole means of salvation, it follows that there is no need for the candidate for salvation to become a priest, leave his home, renounce matrimony and live by rule. The layman's and even the laywoman's, chance of salvation is quite as good as the priests. The object therefore for which the priesthood exists is changed. It is no longer as it was in Shaka's conception, a body of men striving after perfection, but a body of men living to teach others, the corporate depository of the Faith and Worship of the Church. The Shinshū sect, therefore, allows its priests to marry, to dress like laymen, and even, when necessary, to eat meat. It is true that in other sects priests occasionally married. I have found married priests belonging to almost every sect. But with the other sects it is the exception, the Church law is defied because the civil prohibition against priestly marriage has been withdrawn. In the Shinshū sect it is encouraged in every way; the family is considered the best sphere in which to lead the religious family life, and the incumbency not only of the ordinary temples, but even of their bishoprics and primacies is hereditary in certain families.

The *Shinshū* or *Monto* sect (as it is sometimes called) is divided into two main divisions, both of which trace their history back to the life-time of Shinran. When the Saint was in banishment in the northern provinces,

he founded a temple at Takata in Shimotsuke, which became in time the headquarters of the Takata subdivision, a branch whose chief temple now stands at Isshinden near Tsu. Some years later he founded another monastery at Kibe in Ōmi, which became the present temple of the Kinshokuji subdivision. Both these branches are now insignificant as compared with the two other great branches which originated soon after. Eleven years after the death of Shinran (I am quoting from the second edition of Murray's Handbook) his youngest daughter and one of his grandsons erected a monastery near to his tomb at Ōtani in the Eastern suburbs of Kyōto, to which the Mikado gave the title of Hongwanji, "Monastery of the Original Vow," in allusion to the well-known vow of Amida which forms the basis of the sect's teaching. In the middle of the fifteenth century the Abbot of Hongwanji built a great gateway to the temple, which excited the envy of the monks of Hiyeizan, who attacked the place and burnt it to the ground. The Abbot fled to Echizen, where he was joined by a powerful body of adherents, and by their aid made himself master of the whole province of Kaga, which remained in the possession of his successors for nearly a century. In 1477 he re-established the Hongwanji at Yamashina near Kyōto, and in 1496 founded a monastery under the same name at Ōsaka which, towards the middle of the sixteenth century, became the headquarters of the sect. Here Nobunaga unsuccessfully besieged Kennyo, the 11th Abbot, in 1570, with an army of 58,000 men. For ten years hostilities were carried on between him and the adherents of the sect with varying success, ending in the abbot consenting to capitulate. But three days before the date on which it was agreed that the fortress should be handed over, he set the buildings on fire and decamped during the night. In 1591 Hideyoshi ordered the sect to transfer its headquarters to Kyōto, whence it had been driven 127 years before, and forced Kyōnyo to

resign the headship in favour of his younger brother, but in 1602 Iyeyasu allowed him to found another monastery in Kyôto to which the name of Higashi (Eastern) Hongwanji was given, while the original foundation was called Nishi (Western) Hongwanji, or simply Hongwanji.

It will be seen from the above account that the character of the Buddhist priesthood had changed. When it first came into the land, it came as a softening influence in the midst of the surrounding barbarism, and it has even been charged by Murray[21] and other writers with enervating and corrupting the manliness of the Japanese race. The calm of the monastery was an agreeable relaxation after the troubles of the throne, and many a sovereign who would have done better in his proper sphere, was tempted to forsake his duties, in order to obtain the rest of a religious life. But these aristocratic monks did not bring with them the true monastic spirit; the world was still in their hearts; they were out of the world and yet in it, until gradually the spirit of the world prevailed, and as in the monastic institutions of mediæval Europe, the clang of arms was heard in the cell, refectory and chapel.

We therefore find now that most of the succeeding sects are manly and vigorous. It is true that the Zen sect emphasises the Quietistic tendencies of Buddhism. But the Zen sects are chronologically anterior to this time. They date from the period when Buddhism was still in its gentle and contemplative moods. With the rise of Shinshû and of its contemporary rival the Nichiren sect, we come to the era of combativeness. The spirit of the World has entered into the Community of monks: the varied offspring born from the fertile womb of Buddhism have come to maturity, and will be heard in the history of the country striving with one another for mastery.

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[21] History of the Nations, Japan, p. 127.

In modern days the Shinshū sect has been the most progressive of all Buddhist sects, and has freely sent forth its promising priests to study in Europe and America. It is consequently more in touch than any of its compeers with modern scientific research. Its peculiar tenet gives it a great advantage in this respect; for we have seen that if faith in Amida is the one and only thing necessary, it is clearly superfluous to trouble oneself with philosophical theories and metaphysical speculations, such as those to which the other sects are committed. It can therefore freely and readily accept any scientific theories about the origin and constitution of the world. Having already thrown aside its encumbrances, it is in a position to accept a new burden of theories, or, if need be, to leave them alone.

At the same time it is able to use far more popular methods of propagandism. Of all Buddhist writers, the Shinshū priests are the most fertile producers of popular tracts, some of which bear a very striking resemblance to popular tracts amongst ourselves. I have in my possession a collection of these Shinshū tracts, of which I here give a summarized specimen.

A little boy of pious parents in Tōkyō (name and address of parents are given) lies sick, with no hope of recovery. He is eight years old, and has always been a good, nay, a very good little boy, ardent in his faith, constant in his devotions, and regular in his attendance upon sermons. During his last illness he is attended by a doctor who is an unbeliever. The parents stand weeping round the boy, who however, tells them not to weep. "I shall soon be with Amida, in Paradise," says he, "and there I shall wait for you. Tell my brother to be a good boy and not to forget his religion. I want him to be with us there." So affected was the doctor by the invalid's touching little speech, that his conversion was instantaneous, and he immediately joined the Shinshū sect.

Like the rest of the Buddhist sects, the Shinshū followers use the rosary, which they fasten to their hands as a protection against evil thoughts and actions. "We carry a kind of rosary called Nanju," says the Shinshū Catechism,[22] "which means "remembering beads," and when we worship Buddha we wear it on our hands.

And, who will beat another's head with the hand which holds the rosary? In a certain Ken (province), recently, there was a devoted believer of our sect. He was then a member of the Ken assembly. He used always to carry a rosary in his hand, and wherever he went he would never take it off his hand. One day, when he was attending the assembly one of the members advised him that he had better take it off while he was proceeding with the deliberation. "Oh no," said he, "you do not know my secret. Since I was chosen as a representative of the people in this Ken, I must do my best for their convenience; I must be fully just, patient and unselfish. But, as I am a man, if I should trust to my own will, I should be perhaps prejudiced, passionate, and selfish. Therefore I always carry this rosary to command my evil temper, because whenever I see this rosary, I remember the mercy of Buddha, and I return to the right."

During the recent earthquake in Tōkyō, an old and devout member of this sect, knowing that the house in which he was living was in danger of falling, sat down in the middle of the room, and rosary in hand commenced his thankful remembrance of Amida's mercy. The house fell and the rafters came crushing all round him. But the old gentleman remained firm, and in the midst of the ruin escaped without a scratch. This story, related in the *Japan Mail* a few days after the earthquake, shows the constancy of mind which is produced by this faith in the mercy of Amida.

[22] A Shinshū Catechism by Sho Kwaku Katō, published for Theosophical Society, 1891, p. 25.

In the Shinshū sect there is no use made of charms or spells, and the sect, in this respect, forms an honourable exception to the others. Misfortune has its root in the evil Karma of previous existences, and cannot be avoided by the possession of a talisman, the repetition of some mystic sounds, or the pasting of a piece of paper over the door of the house. Amida's help may not be invoked, yet it is maintained that there are often interpositions of Amida's power, even miraculous ones. And yet it is argued that there is no miracle so great as that oft recurring one "that those who are so sinful can become Buddha by a single thought of relying upon Amitâbha."

In the first volume of the Annales du Musée Guimet (1880) there is an account of a conference between some of the clergy of the Shinshū sect at Kyōtō, and the members of the French Scientific Mission which was sent out by the French Government for the purpose of enquiring into the religious condition of Japan. I give here a translation of the principal questions and answers.

Q. (By M. Guimet). My first question concerns the origin of heaven, earth and all that surrounds us. How do you explain their formation according to Buddhist principles?

A. (By the Shinshū priests). Buddhism ascribes the existence of all things to what it calls *In-en* (cause and effect). Everything that exists is a combination of infinitely subtle atoms which by various combinations have formed mountains, rivers, plains, metals, stones, plants and trees. The existence of these things comes from the relation of their *In* to their *En*, just as all animate beings are born by virtue of their own *in-en*.

Q. Is there then no creator of heaven, earth and all other things?

A. No.

Q. What is it then that you call *In-en*?

A. Nothing is formed naturally or of its own motion. It is always the relationship of this to that that constitutes a thing. The distance between the cause and the effect varies more or less according to circumstances; but these two generating elements being by their very nature correlatives, it is from their relationships that all things are produced. Cause separated from effect is absolutely nothing, and so is effect separated from cause.

Q. Do you then admit the existence of a certain order in the formation of heaven and earth?

A. According to an old Indian tradition the books of the Buddhist religion sometimes mention such an order; but there is nothing clear or precise to be found. Anyhow, since these accounts tell us that many thousand years have elapsed since the formation of the world, it does not seem likely that during this long period all natural phenomena should have been left to chance or hazard. We can therefore admit a certain order in the formation of things without contravening the fundamental principles of the religion.

Q. Everything in the universe is subject to a general and uniform law. Was this law pre-existent to the formation of heaven and earth?

A. By the side of everything, there is a law to which it is subject. Heaven and earth were formed by virtue of a natural law which resides in this very formation. Only, some men understand it, and others do not. That is because some possess an intelligence sufficiently devoloped to comprehend it and others do not.

Q. Do animated beings also owe their existence to *In-en* (cause and effect)? Do you admit that, from the beginning, all the physical properties and forces, of which our modern physicists speak, have existed?

A. It is beyond all doubt that animated beings also owe their existence to *In-en*. Everything exists in the

world because, prior to its formation, the reason for its formation already existed. Without this pre-existent law nothing could be formed.

Q. Chemists maintain that when two bodies combine they form a third which is different? Do you admit that this law existed before the formation of everything?

A. Yes.

Q. According to what you have hitherto told me, I remark that your ideas generally agree with those of our European scholars who are from day to day engaged in the investigation of science. I now ask you if the acts of men depend upon God.

A. A man's acts are his own acts: they do not in any way depend upon God.

Q. Do you not, then, admit that God exercises his influence upon humanity, and that he directs us in the accomplishment of our diverse acts of invention or completion?

A. As Buddhism denies a Creator and attributes everything to Cause and Effect, it follows that every act of a man is of his own initiative and done without any intervention of God.

Q. The term "God" is improper. Nevertheless, your religion admits a superior Being, Amida, whom you adore with reverence and faith. Tell me, has Amida's power no influence upon a man's actions?

A. The differences, social and moral, between men, depend more or less on the education they have received, but not on the will of Amida.

Q. Do not the legislative or political reforms in a country depend upon Amida?

A. An act is a human act whether it emanates from one man or from many. It is more or less conformable to reason according as it came from instructed or ignorant men: but it has no direct dependence on Amida.

Q. I am ready to admit that it is by work that a man increases his knowledge, and accomplishes progress in physical science, but when we come to the moral sciences, and the distinctions between good and evil, justice and injustice, does it not seem that there exists a superior being who recompenses or punishes our acts, just as the social power punishes infractions of public social order?

A. Every good and every evil has as its consequence a happiness or sorrow. This results from the natural idea of *ingwa* (Karma—cause and effect).

The social power, in punishing actions which are opposed to morality only, represses the abuses which come from the external relations of men to one another. This shows that laws are formed by agreement between men, and that they vary according to countries. We have here only a human fact showing the good and evil of the exterior world; it is one consequence of *in en* (that is to say, an application of the law of cause and effect in this world by means of rewards and punishments awarded by the social power). As for acts which concern the conscience, human compacts could neither punish nor reward them. According to the intensity of the cause, their effect will be manifested sooner or later; but neither the recompense nor the chastisement comes from without. Man brings happiness and sorrow upon himself, and by himself. Thus, a man commits a wicked action; if no one knows his guilt, he will suffer no external punishment; nevertheless his conscience will reprove him more or less severely, and that because the vice, which was the cause of the misdeed, reacts in some way upon him.

Q. Does the consequence of a bad intention or culpable act always show itself in the life of him who commits it?

A. The consequences appear sometimes in this life, sometimes after death. We can affirm nothing in advance. Suppose a culpable action to be done to-day: its results

may be apparent at the moment of commission, or a few days later, or at some period after the decease of the guilty person. Thus, whilst the cause exists at the moment of committing the culpable action, the consequences do not declare themselves till a time more or less remote, according to the gravity of the action.

Q. According to what you have told me just now, all things are produced by two elements, cause and effect. But, in industrial questions, it seems to me that there is a concurrence of three elements for production—capital, intelligence and labour. Thus, to establish a factory we must have the capital necessary for its foundation and maintenance, the intelligence of the manager, and the labour of the workmen. If one of these elements be wanting, the factory cannot exist. The same can be seen in the manufacture of pottery. I have never seen anything produced by the concurrence of two elements only.

A. Buddhist *In-En* does not necessarily limit us to two elements. Thus in the cultivation of a plant, the seeds are *In*, the rain, the dew, the water and the earth are *En*. If one of these latter be wanting the plant cannot grow. Hence, the seasons also are a part of the *In*. In reality, there are six kinds of *In* and four orders of *En*. . . . . Buddhism never speaks of the concurrence of three elements in the formation of things.

Q. Christianity declares that every man is afflicted with what it calls "original sin." Is there anything analogous to this in Buddhism?

A. There is no mention of Original Sin; only, every man possessing in himself what we call *Mumyō*, *i.e.* an original error inherent in the very nature (au fond même) of the heart, we say that it is this primitive error which is the cause of all the vices and faults which we have committed and always commit in the *meikai* worlds (lower worlds).

Q. I suppose that what you call *mumyō* cannot be a sin. If it be a sin it can be absolved; but if it be an error, absolution is impossible.

A. Error may be the cause of a sin, but it is not itself a sin. It is therefore completely distinct from the original sin of Christianity. Thus, an individual commits though ignorance an improper action; doubtless he is guilty of a fault, inasmuch as he has committed an improper action; but when his ignorance is taken into consideration, he can scarcely be called guilty.

B. Can one by prayers change a misfortune into a blessing: *e. g.* a poor harvest into an abundant one?

A. In Buddhism generally, men often talk of the success of prayers addressed to the Deity. But our sect absolutely forbids them. Further, even in general Buddhism men never talk of the transformation of things which can never be transformed; they do not ask for impossibilities. The question of prayer can only present itself therefore in connection with a thing capable of making itself.

To take an example. Every calamity is the consequence of an *In* contaminated with vice. But when a man repents himself of his former actions he promises henceforth only to do actions in accordance with morality. Then, what remains for him to do? To invoke the Hotoké (Buddha). But the Hotoké listens to no invocation which is directly addressed to him, whether to ask a blessing or to deprecate a misfortune.

It is through ignorance that the unenlightened common people contravene this principle and pray to the Hotoké for fortune or personal well-being. And it is to prevent these superstitions that our Shinshū sect strictly forbids all kind of prayer.

Q. Why are there then, in this temple, people who offer prayer?

A. They are not prayers. We have said that the acts of this life depend on ourselves, and not at all on the Hotoké; but as our destiny belongs to the Hotoké, we pray to him to watch over us not only in this life, but in our future lives, to deliver us for ever from the life of the lower worlds, and to give us a pure and supreme happiness. This is not properly speaking a prayer.

Q. Can one wash away sins by washing body, hands and mouth before prayer?

A. In a certain number of sects we find such practices: but in our sect there is but the belief in the mercy of the Hotoké. No external act could take away sins.

Q. Why then are there people here who wash their hands and mouths before commencing prayer?

A. It is only to conform to the general custom of the country. If, before worshipping, a man washes his face and hands, it is simply to show respect and veneration, independently of any idea of its being a ceremony required by the Buddhist religion.

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Q. Is the soul immortal?

A. Yes. Buddhists call the soul *shinshiki*, and it is from the soul that emanate all our intellectual actions (as thought, imagination), produced by means of sight, hearing, taste, touch, etc. The circulation of the blood and the digestion of food constitute the working by the soul of the organs of our body considered as the abode of the soul; but these functions belong to the material not to the moral domain. The soul is simple, its functions multiple.

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Q. Has the animal the same soul as man? Is there nothing to differentiate them except the perfection of their organs?

A. Yes. The soul is the same. The only difference is in the intelligence ; and the difference in the intelligence is only the difference in the functioning of the five organs.

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Q. Does Buddhism teach metempsychosis, *i.e.* the endless return of the soul in future lives to receive the recompense or punishment of acts committed in the present life ?

A. Yes. Thus, even when a man has arrived at a very high station, he can always fall from it in consequence of a fault, or be condemned in case of a crime. This is called the *Rin-E'* of the present life.

Q. Can the animal soul transform itself into a human soul, or, conversely, can a human soul become an animal soul ?

A. Yes. only this transformation is more or less gradual. The smallest does not at one bound become the greatest.

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Q. Does Buddhism admit the resurrection of the soul at the end of the world ?

A. Christianity is the only religion which teaches that the soul will revive at the end of the world. As to the Buddhist religion it teaches that the soul is immortal. and that, immediately after death, it endures in the after life the effects of the *In* incurred here.

Q. Do you not teach then that the soul will at the last day re-enter its ancient body ?

A. No. The effect of a cause is produced in an instantaneous and regular manner. How then can it be possible for the soul to await the end of the world and then re-enter its body which is already decayed, destroyed and scattered ?

Q. Does not Buddhism admit the final destruction of the world ?

A. Buddism teaches us that the world is formed, and that after its formation it exists; after its existence it is destroyed and after its destruction there is chaos; then the world is again formed, and so on. No one can tell how often formation and destruction have thus succeeded one another. Buddhism further teaches us that the destruction and formation of the world occupy an infinity of kalpas, which no one can calculate.

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Q. Shaka is a Buddha. Do you honour him as much as Amida?

A. Although Amida, through a sentiment of compassion, wishes to save us, we cannot know it. It is therefore out of his mercy that he manifests himself in the person of Shaka. Since the time of this Incarnation, Amida has returned to his former shape, and there is no other Shaka but Amida himself.

Q. If it be thus with Shaka, are there other Buddhas?

A. The Buddhist scriptures tell us that there are other Buddhas, but that they are all only the Incarnations of the love of Amida?

Q. What Buddha is Amida?

A. Amida is a Buddha without beginning or end. He is endowed with miraculous power; his great intelligence is spread over the Ten Worlds, and there is no place where it does not manifest itself. Such is the essence of Amida, whose goodness and life are eternal. This is what we call the True Buddha of the three periods (past, present and future) and of the ten quarters.

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Q. What are the five prohibitions.

A. 1. Not to take animal life. 2. Not to steal. 3. Not to be immodest. 4. Not to lie. 5. Not to drink alcoholic beverages.

Q. What do you say of those who make war?

A. Since war is the greatest of all murderous acts, it should, properly speaking, be forbidden: only we should distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate wars.

Q. What are we to say in the case of killing animals for food?

A. The use of meat is forbidden or allowed according to circumstances. . . If it be done not from cruelty but from necessity imposed by considerations of health, it is permitted to eat meat. . . . There is further a distinction between pure and impure meats. They are impure and consequently forbidden for the man who kills them himself, who orders them to be killed or assists in the killing. In all other cases meats are pure and may be eaten.

Our sect forbids us to kill animals for sport, and always leaves the slaughtering of animals for those whose occupation it is. Herein our sect differs from all the rest.

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Q. I should now like to know the religious rules of your sect.

A. The greatest difference that exists between our sect and the others is that *they*[23] forbid their clergy to eat meat and to marry whilst we permit both. There is further a very great difference between us and the other sects in the matter of prohibitions and commandments.

In the other sects, there are precepts which, like the scholastic regulations, do not concern all the citizens. Such are those which regulate the anchorites in the mountains, and certain spiritual exercises. Our prescriptions concern

[23] I have met with married priests in other sects as well—certainly in the *Rinzai* and the *Nichiren*.

all the inhabitants. Civil laws make no distinction between the inhabitants of towns and country, so our precepts are addressed to the whole world. What is peculiar to our sect is that it teaches us to trust Amida Butsu for all that concerns the future life, and that it establishes no law relative to the affairs of this world. For the rest, it forbids, as a religious rule, prayer, offering, and superstitious practices which have for their end happiness for one's self, misfortune for others, the knowledge of the future, etc. It forbids us to worship, the Kamis and the Buddhas. The essential principle is the entire consecration of self to Amida.

Our priests are obliged to certain practices, such as praises to the Amida Buddha, the reading of sacred books, etc. The laity have no other duties but to believe in Amida and obey the laws of the country.

Chapter IX.

The Zen sects (the word *Zen* is the Sinico-Japanese corruption for Dhyâna-meditation) are divided as far as Japan is concerned into three divisions. The *Rinzai* division dates from 1168 A.D., the *Sōtō* from 1223 A.D. and the *Ōbaku* from 1650. It will be seen therefore that in its two main branches it is contemporary with the movements inaugurated by Hōnen Shōnin, Shinran, and Nichiren, and that it is but another phase of what we may call the revolt of modern against mediæval Buddhism.

In the Contemplative sects there is a great deal that savours of the original teachings of the Founder, and a very great deal that is eminently Hindoo. Neither Japan nor China could of themselves have produced a method so utterly unpractical as that of arriving at the Truth by pure contemplation.

It is a peculiar tenet of this sect that knowledge can be transmitted from heart to heart without the

intervention of words. It is said that on one occasion when Sakyamuni had been asked to preach the law to his disciples he sat down before them in perfect silence, gazing intently on a lotus flower which he held in his hand. None of the assembly could understand what the Teacher meant: at last the light dawned upon the heart of Kasyapa, who smiled at Sakyamuni, and so, without a single word being spoken, the whole audience came by degrees to understand the hidden teaching conveyed in the lotus held aloft by the silent teacher. This silent understanding of the law was afterward handed down through a succession of Indian patriarchs, until about the sixth century of our era it was brought to China, where its establishment was largely due to the labours of the Indian priest Bodhidharma, a famous contemplative, who is said to have sat gazing at a wall for eight years continuously.

In its early form, as introduced to Japan by the *Rinzai* subsect, the Zen system differed but little, if at all, from the form of Contemplation practised in India and China. It was purely contemplative, and the teaching of the Faith was handed down directly from heart to heart without much need being felt for the use of religious books or manuals of doctrines.

But the main branch of the Contemplatives, the *Sōdo* or *Sōto* branch, as founded by the two celebrated priests Shoyo Taishi, and Butsujizenshi (from whom the Echizen and Noto subdivisions of the Sōtō sect take their orgin) was, like everything else that takes root in Japan, first adapted to the soil in which it was planted, and must therefore be considered to be a form of Contemplative religion with Japanese modifications.

Shoyo Taishi, the first founder of the Sōtō sect was born in 1200 A.D., and at an early age admitted (like Nichiren, Shinran and the rest) to the monastery of Hiyeizan near Kyōto. A doubt having arisen in his mind about

a passage in Scripture, he consulted first the head of his own monastery about its meaning, and afterwards on his recommendation, a contemplative priest of the name of Eisai, who was teaching the doctrines of the then nearly established Rinzai sect. But when Eisai died soon afterwards, he felt that he had no teacher left, and therefore went over to China in search of further knowledge. Here Shoyo was received into a monastery, but being despised as a foreigner was assigned the lowest seat in Chapel and Hall. Against this affront, Shoyo protested. In the Buddhist community, he said, all were brothers, and there was no difference of nationality. The only way to rank the brethren was by seniority; and he therefore claimed to occupy his proper rank. With some difficulty, and only after an appeal to the Chinese Emperor, he gained his object. From this time his fame in China was very great, and as he continually advanced in the knowledge of Buddhism, he was recognized as a patriarch and appointed one of the successors of the great Bodhidharma. Having thus acquired the requisite authority, he returned to his country, and establishing himself in the province of Echizen, founded the Sōtō sect as it now exists. "Four hundred years," he is reported to have said, has "Buddhism been taught in this country. It has never "been properly taught until now."

Half a century later *Shoyo Taishi's* system of teaching and organization was completed by *Butsuji Zenshi*, who established himself at Noto, and by his writings and labours merited to be called the second founder of this sect.

The *Sōtō* sect differs from the pure system of Contemplation inasmuch as the latter (the *Rinzai*) makes Contemplation the sole means of attaining to knowledge, whilst the former joins scholarship and research to Contemplation. The priests of the the Sōtō sect have always been honourably distinguished both for their learning and for their

poverty. '*Zenshu zeni nashi: Monto mono wo shiradzu*,' says the Japanese proverb. "The Zen priests have no money, the monied Montos know nothing."

The first sutra studied by the priests of this sect is the book known as *Shin kyō*, the "heart sutra," the full title of which is *Dai Hannya Haramita Shin Kyō*; and this is a summary of the *Dai Hannya Haramita Kyō*, a book which in its original form is computed to be about six times the size of the New Testament. An excellent commentary on the *Shin Kyō*, nicely printed, has recently been published by Mr. Ouchi Seiran, of Tōkyō.

When we have attained, says this Sutra, to the highest wisdom and most perfect enlightenment, then we clearly behold that all the elements of phenomenal existence are empty, vain and unreal. Form does not differ from space, nor space from form; all things surrounding us are stripped of their qualities, so that in this highest state of enlightenment there can be no longer birth or death, defilement or purity, addition or destruction. There is therefore no such thing as ignorance, and therefore none of the miseries that result from it. If there is no misery, decay or death, there is no such thing as wisdom, and no such thing as attaining to happiness or rest.

Hence, to arrive at perfect emancipation we must grasp the fact of utter and entire void. The phenomenal world is vanity of vanities.

Another book much read in this sect is the Sutra of Forty-two Sections, of which an accouut is given in Beal's Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese, to which I would refer the reader. Another popular treatise is the *Enkaku kyō*, a more lengthy treatise of the same type as the Heart Sutra, above mentioned. It is distinctly a Mahâyâna book, intended to glorify the Great Vehicle at the expense of the small, and

consequently the void which it preaches as the only absolutely existent thing, is not the negative void of non-existence, but the positive void of true existence which can only be described by a series of negations. "God," says the author of the *Shepherd of Hermas*, "comprehendeth all things, and is only immense, not to be comprehended by any; he can neither be defined by any words, nor conceived by the mind."

Another book much used in this sect is a simple handbook of the principles of Buddhism, entitled *Sotokyō Kwai Shūshōgi*, "Exposition of the principles and doctrines of the Sōtō Sect," of which I here give an analysis, reserving to the appendix a complete translation of the text.

In a commentary upon the *Shūshōgi*, recently published in Tōkyō by Mr. Ouchi Seiran, a Buddhist scholar of note, we learn that the book was composed by *Shōyo Taishi* himself as a manual of doctrine for his scholars. The full title is now given *Sōtō Kyōkwai Shūshōgi*, but the name Sōtō Kyōkwai or Sōtō Church is not a designation sanctioned by Shoyo Taishi himself. It was not his object to found a sect, and he refused for himself and followers any distinctive tittle. He was a Buddhist priest rather than a Zen priest, and never aspired to found the Sōtō sect. Indeed so careful was he, and also his successor Butsuji, that, whereas the other great religious leaders had made Kyōto or Kamakura the centres of their activity, these, on the other hand, retired to remote districts, one in Echizen the other in Noto, and there devoted themselves, not to the instruction of the laity, but to the training of a few priests. The term *Sōtō* dates from a rescript of the Emperor Godaigo Tennō, in which he confers on the Sōjiji Temple the privilege of being considered the head temple of the Sōtō Sect. The title was formally adopted after the publication of the imperial letter.

The Sōtō sect, therefore, does not claim to be any new development of Buddhism, but to be a reassertion of that original teaching which had been handed down uncorrupted though a succession of patriarchs from Shaka to Bodhidharma, and from Bodhidharma to Shoyo Taishi. The Sōtō sect claims to be the *via media* of Buddhism, and the system has all the strength as well as all the weakness that is generally to be found in a *via media*. Its weakness lies in a certain want of enthusiasm or "go," such as will make it acceptable to the lower and more ignorant classes; its strength, in its clear insistence, as against the partial teachings of other sects, on the universals of Buddhism, on what has always and everywhere been held, and by all Buddhists. The *Shūshōgi* therefore is recognized as a standard of doctrine by all sects:—a magazine of the Shinshū sect, for instance, having recently published a short commentary on it together with a partial translation into English. It is this consideration which makes the book of special value.

The book is divided into five chapters, of which the first is an introductory one, stating the general problems of life, and salvation, as they appear to every Buddhist eye; and the doctrine of *ingwa* or *karma* is clearly stated and explained. When the meaning and power of karma has been clearly stated, the next essential is that what man believes in his heart he should confess with his lips; and chap. ii is therefore devoted to the subject of confession of sin and the putting away thereof. Having reached this stage, the believer is now (chap. iii) considered as being in a position, to keep the commandments, and thereby to "take up his position," *i.e.* to enter into the perfection of the Buddhahood. This chapter forms the centre of the book. It is the main teaching of the Sōtō sect, and may be considered as Shoyo's protest against both the Jōdo and the Tendai, that the Buddhaship can be attained to only by the strict

observance of the commandments. In chapters iv and v we are shown the consequences of having reached to the Buddhaship. He in whose mind the conception of the truth has been formed will show the inward truth in two ways. He will conceive the desire of helping others, and he will show his gratitude to the Buddhas for that which he has received from them.

The *Shūshōgi* is the basis of Shoyo's system. In the *Fukuan zazen gi*, he goes on to teach the way of contemplation, by which the well-instructed mind may penetrate into the very arcana of nature and gain intuitional views of the truth. In this book, he lays down as the necessary basis of all meditation three principal propositions which the believer must accept as self-evident postulates.

I. He must acknowledge that the "way" he has been taught is perfect, and that there is consequently no need to prove it.

II. That religion is liberty, and that there is therefore no hope of forcing the reason to accept what the will refuses. As Swedenborg would express it, "every spiritual thing which enters in freedom and is received in a state of freedom remains, but not the reverse."

III. That the whole body of the law is not far removed from this place, and that consequently we do not need the feet of asceticism to assist us to reach it.

Having accepted these three postulates, the Buddhist contemplative is then directed to prepare for his meditation by moderate eating, and drinking, for while satiety is an obstacle to high thinking, so is also the weakness resulting from too vigorous a fast. He is further to expel from his mind, as far as possible, all thoughts of a worldly nature, so as to leave himself absolutely unfettered for the work before him. It seems, however, to be a misnomer to speak of the work before him. In Buddhist contemplation, the mind has properly speaking no work before it. Buddhist

contemplation is not thinking, but the absence of thought. Sitting on a cushion, with his legs crossed and arms folded, his body erect, his head straight so that the tip of the nose is in a perpendicular line with the navel, with his tongue pressed against the roof of his mouth, and breathing slightly through the nose, he is to think unthinking, *i.e.* he is to sit in a kind of mesmeric condition, with an entire absence of all forumlated thought.

X.

In the Scripture entitled Saddharma pundarika, of which I have given an analysis in a previous chapter, there is a prophecy of Sakyamuni's that in the Latter Days of the Law there should arise four great Bodhisattvas who should teach men once more the perfect Law as Sakyamuni himself had taught it in the last and most perfect days of his ministry. It is the belief of the Nichiren sect that in their founder they have one of these four mystical personages incarnated.

This great priest, the founder of a sect which is purely Japanese, was born at Kominato, in Awa, at the entrance to the bay of Yeddo, in 1222. His father, a man of the name of Nukina, was an exile from Kyôto who was living in this village and had married a village girl. The circumstance that Nichiren's father was an exile, possessing no political or social rights, caused his enemies in after days to reproach him with being a *sendara* (Skt. chandâla "outcaste"); but the charge was unfounded, for Nukina was really a man of very good family. In his boyhood Nichiren seems to have been remarkable for his tender hearted disposition, and the vocation to the priesthood seems to have come to him through a quarrel that he had with some of his village playmates over the treatment of a wounded bird. At the age of 12, he entered a temple of the Shingon sect, near to his village, *Kyosumidera*, and there remained for some time practising

the complicated ceremonies, and studying the mysterious rites of that sect. The priest of the Temple seems to have taken a great fancy to his young pupil, and in course of time arranged for him to commence a more extended course of studies at Hiyeizan. On his way, a little incident occurred which had much influence on his after career. Stopping to rest at a village inn, during the midday heat, he observed some childen dragging about an idol of Sakyamuni, which they were using a as plaything. Shocked at such strange profanity, he remonstrated with the landlord of the inn, who told him that since Shinran's teaching had demonstrated the futility of all Buddhas except Amida, they did not seem to have had any further use for the idol of Sakyamuni, and so had allowed the children to play with it. That the founder of the faith should thus be driven out from his own religion made a deep impression upon Nichiren, who from that moment determined to be a great religious reformer. Accordingly, he entered upon his studies with great zest, but, like Honen Shōnin, Shinran, and many others, he found the Tendai teachings as taught at Hiyeizan far too wide and comprehensive, and again resorted to a system of eclecticism. But his eclecticism was a more logical one than that the others, for he chose as his special basis of doctrine the same book which Dengyo Daishi had taken for his, and devoted himself entirely to its elucidation. He does not however seem to have declared himself until he had completely finished his studies at Hiyeizan, and then returning to his little temple of Kyosumidera, before an audience of people whom he had known from his youth, he preached the sermon which has generally been considered as the foundation of his sect. Commencing with the new formula "Namu myō hō renge kyō," "Hail to the scripture of the Lotus of Good Law," he preached on the shortcomings of all the existing sects, and pointed out that in the Hokekyō (Saddharmapundarika Sutra) alone

was to be found the true and highest teaching of Sakyamuni. This sermon caused a great commotion, and Nichiren was forced to escape for his life from his indignant auditors. He now retired to a cottage at Nagoye, near Kamakura, where he set himself to work to propagate his opinions. Kamakura was at this time the second capital of Japan, and was the residence of the Shōguns in whose hands so much of the civil power was concentrated. We can see the wisdom of Nichiren in selecting this place for the scene of his labours. Whilst the Imperial Court at Kyōto had become hopelessly weak, the spirit of political ambition had entered into the great religious houses of the Mikado's capital; so that there was no opening for a religious reformation there. Shinran's most successful labours had been in the rural districts of Hitachi and Shimotsuke, and the Shōgun attracted around himself all that was progressive and energetic in the country. It was here therefore that Nichiren determined to preach and teach. His teaching met with singular success; the common people heard him gladly and attributed to his intercessions a period of rain after a long drought. Even the nobles listened to the bold speaker whose open denunciations were so different from what they had been accustomed to hear from the clergy of the older sects. But the more his popularity increased amongst the laity, so much the more virulent became the opposition of the priests. Fortunately, or unfortunately, they possessed the ear of the regent Tokiyori, who, in the year 1261, banished him to Ito in Idzu. A very pretty story is connected with this incident. The sea was very rough, and the vessel which bore the exile across the bay of Sagami was unable to approach the dangerous coast of Idzu. So the sailors, impatient of delay, landed their prisoner on a rocky islet some distance from the land, and, telling him to swim ashore when the storm abated, made off and left him. Nichiren at once stood up, rosary in

hand, and commenced in a loud voice to recite his office. A fisherman on the shore observed him, and, at the peril of his life, came out to rescue him, thinking him to be some shipwrecked mariner. This man was Nichiren's first disciple in Idzu. Soon afterwards he was pardoned, but, continuing his pugnacious methods of evangelization, was again in trouble, and, about the year 1272, was thrown into prison with six of his companions, and condemned to death. But when the night came for his decapitation, a double miracle occurred. The Regent Tokimune had a dream, warning him to spare the condemned man's life, so vivid that he sent a messenger at once to stay the execution. At the same moment, the executioner was making three distinct attempts to behead the prisoner, but failed each time, from some supernatural cause. Astonished at this, he also sent a messenger, to inform the regent of what had occurred. The spot where the two messengers met is still pointed out on the road along the coast between Kamakura and Enoshima.

Nichiren's punishment was commuted to a sentence of banishment to the island of Sado, from which he was released in 1274. After a short residence in Kamakura, where his opportunities of gaining influence were now a thing of the past, he retired to a beautiful spot among the mountains of Kōshū, where he founded the celebrated monastery of Minobu San, and spent the next eight years in giving religious instruction to his numerous visitors. Then, finding that his end was drawing near, he determined once more to visit the scenes of his former labours, the provinces of Musashi and Sagami; and died at Ikegami, about three miles from what is now Tōkyō, in the house of his friend Emon no Taiyu Munenaka.

Nichiren is distinctly the most picturesque character in the whole history of Japanese Buddhism, and we cannot wonder that he should have deeply impressed his personality upon his own sect. To this day, the Nichiren sect

maintains the characteristics of its founder. It is pugnacious, defiant, proud, as he was. Nichiren is equally well known to literature and art. One of the favourite subjects for a picture is the scene of his attempted execution, and one of the great successes of the Tōkyō theatre this year (1894) has been the play of Nichirenki.

I am indebted to the Very Rev. Abbot Kobayashi, of the Daidanrin College Tōkyō, for the following summary of the Nichiren doctrines.

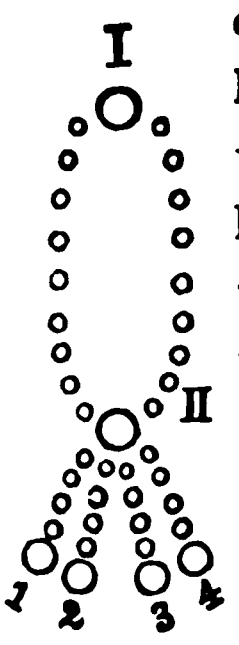
Jitsu daijōkyō i.e. "the true teaching of the Mahâyâna," is the doctrine which is founded on the Hokekyō (Saddharma pundarika) which says that the Tathagata of Original Enlightenment, and all the Buddhas, had but one object in view, namely to lead all men to that Enlightenment which is the true Buddhaship. So he first preached, as we have already shown, the doctrine of sudden expansion, called *Kegon*, in which he suddenly expanded before men the whole of his Truth. Finding however that this was a doctrine which but few could grasp, he laid it aside for a while, and preached the lower stages of the truth, such as are contained in the *Agamas*, and other Sutras of the Lesser Vehicle. He then began to preach the expanded doctrines known as *Vaipulya* or *Hōdō:* from which he went on to the *Hannya* (Skt. Prajnâ), in which, by a most complicated system of metaphysical subtleties, he showed the absolute identity of reality and unreality. And finally, in the *Hokke* period, he showed the identity of all the preceding methods, as comprised now within the one Vehicle of Faith, so that at the close of his ministry he could say with truth: "What I have purposed is now satisfied; now all things can, by me, enter the state of enlightenment."

According to the *Kenhonkyō*, which is the name given by the scholars of this sect, to the main teachings of Saddharma pundarika, the book is divided into two

portions. The last fourteen chapters contain the doctrine founded upon the Hokekyō, and the first fourteen chapters give the main teachings of the Hokekyō itself.

In the Hannya, or Sekimon teachings, we are shown the reality of all things, and are taught that all living things bear the nature of Buddha; but it is not until we reach the *Kenhonkyō* stage, that we are shown what is that nature of Buddha with which all living beings are identical. All the Buddhas in all directions, past, present, and future, are the counterparts of Sakyamuni; but, when we speak of Sakyamuni, we do not mean the historical Sakyamuni who left his family, taught and died; but the Sakyamuni Buddha in his real and immortal state. This is the true Buddha—the moon in the heavens; the other Buddhas are like the moon reflected in the waters, transient, shadowy reflections of the Buddha of Truth. It is this being who is the source of all phenomenal existence, and in whom all phenomenal existence has its being. The imperfect Buddhism, therefore, teaches a chain of cause and effect; true Buddhism teaches us that the first link in this chain of cause and effect is the Buddha of Original Enlightenment, of whom the historical Sakyamuni, and the rest are but the transient reflections. When this point has been reached true Wisdom has at length been attained.

The importance of this concession it is hard to over-



estimate. The Tathâgata of Original Enlightenment is clearly *God*, the being in whom all creatures "live, move, and have their being." I have sometimes thought that this view is strengthened by the peculiar form of the Nichiren Rosary. The large bead marked I is Tahō, Skt. Prabhutaratna; that marked II. is Sakyamuni, the historical manifestation of I, whilst the four beads marked 1. 2. 3. 4. are the four great

Bodhisattvas, also emanations of I and II., who shall in the Latter Days preach the law. A Christian could make out of this rosary a very good illustration of the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity.

But the capacities of living beings are as various as their number is great. It is therefore the wise mercy of the Tathâgata to suit the teachings to their capacities. To those in a lower state, he gives, like a wise physician, medicine suitable to their condition, and leads them along a path by which they may avoid the conditions of beasts and demons, and be assured of a birth amongst men or angels. This is called the Nin-tengyō, or doctrine of man and deus. Again, to those in a higher condition, he presents the four great truths and the twelve causes, etc. and so places them in the Small Vehicle of Buddhist doctrine. To the wise in heart again, according to their several characteristics, he preaches the various forms of the Great Buddhism—the philosophy of the Shingon, the exstatic wisdom of the Contemplatives, or the fervent faith of the Jōdo and Shinshū. But all these are only imperfect presentations:—to those who would be perfect, the Tathâgata offers in the Hokekyō, a system which combines in itself all philosophy and wisdom, human and divine, all faith and all knowledge.

Swedenborg seems to echo the teachings of Nichiren when he says that our character is formed by our predominant will, and that according to our leading desires so will our place be determined in the world to come. The leading desire of him who would become a Buddha is to purify, not this part or that, but every part, and thus to make his whole body a fit habitation for the all-pervading Tathâgata.

XI.

We have now reached the fullest stage in the development of Japanese Buddhism. We have traced

There is contained in several of the Buddhist Scriptures a prophecy about the Latter Days of the Law. By degrees, it is said, the teachings of Sakyamuni should lose their vigour, and men should be unable to save themselves as Sakyamuni would have wished them to do.

This prophecy of the Latter Days of the Law seems to have made a very deep impression on the Japanese mind during the thirteenth century of our era, the period of religious fervour which saw the rise of the four great sects of Jōdo, Shinshū, Zen, and Nichiren. Honen Shōnin and Shinran both justified their preaching of salvation by faith in Amida, by maintaining that in the "Latter Days" salvation by works had become impossible, and that if Amida had not opened the gate of *tariki*, or salvation by the merits of another, no man could be saved; and Nichiren not only proclaimed the Advent of these "Latter Days," but taught further that he himself was one of four great Bodhisats, who, according to the prophecy in the Saddharma pundarika, should appear during that period to teach men the truth.

The period of the Latter Days was to continue for five hundred years. Long ere those five hundred years could possibly have elapsed, there appeared on the shores of Japan teachers of a different race and country who may perhaps have been the ones foreshadowed in Buddhist prophecy. I refer to the Catholic Missions of the Sixteenth century whose romantic history is so familiar to everyone who knows anything about Japan.

The story of the Catholic Missions in Japan has been so often told, and by more skilful pens than mine, that I do not venture to repeat the tale. Suffice it to dwell for a short on the effects which the strife had upon Buddhism.

Before the Advent of Christianity, Japanese Buddhism bid fair to destroy itself. "A house divided against itself cannot stand;" and the embittered controversies between

the sects, especially the Shinshū and Nichiren, fully justify us in calling the Buddhism of that period a house divided against itself. The coming of Christianity welded into a temporary whole the disjointed parts of Buddhism. At first, singularly weak in argument against the keen dialectics and burning zeal of scholars trained in the discipline of St. Ignatius, the Buddhist monks gradually learned many wholesome lessons from their opponents. The differences between the worshipper of Amida, and the noisy preacher of *Namu myō hō renge kyō*, sank into insignificance when compared with the greater differences between Buddhist and Christian; and at last, taking full advantage of the strategic and political errors of the foreign priests, the Buddhists made one great united effort, and, as history tells us, triumphed.

The struggle against Christianity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the hammer that welded Japanese Buddhism into one. It would however be a mistake to suppose that the victory over Christianity was bought without a proportionate price. Buddhism conquered, but it was exhausted. During the whole of the Tokugawa period, from the time when Christianity was overthrown down to the beginning of the present era of progress, Buddhism seems to have been lifeless.

No new sect was then founded, with the exception of the Ōbaku sect of the Zenshū, which dates from 1650. It was founded by a Chinese, not a native, priest, and never took very deep root in the land.

No controversy of any kind seems to have seriously disturbed the tranquil slumber of the Church. It is true that, as a Japanese priest said to me, there were a few of the "ordinary disagreements" between the Shinshū and the Nichirens, but these disagreements involved no principles of controversial interest; they were merely petty squabbles such as the historian need not notice.

And, as a still more effective sign of stagnation, there followed a period of literary inactivity and a general decay, not of learning but of thought. Very few books on Buddhism were written during this period, and what was written does not seem to have been more than second-class.

We shall not be surprised then to find that, as those smooth uneventful years glided past, the moral weight of Buddhism became less and less, that the testimony against vice and wickedness became more and more feeble, and that every decade saw a worldly and degenerate priesthood losing its grasp upon the faith and respect of those who should hear the law at its mouth.

With the present era there has come a change over the Buddhist clergy. The Restoration brought disendowment to their temples, and a wholesome period of poverty to themselves. It was a rude awakening to them after the torpid affluence they had enjoyed under the rule of the Tokugawas. Scarcely awakened by this rude shock, they found themselves once more confronted by the same old enemy whom two centuries before they had fought and conquered. The same old enemy and yet a changed foe. The two centuries of European life had done much to change the condition of the foreign invaders; and now, stronger in some respects though weaker in others, the attacking party stand at the citadel gate of Buddhism, with newly-forged engines and a more scientific system of strategical tactics.

Once more the phenomena of history are repeating themselves. The Buddhist priests, at first too ill-instructed to match themselves in argument with the west, had recourse to those worst of arguments, violence, detraction, or a sullen silence. But by degrees better counsels prevailed, and they have in many instances set themselves honestly to master the conditions of the new problem so that they may better cope with their eager foes.

No one can have studied contemporary Buddhist literature without being struck by one further phenomenon, for all the better class of magazines and books tell the same story. The conflict with the common foe is deepening the sense of the essential unity between all Buddhists, not only in this country, but in all these lands where Shaka's name is revered. That the conflict between the two faiths must become more acute is what we all must expect. That history should again repeat itself and give us a repetition of the sad scenes of the sixteenth century is what we shall all unite in deprecating.

APPENDIX I.

"NĀGĀRJUNA."

When the dynasty of Asoka waned, and gave place to that of the illustrious Chandra, Nágárjuna was born in Central India, destined to play an important part in the religious history of Buddhism. According to the Tibetan historians who wrote on the authority of Indian historians, he was born a century before Chandra Gupta's accession to the throne of Magadha. But to conform his age to the conjectural chronology of the occidental orientalists, one would be required to bring that date more than a century later than Alexander's invasion of India. Nágárjuna's age must remain a positive uncertainty so long as we cannot get hold of the historical works of the Indian authors of the Buddhistic period.

A rich Brahman of the Vidarbha country had had no son born to him for many years, and, earnestly desiring one, set about doing many good works. In reward for these, a child was born to him, according to promise, but the child was extremely delicate, and not likely to live for more than seven days. Austerities and prayers were again resorted to, and the divine promise was given that his life should be spared for seven years.

At the end of that period, when both parents and child were overwhelmed with grief at the approaching doom, Avalokitesvara (Kwannon) appeared to the child and advised him to escape from death by taking refuge

in the monastery of Nalendra in Magadha. Arriving there he was told by the Abbot, a great saint named *Saraha*, to become a monk and devote himself to the service and worship of the great Buddha Aparimita Âyusha. This he did, was ordained in due course, and by his great sanctity obtained a supernatural power.

After a while, however, the supernatural power was taken from him, and he was left to supply its place as best he could. For a time, he supported himself and his monks by the charity of the neighbouring nobility; but when a famine put a stop to this, he started out on an extensive tour. This being successful, and the monastery being now freed from pecuniary cares, he began his religious duties with fresh zeal.

"He opposed the theories of Sankarâchârya and imparted religious instruction to the monks of Nalendra." He is said to have preached with great success to the Nágas in the nether world,—from whom he got his name of Nágárjuna. Returning to his own country he devoted himself to good works, and especially to the propagation of his teaching by literary means, and composed many works on science, medicine, astronomy, and alchemy. The names of a great number of these books will be found in Mr. Nanjo's Catalogue of Buddhist Scriptures. He succeeded Saraha Bhadra in the chief priesthood of the Nalendra monastery, and fully developed the Madhyamiká system of philosophy.

But, whilst developing his own system, he does not seem to have neglected the older systems of philosophy, for he laboured so successfully for the prosperity of the Srâvakas, or Hînayâna Buddhists, that his influence over them was unbounded, and he became recognized as the head of the whole Buddhist Church. So great indeed was his reputation that he is called in the Tibetan books the second Buddha, as having consolidated all that Sakyamuni had only begun.

The account of his death reads remarkably like the account of the death of St. John the Baptist in the Gospels.

The above short account of Nágárjuna is abridged from a paper on this subject by Mr. Sarat Chandra Das, in the *Transactions* of the *Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1882. It will show the extremely important place occupied in Mahâyâna Buddhism by this Saint.

Mr. Nanjo identifies the Madhyamika school of Buddhist philosophy with the *San ron shu*, which is described in Chap. v. of his book on the Twelve Buddhist Sects in Japan.

Though Nágárjuna's influence was so great we find that in his time were developed the first germs of what was afterwards known as the Yôgâchârya heresy.

APPENDIX II.

PRINCIPLES AND TEACHINGS OF THE *SŌTŌ* SECT.

Chapter I.—(General Introduction).

1. The understanding of life and death is the main principle of Buddhism. If, in the midst of life and death, there be understanding (*or*, *personified*, Buddha) there is no life nor death. Only when we think of life and death, as of Nirvana itself, we must not loathe the one because it is life and death, nor pray for the other because it is Nirvana. It is then for the first time that we come to stand outside of life and death. But we must consider this to be the most important principle.

2. It is hard to obtain a human body, it is a rare thing to meet with the law of Buddha. To-day, thanks to the help of our previous merits, we have not only obtained that human body which it is so difficult to obtain, but we have met with the law of Buddha which it is so difficult to meet with. This is in truth the excellent life produced by an accumulation of previous merits. We must not heat the body of righteousness with carelessness, nor give up the dewy life to the transient wind.

3. It is hard to trust to the transient, and the dewy life shall it not vanish somewhere on the grass by the road side? The body is not a private possession, and the life is but a shadow cast by the light that remains but a short while.

The beautiful colour has gone from the face, and there is no seeking for it. When we seek for it there is no second return of it for us to meet with. When the Transient comes upon us suddenly, neither King nor Minister, parent nor servant, wife, nor child, nor treasures can help us. Alone we must go into the next world, taking with us nothing but only our good and evil actions.[23]

4. In the present life we should not associate with heretical men, that do not know the law of cause and effect, nor discern retribution, nor distinguish between good and evil, nor know the three worlds (of past, present and future). All the reasons of *Karma* are clear and without partiality. Whosoever doeth evil shall fall, whosoever doeth good shall rise: and there is no uncertainty in it. When the law of cause and effect is not established nor discerned, there is no apparition of all the Buddhas, nor does any great religious teacher come from the West.

5. In the retribution of good and evil there are three seasons; when the retribution comes in this life, when it comes in the next and when it comes in some more remote life. These are called the three seasons. In learning the path of the founder of Buddhism, we must begin by learning and clearly distinguishing the retributions of these three seasons. If we do not do so we shall often err and fall into heresy. And not only shall we fall into heresy, but by falling into evil life we shall receive a long continuing pain.

6. This thing we must know. The body of this present life is not two nor three. Is it not a sorrowful thing to fall into heresy, and feel solely the result of bad actions? When a man does evil he cannot

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[23] Mr. Ouchi, in this commentary explains this in such a way as to deny the immortality of the individual soul. That which "goes with us" is nothing but the *goriki* or five *skhandhas*, not the individual soul.

escape from the retribution due to his evil deeds by adopting the heretical notion that it is not evil and that there shall be no retribution for it.

Chapter II.

Confession and the Destruction of Sin.

7. The Founder of Buddhism has, through the greatness of his compassion, opened a wide gate of benevolence into which all sentient beings may enter Whether man or angel, all can enter. Though the aforesaid retribution of evils in the three seasons can certainly not be avoided, yet when we make confession and the like, we can diminish the burden and receive relief; moreover the destruction of sin causes us to be pure.

8. Therefore, with all our heart must we make confession to the pre-existent Buddhas. When we do this with truth the pre-existent Buddhas save us by aid of the virtue of confession and make us pure. It is this virtue that makes perfect the Pure Faith and Active Desire. When the Pure Faith is realized, it obliterates the distinction between self and others, and its influence is felt universally by inaminate as well as by animate beings.

9. Its main principles are as follows: we must pray that, although the many bad actions of our previous lives are a hindrance to us, yet we may, through the mercy of all the Buddhas and Saints, who have reached the perfect Enlightenment by the path of virtue, receive the forgiveness of sins; and that they may bring us out of suffering and enable us to obtain a part of that virtue which is spread over and fills the limitless World of the Law. The Buddhas were in the past such as I am: I in the future shall be like the Buddhas.

We must then confess that the causes of all the bad actions of which we are guilty are covetousness,

anger and folly, having no definite beginning and proceeding from body, mouth and will; and now we confess them all. When we have confessed, as above, we receive the protection of the Buddhas. Expose your hearts to Buddha, and thereby you may cut off the roots of your sin.

Chapter III.

Accepting the Commandments and Entering Upon the Position of a Buddha.

11. Next to the above, we must venerate the three treasures of Buddha, the Law and the Priesthood; even through the transformations of life and body, we should offer sacrifices and pray to the Three Treasures. That which the Buddhas and Sages of western regions and oriental countries have handed down and instituted, is the action of reverence towards Buddha, the Law and the Priesthood.

12. If there be sentient beings of miserable fortune and low virtue, they cannot even hear the names of the Three Treasures, how then shall they come to believe? Do not believe, haunted by vain superstition, in the demons of the mountains and other evil spirits, nor in the temple of heretical paths. He who does so cannot, on account of his belief, escape from all pains. By speedily believing in the Three Treasures of Buddha, Law and the Priesthood, not only does a man escape from all pains, but he also arrives at perfect perception.

13. Now as to that Faith in the Three Treasures, a man must have a completely pure faith both in the Tathâgata during his life time and in Tathâgata at rest, and must worship repeating with his mouth: *Namu Kie butsu; namu kie hō; namu kie sō.* (Glory to Buddha the Law and the Priesthood.) Buddha is our great Teacher, therefore we believe in Him; the Law is our good medicine therefore we believe in it; the Priesthood is our excellent friend,

therefore we believe in it. The only way to become Buddha's disciples is through the three beliefs. Whatever commandments we receive, we must first receive the three beliefs, and afterwards we can receive all the commandments. Thus indeed it is through the Three Beliefs that we receive the commandments (of virtue).

14 As for this belief in Buddha the Law and the Priesthood, when its virtue truly has an effect upon our lives, then it becomes pure. Whether Heavenly Beings or men, inhabitants of Hell, or Brutes, if there be the influence on the life, then truly is the belief seen. Then our belief is gradually increased from life to life, from world to world, from being to being, from place to place ; and then we complete the Unsurpassed Right Univeral Wisdom. Then we know that the merit of the three Beliefs is most excellent and most mysterious. The Blessed one has proved it. Therefore all sentient Beings should accept the Beliefs.

15. In the next place, we must accept the three collective clear commandments, (i) the commandments for completing discipline, (ii) the commandments for completing good actions, (iii) the commandments for perfecting salvation ; and after these we must accepted the ten capital prohibitions : (i) Not to kill, (ii) not to steal, (iii) not to commit adultery, (iv) not to lie, (v) not to sell wine, (vi) not to be censorious, (vii) not to cause others to stumble, (viii) not to covet, (ix) not to be angry, (x) not to despise the three treasures.

The Beliefs, the three Collective clear Commandments, and the ten capital Prohibitions are received and taught by all the Buddhas.

16. The receiving of the Commandments, and the like, is the proof of that Nirvana which consists in the unsurpassed Right Universal Wisdom which all the Buddhas of the three ages have proved. What wise man does not wish to attain to it? The Blessed One has taught all

sentient beings, that whatever sentient being accepts the commandments of Wisdom, enters *ipso facto* into the position of all Buddhas (into the grade of all wisdom). That position is equivalent to the great Enlightenment; finally they indeed become the sons of all the Buddhas.

17. All Buddhas, always abiding in and holding it, leave not perception in every direction; when sentient creatures arrive at the highest perception, they lose the sense of direction. At this time it is seen that vegetables, land, stones, fences, &c. all partake of the Buddha-nature. Thereby, those who partake in the benefit of the wind and water that rise out of them, are, all of them, helped by the mysterious supernatural influence of Buddha, and show forth the close enlightenment. This is the virtue of *mu-i* ("doing nothing"), this is the virtue of *musa* ("doing nothing"); this is *hotsu bodaishin* (the springing up of the Bodhi-heart).

Chapter IV.

The Desire for Saving Others.

18. The arousing of Perception is the desire to save all sentient beings before we have as yet 'crossed over' ourselves. Whether one be a layman or a priest, a celestial being or a human, in sorrow or in joy, he should hasten to arouse this desire of *altruism* (*ji-mi-toku-do-sen-do-ta.*)

19. Though their outward appearance may be humble, those in whom this feeling is aroused, become our teachers. Even a girl of seven years old becomes the teacher of the four-fold relationships,[24] and the parent of all sentient beings. Neither is there any question of male and female. This is the mysterious law of the path of Buddha.

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[24] *i.e. Bhiku, bhikuni, ubāsoku, ubai* "laymen, and laywomen monks and nuns."

20. If, after conceiving this Heart of perception, we still revolve in the six states of life, and the four methods of birth, the cause of that (continued) metamorphosis is all the practical desire for Wisdom. Therefore, though our past life has been profitlessly past, yet, whilst this life still remains, we must hasten to arouse this future hope. Though we ourselves have that perfect merit which enables us to arrive at Wisdom, yet must we, with deeper meditation, direct our thoughts to the obtaining of perfect Wisdom by all sentient beings. Some men by countless actions have caused sentient beings to cross over, yet have themselves not reached the Buddhaship. Nevertheless they have saved sentient beings, and assisted them.

21. For benefiting others, there are four kinds of transcendent wisdom: (i) almsgiving, (ii) kind words, (iii) benevolent actions, (iv), sympathetic impartiality. These are the practical desires of the man who holds the Truth.

By almsgiving is meant not to covet: and it also means that though a man possess nothing, yet he may exercise liberality. However light the gift may be, the act of giving is real. We can therefore practise almsgiving by means of one word or one prayer. We can do alms with the treasure of one cent or one blade of grass, which will be the source of profit in this life and the next. Moreover the law, which defines the origin of profit in this world and the next, shall be your treasure: your treasure also shall be the law. But (in doing alms) we must exert our strength and look for no return. To build a bridge and prepare boats for men to cross over, is an act of almsgiving, and of course every human industry may be considered as such.

22. By kind words it is meant that when we see sentient beings we conceive a feeling of kindliness for them, and address them with words of kindness. To treasure in one's memory words, such as, "think of all sentient beings as thy children," is to use kind words.

and months will be full of sorrow, and the body be full of misery. If we become the slaves of passions for a hundred years, and then but for one day do that which is lawful and right; not only shall we have the merit of righteous conduct for a hunded years, but, further, the power of helping other lives for the same period. This life of one day is precious, and the body (in which it is lived) is precious also. Love the body itself and the heart itself. By means of this practice we can attain to the vision of the practice of all the Buddhas, we can proclaim the great path of all the Buddhas. Thus the practice of one day is the sowing of the seed (which will produce) all the Buddhas, it is the practice which leads to all the Buddhas.

31. When then we speak of all the Buddhas, we mean Sakya Muni. Sakya Muni is *soku shin ze butsu.*[25] When all the Buddhas, of past, present and future, attain to Buddhaship they become Sakya Muni; he is verily the *soku shin ze butsu.* If we ask who is meant by the Universal Buddha, it will be found in the requiting of the mercy of Buddha.

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[25] lit. "mind itself Buddha."

APPENDIX III.

Japanese Hymnology.

Japanese Buddhism is rich in hymnology, and possesses several hymn books, many of which are of considerable antiquity. The Jōdo Wasan, for instance, is said to contain many hymns dating from that period of revival which witnessed the labours of such great Saints as Shinran and Nichiren. But the hymn writing spirit is by no means exhausted, and there are in all the Buddhist papers and magazines many new hymns, some of as late a date as the commencement of this year (1894).

These hymns are of great use to the Buddhist clergy as a means of keeping alive in the minds of their people not only the tenets of the Buddhist faith, but also the memory of great men and notable incidents connected with the history of their religion.

Whilst these hymns do not form a proper part of Buddhist liturgies, they are frequently employed in Temple services, especially as adjuncts to preaching; and are more particularly of use in the homes of the people.

During the early part of this year, when a religious wave was passing over the people (a 'revival' due I believe very largely to a play on the life of Nichiren, which had a considerable run in one of the principal metropolitan theatres), it was, I am told, a very common thing for earnest Buddhists to hold meetings in private houses at

which hymn singing formed a very leading feature. Such meetings naturally have had a great effect on the religious enthusiasm of the people.

I remember several years ago to have attended a preaching service in the Temple attached to the the Daigakurin at Azabu in Tōkyō. (The Daigakurin is the principal theological College of the Sōtō sect in Tōkyō). This service was preceded by a kind of liturgy, the details of which I do not now very clearly remember, with the exception of a peculiar sort of procession in which all the priests walked round and round the temple repeating for about ten minutes some words which I did not catch. (This *mawarigyō* or "processional" I have since seen in other temples as well.) After it was ended, there came a pause in the service, to allow the pulpit to be brought into the Temple, and, I suppose also, to give the preacher a few minutes for the collection of his thoughts. During this interval, a few young priests who were sitting in a remote corner of the temple struck up a hymn which was presently taken up by the congregation and sung with some effect. I may as well perhaps here remark that foreigners are apt to think the Japanese unmusical; but I think the charge is unjust. They do not understand our music, and often make a dreadful hash of Christian melodies. But their own music they understand and can sometimes reproduce it with great effect. I remember a very pretty hymn sung by the people at the sea-side village of Katase near Enoshima during a *matsuri*; and if any one will go to the Zōjōji temple at Shiba on the rare occasions on which there is a sermon, he will I am sure be convinced that rendering of the litany to Amida (?) is distinctly melodious.

There is a cheap hymnal entitled *Bukkyō Wasan* (Hymnal of Buddhist Teaching), which is I believe a fair representative of a modern Buddhist hymnal.

It contains 300 hymns, and is divided into three parts, each containing 100 hymns. The first part treats of

"the Buddhas," and contains hymns in honour of Sakyamuni, Amida, Dainichi and the other Buddhas. The second treats of "the law" and may fairly be compared to the "general" hymns of a Christian hymn book. In the third section we have "the Church",—hymns for Festivals and Saints' Days, arranged roughly according to some Calendar.

When we come to the hymns themselves it is interesting to note that some of them are "alphabetic," like some of the Hebrew psalms—but arranged in accorddance with the order of the Japanese syllabary known as *I-ro-ha*. But with these few exceptions all the hymns are in the same metre.

Ware ware honrai hotoke nari.

In these lines of twelve syllables, there is mostly a break or caesura at the end of the seventh syllable, thus breaking the line into two unequal portions of seven and five syllables respectively. Were another method of writing adopted it would be seen that the lines correspond exactly with the 7. 5. 7. 5. metre of Christian psalmody.

Ware ware honraï
Hotoke nari.

Neither quantity nor accent is used in these hymns, the sole requisite being that each line or part of a line have its proper number of syllables.

As a specimen of these hymns I give one—*Gusei Wasan*—a hymn on the saving mercies of Amida.

Shö shi no Ku Kaï hotori nashi
Hisashiku shidzumeru warera wo ba
Amida guseï no fune nomi de
Nosete kanaradzu watashikeru
Mata Mida gwan on daï seï shi

Daï gwan no fune ni zöjite zo
Shö shi no umi ni ukami tsutsu
Ujiyō wo yobote nose tamaü [26]

"Shoreless is the sea of miseries caused by birth and death: and we for a long time were sunk (beneath its waves), but Amida taking even us into the ship of his great mercy, by that alone carries us across safely. Moreover the great mercy of Mida's prayer that resides in the ship of the Great Vow, when we are tossing on the sea of birth and death, puts forth his pity and takes us on board."

To do justice to Buddhist hymnology would require a book in itself. At the present moment I can only point it out as a *terra incognita* inviting exploration and holding out promise of abundant fruit.

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[26] I have put diacritical marks where a dissyllable is found in the Japanese Kana.

APPENDIX IV.

SYSTEM OF ETHICS.

All moral duties are based upon the *Four Favours* (*Shi On*,) *i. e.*, the benefits which we have received from four different quarters and the duties which we consequently owe to those from whom we have received them.

Our life, character, social position, development, etc., are determined by our relationships (i.) to our parents, (ii) to mankind at large, (iii.) to our sovereign, (iv.) to our religion. From these four sources we have received all that we have, and are still daily receiving innumerable favours ; and our moral conduct, therefore, is conditioned by our duties towards these four.

I. *Our parents* (*fubo no on*). It is to our parents that we owe our very existence. Without them we should never have come into the world. Our mothers have given to us the tedious months of pregnancy, the pangs and dangers of child-birth, often accompanied with the sacrifice of life itself, the years of loving care during which they have fed us, watched over us, tended us, until our independent life has been able to stand by itself and our need of constant personal supervision and assistance has died away. It is from our mothers that we have learned our first lessons and our first prayers.

Nor has the part played by the father been a less important one. If our mothers have borne the pain, our fathers have had the anxiety. They have worked for us, and by their work have provided the means for our main-

tenance and education. Whatever rank in life they have had, has been ours by inheritance, to improve or to deteriorate. Whatever good there may be in a father's name it has been ours as a *locus a quo*, in the making or marring of our own fortunes.

It requires, therefore, no elaborate proof to show that we owe to our parents duties of a very substantial nature in return for what we have received from them. These are defined as follows :

1. Care for our own bodies, which belong not to ourselves but to our parents. The man who by profligate living or reckless conduct injures his own health, thereby deprives his parents of the "love, honour and succour" which they have a right to expect from him.

2. To preserve intact whatever we inherit from them (*fubo no isan wo tamotsu*). This duty is not merely confined to the material part of our heritage. It is our privilege to preserve, as far as we can, the name, rank and prestige derived from them.

3. To pay them all reverence and respect while living and duly to celebrate their funeral obsequies when dead.

Those duties, when put into practice, sometimes have strange results. I have known a boy decline going down the rapids of the Fujigawa river in a canoe, on the ground that his body belonged to his parents. It was in reality a very solid reason to give, but an English school-boy would have attributed the refusal to another cause. The duty of preserving intact the family heritage leads to the custom of adoption which is so commonly practised, not only in Japan, but throughout the East. From the respect paid to the memory of departed parents comes the worship of ancestors which forms so large a part of religious life in Japan. It is, however, only fair to say that here Buddhism has been considerably modified by the surrounding Confucian and Shintō belief and practices, and that memorial services for the dead are to be found in all nations.

II. If these be the duties that we owe to our parents in return for the benefits received from them, our duties to all mankind are equally clear. I have here used the word "all mankind," but the Japanese word (*shujo no on*) is far more comprehensive. It includes all creation in which there is life, not man only, therefore, but creatures higher and lower than man in the scale of life.

In considering our relations to mankind we must remember that we are dealing not merely with the present life and a possible future, but with life past, present and future. Each man amongst us has, according to the well-known doctrine of re-birth, had innumerable, or at any rate, numerous lives in the past; his present sphere of life being determined by his merit or demerit in previous existences. In each different life he has had different relationships, though these previous ties have long since been dissolved and forgotten. Every man, therefore, whilst preserving his individuality untouched during the present life, stands intimately connected with the whole of sentient life. The whole of sentient life, therefore, stands to him in the relationship of "my mother and my sister and my brother." (*Is-sai no danshi wa kore waga chichi nari Issai no nyoshi wa kore waya haha nari. Issai no shujo wa kore waga oya nari shikun nari.* "All males are my father, all females my mother. All creatures my parents and my masters.")

There is a further relationship depending on the conditions of the present life. Mankind is so constituted that we are all inextricably dependent on one another. The commonest article of food, the coarsest material which forms the simple clothing of a Japanese coolie, involves the labour of hundreds of men. Life is inconceivable without intercourse, and intercourse means commerce, and commerce at once involves the whole industrial fabric of society. We are, therefore, inextricably bound up with our fellowmen,

and as we cannot pass an hour without receiving something from them, so we cannot for one hour escape the obligations imposed on us by the conditions of our existence.

These obligations are fourfold:

(a) *fuse*. The obligation to abstain from selfishness or covetousness.

(b) *aigo*. The duty of giving kind words.

(c) *rigyo*. The obligation of rendering practical aid.

(d) *doji*. The obligation of equitable dealing.

III. Our obligations as subjects to the sovereign: *Kokuō no on*. We are all members of families, communities, provinces, or states. In each of these capacities we have an obligation that we owe to those who govern us. As servants, we owe a duty to the head of the house, as members of cities, to the municipal authorities, as citizens, to the authorities of the state, and above and beyond all to that one person in whom is centred, and from whom is derived, the sum total of authority—the sovereign.

It is to the sovereign's initiative that we owe the protection of our country from enemies without, from conspiracy and crime within, the development of the country's resources, commerce, communications and agriculture and the consequent prosperity of her people, the propagation and fostering of education and the care for the institutions of religion.

It is not every country which possesses the advantage which Japan possesses of being ruled by a dynasty coeval with the nation itself. Confucius had not yet commenced to teach in China, the reforms of Sakya Muni had not yet been heard of in India, the Son of God had not yet become the son of Mary "for us men and for our salvation" when the present dynasty was firmly seated on the throne of Japan. It is the peculiar privilege, as well as the special responsibility of the Japanese nation to possess so ancient an Imperial House, and all history has shown that

patriotism, a devoted attachment to king and country is one of the most potent factors in the moral well-being of a country.

IV. The last of the four foundations of morality is what is called in Buddhist language *sam bo no on*, the obligations resulting from the benefits conferred upon us by our religion. By the *sam bo* are meant the three treasures, Buddha's person, Buddha's law, Buddha's community. Man's heart in his original state of innocence, was like the cloudless sky. When deceit and consequent falsity (*mumyo*) entered into it there arose a confusion between the *ego* and the *non-ego* (*muga*) (according to our Christian verson between the *meum* aud the *non-meum* also), and that initial falsity has brought with it the whole train of human misery and involved the whole human race in the apparently endless chain of birth, death and re-birth.

To the nations of the far East, it has been the merit of Sakya Muni, and of other persons, such as Amida Nyorai, who have attained to the same *enlightenment* (*butsu to wa gaku wo imi suru nari*), to instruct men in the causes of their misery, which are the confusion between the *ego* and the *non-ego* and the consequent introduction of *ingwa*—(*i. e.*, Karma, with its endless succession of birth and re-birth). Such is the definition given of a Buddha, or enlightened being (*midzakara muga no shinri wo satori hito ni ingwa no dōri wo satorashimuru wo butsu to iu*).

In order to enable men to escape from the miseries of sinful existence, the Buddhas have given us a three-fold law of ceremony, meditation and precept, which are to be our guides, and in order to perpetuate the teaching of these truths, Sakya Muni instituted the order of Monks—men devoted to the working out of their own salvation, according to the law and in thankful remembrance of the persons of the Buddhas.

If Buddhist ethics are based on the *shi on* (the four favours) which I have just explained, they find their fuller

development in the *ju zen* (the ten righteousnesses) which may very fitly be described as the Decalogue of Buddhism.

Every action of man proceeds (I am here quoting from a series of papers by the Rev. Mr. Unsho of the Shingon sect) from one of three sources, the body, the mouth, or the will (*shin gu i*).

Actions which proceed from the body are those which cannot be done without the complicity and instrumentality of the bodily organs, and the sins of this class are classified as three—murder, theft, adultery.

Sins which proceed from the mouth are those which concern our speech, and these again are divided into four —lying.

And, finally, the sins which proceed from the will or the heart of man are those sins which can be entirely concealed within a man, and are the three roots from which the other sins spring. These again form a group of three—covetousness, anger and depraved thought.

The ten Commandments may therefore be classified as follow :

A
- i. *Fusessho Kai*, "*Ikimono wo korosanu imashime.*" "The prohibition against taking life."
- ii. *Fuchuto Kai*, "*Hito no mono wo kasumenu imashime.*" "The prohibition against theft."
- iii. *Fuja in Kai. Fugi itadzura senu imashime.* "The prohibition against adultery and impurity."

B
- iv. *Fu mogo Kai. Uso iwanu imashime.* "The prohibition against lying."
- v. *Fikigo Kai. Taogoto iwanu imashime.* "The prohibition against equivocating or jesting, which is unseemly."
- vi. *Fuaku Kai. Warukuchi iwanu imashime.* "The prohibiton against abusive language."
- vii. *Furyozetsu Kai. Nakagoto iwanu imashime.* "The prohibition against backbiting and a double tongue."

C
- viii. *Futonyoku Kai. Mono wo musaboranu imashime.*" "The prohibition against covetousness."
- ix. *Fushin-i Kai. Hara tatenu imashime.* "The prohibition against anger."
- x. *Fujaken Kai. Yokoshima no omoi wo okosanu imashime.* "The prohibition against harbouring depraved thoughts."

We will now proceed to consider these ten Commandments somewhat in detail.

1. *The Commandment against taking life.* We shall notice at once that this commandment is wider in its scope than the corresponding commandment in the Christian Decalogue, as ordinarily interpreted. "Thou shalt do no murder" is limited to the taking of human life. "Thou shalt not kill" may be extended into a prohibition against all taking of life. It is worthy of notice that in the Biblical account of the Creation it is the herb and the fruit tree that are given to man for food (Genesis i. 29, 30). It is not until after the flood, when mankind has taken a lower level, further removed from Paradise, that he is allowed to become a flesh-eater. "Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you; even as the green herb have I given you all things. (Genesis ix. 3).

The reason given for thus absolutely prohibiting all taking of life is the teaching which we have already touched upon in treating of the *Shi On*, the absolute unity of life, which pervades all sentient beings. If there is an absolute chain (nay network) of relationship connecting each individual man with the whole of sentient creation, if the physical life which animates the mollusc be the same in essence as that which sets in motion the brain of a Kant or a Hegel, then we can see that there must be the same sacredness of life in each.

The benefits arising from the observance of this commandment are next noticed. They are arranged under ten heads:

(1) Were this commandment to be fully carried out there would be a general feeling of security amongst all living creatures. From this would arise (2) a general promotion of kindness towards animals and amongst animals. The lion would once more lie down with the lamb. (3) One of the great causes of anger, hatred, revenge, would be removed. The body would consequently (4) be more free from suffering than it is now, and (5) life would be longer. The feeling of kindliness would spread upwards and man would (6) gain the protection of the *Hinin* (beings higher in the scale of existence than man, explained as *oni* "spirits"). As a consequence (7) the sleep of man would be sound, and there would be a banishment of terrifying dreams. Man's life would be set free from the restraints now set upon him by (8) envy (*onketsu*), and (9) fear. The gates of Paradise (10) would once more be open to him, and, after death, man will be re-born in heaven.

(N.B.—According to this commandment, Buddhism should be one vast Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. It is as yet very far from being such, though great efforts are being made in many quarters in Japan to bring about a more humane feeling. There has been consequently a very great improvement in many respects, for which we can be very thankful.)

II. *The prohibition against theft.* This prohibition rests on the same grounds as the Eighth Commandment of the Christian code; and it does not therefore call for any special remark from us.

The resultant benefits are again catalogued in much the same way as before. There will be a great increase of national wealth (1) and a general discouragement of extravagance. (2) Mutual goodwill will be promoted amongst men and (3) inasmuch as lies are often resorted

to as a means for concealing a theft, one of the motives for deceit will be removed. (4) Universal praise will redound to the credit of the nation or person who observes this commandment. (5) There will be no fear about losing one's property. (6) He who practices honesty advances one step towards the attainment of perfection (good name) and (7) he passes his life without fear from others. The fruits of civilization (8) abound; practical charity (9) is promoted, and in this case too, as before, the gates of Paradise (10) are unlocked by the observance of this commandment.

III. *The prohibition against adultery.* This prohibition has been variously interpreted by Buddhist authorities. It has been taken to be only a prohibition against irregular sexual connections, incest and prostitution. Those who hold this view maintain therefore that concubinage and consequently polygamy are not forbidden by this commandment. Both customs are certainly practised in all or nearly all Buddhist countries.

Our author takes a stricter view. He not only discountenances concubinage and polygamy, but he even insists on due continence within the limits and sanctions of wedlock. In other words, he takes the view of St. Paul: "Dwell with your wives according to knowledge."

The observance of this commandment entails four advantages. (1) The continent man maintains the health and well-being of every organ of his body. (2) Whether in wedlock, or out of wedlock, he is preserved from those cares and anxieties which always beset the incontinent. (3) He gains that respect from his fellow men which is always given to those who are chaste. (4) He is on the safe path to preserve the happiness of the married life.

When we come to the second group of commandments, those, namely, which relate to the sins of the mouth, we get, as we have before seen, the following, viz.:

IV. *The prohibition against lying.* Lying is defined not only as the making of false statements in words, but also in actions. It is not only "saying that what is is not," but also "pretending that what is is not," as, for instance, "claiming to be a learned man when one is not so." Everything, therefore, that makes against the truth, whether in deed or word, falls under this prohibition. Even the little white social lies which are so common in all society, and especially so in Japanese society, are condemned by our author.

On the other hand, the advantages accruing from the observance of this commandment are carefully set forth. He who observes this commandment will always preserve his mouth "pure" from the defilement of deceit, and "fragrant" with the odor of sanctity. He will gain the confidence of the world and the reverence of Heaven. He will be able with comforting words to solace the afflicted, for it will be known that his consolations are sincere. He will reap in their fullest sense the "three fruits of the wheel." Conscious of its integrity his heart will be at peace, and he will be able to make sure progress towards perfection, in spite of any outward obstacles which may beset him.

V. The next commandment reminds us of the "jesting which is not convenient" condemned by St. Paul. It is translated into modern Japanese by *taogoto iwanu imashime*, and *taogoto* may be translated into Biblical phraseology by the word "stumbling-block." It is therefore a prohibition against saying anything which shall cause thy brother to offend.

It is observed, in the commentary which follows, that the man who follows out this commandment, will, while acting with perfect sincerity towards his associates, never sin against those usages which indicate good breeding. He will gain the respect of angels and men by his gravity, and preserve the bonds of friendship unbroken by his

sincerity. He will be a man who loves to be found not in the whirl of fashionable life, but in the calmness which characterizes those great souls who are in the world but not of it. He will love that reasonable conversation which is denominated as the silence of saints, avoiding all association with bad or worthless companions. And from the habits of mind thus formed he will merit to be born hereafter into a righteous sphere (zen-dō).

VI. *The prohibition against abusive language.* Like the two preceding commandments, it is shown that this commandment is only a secondary commandment, *i.e.*, that it depends really upon the heart rather than of the mouth.

Neither is it to be for one moment supposed that the man who uses abusive language in any sense injures the person whom he abuses. The injury is to himself, and this is to be seen best by contemplating the language and condition of the man who keeps himself pure from this sin.

VII. Neither need we dwell long on that refuge for cowards of all sorts—the sin of *backbiting and of a double tongue.* Who has not seen instances of the man that is always "on the fence," waiting for the results of events before he declare his opinion, and in the mean time giving expression to such colourless sentiments as shall enable him to take up whatever views shall prevail with as little prejudice to himself as possible; or who has not often times succumbed to the temptation of speaking the truth of an absent neighbour?

We are now brought to the consideration of the last group of sins, those which concern the heart.

VIII. *The prohibition of covetousness.* Covetousness may be defined as the desire of unlawful possession. Its cure is to be found in the absolute indifference to all possessions. In all ages and countries, covetousness has been at the root of all social evils. It is so now, and the

various efforts that are being made to combat the social evils—wealth and poverty, labour and capital—all come under the head of this commandment.

To cut off all desires is to free the soul from all wants because the possession of the soul alone is greater than all material wants. It is to free the soul from ambition, from desire of all sorts. Even virtue and happiness are not described, because he who has abandoned covetousness already possesses them. It is to make man absolutely perfect and self-contained and man can want no more than that.

Our writer does not, however, point out that to cut off desires is not the way to kill the sin of covetousness. Covetousness can only be killed by thoroughly *satisfying the soul*.

It is just here that the Lesser Vehicle Buddhism fails. It is merely negative: the soul of man wants something more than a negation to satisfy it. The very history of Japanese Buddhism shows this. In its earliest stages, as represented now by the older sects, the Tendai, Shingon and Zen, it represents a pure negation. Quench your desires and you will be happy.

In its later developments it seems to have come to the consciousness of the fact that the soul of man cannot be satisfied with such negations. Hence, in the Jōdo and Shin sects, Amida is offered to the soul as a personal saviour who can satisfy its longings. And then, as though conscious that Amida is not a reality, the Nichiren sect arises, which, in spite of its stern denunciation of Amida as a fraud, one invocation of whose name will bring with it a thousand years of purgatory, is, nevertheless, reckoned as a true Buddhist sect.

IX. *The prohibition against anger.* He that has conquered the sin of anger has overcome pain, for anger is the result of pain in the heart. He has also conquered selfishness, and desire of having the mastery; and has

learned patience and meekness. Such a man can "receive" that heart of practical mercy which distinguishes the saints; nay, the very aspect of his countenance, and his bearing will show the peace that is within his heart. He has conquered this world; patience and meekness have opened to him the world of the Buddhas.

X. Lastly, *prohibition against harbouring depraved thoughts* is set before us as the sum total of all the commandments. It is at the root of all the others. If a man has learned to regulate all his thoughts he is master of himself. Master of himself, he is master of the universe. He is perfect, and can live henceforth without any restraint, because he has become a law unto himself. He is perfect, and henceforth attains to the completion of knowledge and enlightenment. It is, in fact, equivalent to the triumph over pain and ignorance which leads to Nirvana.

In a further lecture on the Decalogue, Mr. Unsho points out that there are two sides to these prohibitions—a negative and a positive. Not only are certain vices prohibited, but the contrary virtues are commanded. The same distinction will be found in almost any Christian treatise on our Ten Commandments.

The Decalogue further finds its perfection in the six transcendental virtues; they are the source of all goodness, they are absolutely necessary and indispensable. They are; charity, morality, patience, energy, tranquil contemplation, wisdom.

But we ask on what authority are these commandments based? They are to be found in several of the Sutras. We will quote at length from one which will serve as a pattern of the rest.

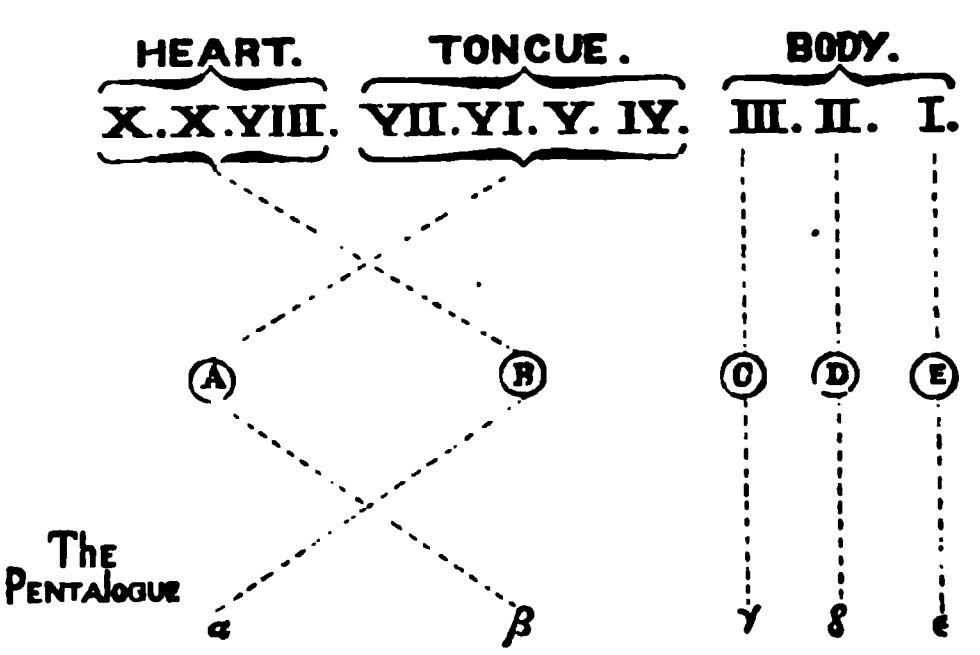
The Karma Vibhaga Sutra says: "Buddha declared that there were ten kinds of works which led to birth in human form: 1. Not to kill; 2, not to steal; 3, not to commit adultery; 4, not to use immoral language; 5, not

to equivocate; 6. not to slander; 7. not to lie; 8. not to covet; 9. not to indulge in anger; 10. not to envy or indulge in partiality."

The above quotation I make from Mr. Beal's Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese. It will be noticed that his terms are not quite those that I have used, but I think I have faithfully represented my Japanese authority.

There is another catalogue of sins and prohibitions called the *Go Kai*, which sums up all these precepts under five heads. The subjoined table adapted from a similar table n a Japanese paper[27] will show the correspondences between these two sets of commandment and also the five Confucian principles of morality.

The ten Commandments are arranged thus:



The five Confucian principles of morality are:

A. Truthfulness.

B. Wisdom.

C. Ceremonials (good manners).

D. Justice.

E. Benevolence.

The five Buddhist commandments are those most usually found in Japanese books of morality:

α. The prohibition against intemperance

β. The prohibition against lying.

[27] The *Bukkyō*, Nov., 1893.

γ. The prohibition against adultery.

δ. The prohibition against theft.

ϵ. The prohibition against taking life.

It will be seen that this classification is not nearly so complete as the other. I think myself that it is due to an attempt at harmonizing Confucian and Buddhist Ethics.

There is again another classification which divides prohibited actions into eight classes. This is called in Japanese the *hak-kai* and corresponds with the Noble Eightfold path propounded by Buddha in the earlier stages of his teaching. The sins thus prohibited are: 1. Taking life; 2. theft; 3. fornication; 4. lying; 5. wine drinking; 6. lying on a large bed; 7. personal ornaments; 8. dancing and singing. Some of these prohibitions as, *e.g.*, No. 6, are absolutely unnecessary in a country like Japan, whilst the tenth commandment of the Jū Zen covers all that is harmful in wine drinking, personal ornaments, dancing and singing.

It remains for us to point out that morality by itself is not a sufficient guide. Morality must be accompanied by enthusiasm, and enthusiasm must be kindled by a person or a personified principle. In the case of Buddhism, the person is Sakya Muni, the personified principle is supplied by the Buddhas of the Great Vehicle, those mysterious Buddhas who are supposed to have come forth "out of the Nothing into here," to develop and complete the teachings of Sakya Muni, and who are themselves in some way mysteriously connected with the Buddha.

NICHIREN.

I

A lowly cottage, thatched with straw of rice,
With dirty mats, and beams begrimed with smoke
From the rude hearth that smouldered in the midst,
With half-charred logs that crackled as they burned,
And sent up showers of sparks against the roof:
While, to the right, a little room leads off,
Clean-matted, with a desk and pile of books,
And pens and ink-tray: on the wall, a scroll,
Gray with old age, with figures indistinct
Of venerable Bodhisats, who sit
Cross-legged upon their lotus-leaves, and bless
With three uplifted fingers all the world,
And by the desk, with open book, a man,
Dressed as a peasant, yet, upon his face,
A look that marks him for a gentleman.

And, with his hand upon the open page,
His eye has wandered to the lattice door,
That stands wide open, giving him a view
Across the garden, with its humble crop
Of sweet potatoes, endives, cucumbers,
With here and there a stray neglected flower.

Hence runs a pathway, marked with sunken stones,
Down to a still dark pond, where, from the ooze,

The lotus pushes its broad petals forth,
And fills the air with beauty. Further yet,
The moss-grown village sloping to the sea,
The beach alive with boats and men and nets,
And gleaming fish that struggle on the sands,
Seeking escape in vain; the broad expanse
Of sea, sail dotted with the fisher boats;
And in the far horizon, a blue line,
Ridges that stretch far eastward, and the pines
Fringing the white streak of the breaking surf.

Seeing, he saw not;—for his restless mind
Had long since fled beyond those distant hills
To where in happier days he served his lord,
A feudal baron in the western land,
Near to the city, where, invisible,
The Emperor kept the shadow of his state.
Right faithfully he served, in war and peace,
Till, on some baseless charge of treachery,
His lord, with sudden-kindled prejudice,
Degraded Nukina from all his rank,
And stripped him of his farm, and banished him
From Court and office, home and family.
So in that village by the eastern sea,
Remote from all the bustling haunts of men,
He lived an outcaste, midst the fisher folk,
Rough, boisterous men, whose thoughts were strange to his
Unfriended and alone.
Yet found he one,—
A maid,—that felt compassion for his woes,
And learned to love the exile, and at last,
Braving the ignorant scandal of the beach,
Mated with him, and cheered his lonely lot.

Whilst thus he mused, behind the sliding-screen,
That shut off part of this small tenement,

There broke upon his ear a sound of groans,
Mingled with women's whispers, comforting
Some unseen sufferer, and the hurried beat
Of footsteps speeding past to seek for aid,
Then all was hushed, and then a feeble cry
As of a new-born babe, and, presently,
The screen slid back, and, lo! an aged dame,
With blackened teeth, and wrinkled countenance,
Bore safe within her arms an infant boy,
And laid him gently at his father's feet.
"See what thy wife has given thee: wilt thou have it?"

He started from his reverie, and smiled
Upon his first-born, as he lay and stretched
His tiny limbs, and yawned, and gasped for breath,
Seeking the comfort of his mother's breast,
With instinct placed by Heaven within His soul.

Just then the morning sun peeped from a cloud
That cast its shadow on the southern sea,
With one bright ray upon the infant face,
Revealing all its beauty:

"See," he cried,
"The Sun of Righteousness shines on the just
"In spite of man's disfavour. I accept
"The gift that Heaven has given me, and call
"His name Zennichi—Son of Righteousness."

II.

A solitary lad upon the rocks,
Gazing out seaward, where the angry wind
Lashes the eastern wave to furious wrath,
And tossing billows crested with foam

Sweep roaring to the shore, and beat themselves
In anger purposeless against the cliffs.
And in his eye there stands a briny tear,
Salt as the ocean spray upon his face,
That dims, but quenches not the hidden fire,
That flashes forth from the volcanic soul,
And shakes with vehemence his slender frame,
"Fiends! how I hate them!"—and he ground his teeth.
And clutched convulsively with twitching grasp,
As though he seized some foeman by the throat,
And choked his life out in his righteous wrath.

For that day, as he played upon the shore,
Zennichi's wrath was kindled—for he met
A crowd of ragged urchins from the boats,
Teasing a fledgling sparrow they had caught,
With pole and birdlime in the bamboo grove,
And, as they tore it with malicious glee,
Zennichi's anger boiled within his soul,
And forth the words came rushing from his heart:

"Shame be upon you! What! is this your sport
To gather round in cruel merriment
And work your tortures on a harmless bird,
Sharer with you of life and Heaven's air?
Shame! let it go, I tell you let it go,
And turn to worthier pastime. What say you
To have a game of soldiers on the beach?
With drums and waving swords and sandy forts?
Come, I will be the Captain"

But the lads,
For that they hated this poor slender boy,
That ever frowned upon their barbarous sports,
And loved the beasts they tortured in their play,

And wept to see the wounded hare, or doe,
Or trout that floundered on the angler's hook;
With many a taunt and bitter unkind word,
Such as boys love to fling upon their mates,
Bandying words whose force they know not of,
Drove him away—"What is it, pray, to you?
The bird is our's—yes our's by captor's right,
To do with as we please—and none of yours;
We don't want you to come and play with us:
Wait till you're asked,—you outcast vagabond."
With that they laughed, and ran away from him,
Bearing their dying captive in their hands.
And, as they turned the corner, where the boats
Stood drawn up high and dry upon the sands,
They stopped and pelted him with shells and stones,
And hooted at him with derisive words:
"Ah! who would be a banished outcast's son!"
With that, the lad, his heart brim full of wrath
That sought to quench itself in silent tears,
Betook him to his perch upon the rocks
And gazed out seaward at the angry waves,
Lashed into fury by the raging wind,
That seemed to find an echo in his breast.

There, all alone,—in that blest solitude,
When none are near to fan the flame of wrath,
Where God, unknown, speaks to the heart of man
By sighing winds, and roaring waves, and trees
That murmur as they bend before the wind,
And all the many voices of the earth—
The boy's heart seemed to lull itself to rest,
Responding to the wild wind's lullaby.
Then as he thought of all this bright, fair world
And all its pain—this world he loved so well—
For every flower that bloomed upon the hills

Spoke to him as a friend, from eye to eye,
With wordless *motions* reaching to the heart;
And every bird, that sung upon the lea,
Spoke in a tongue he seemed to know by heart;
And every beast, that walked upon the land,
Zennichi knew it, and its haunts and cry;
And two wild foxes from their lair close by,
Among the tangled scrub behind the house,
Came at his cry and took the food he gave,
Nor feared his hand, but gambolled in the grass,
And fawned like spaniels, answering to their names
Of Hō and *Myō*.—The foolish villagers,
Fearing the witching power of the fox,
The evil spirit incarnate,—shrank from him
As one whose spirit was akin to ill,
Else had he feared to league himself with these,
Hell's ministers, for, ofttimes in the dusk
The peasant, home returning from his field,
Meeting a fox, is all bereft of sense,
Speechless and powerless to think or act.
Thus all the village feared the gentle lad,
As one in league with devils, and himself
Conversant with infernal powers and spells.

Thus thinking of the grief that mars the earth,
The pain that comes from Nature's broken law,
The evil thing called sin, he gazed to sea,
And drew the keen salt breeze into his lungs,
And felt the strength and solace of the wind
Revive his spirits, and within him rose
A strong desire, such as stirs within
The hearts of those whom Heaven chooses out
To be Apostles, preaching righteousness.
"They call me beggar, outcast, vagabond,
Spurning my father and his miseries!

"Poor souls, they know not Nature, nor the love
That reigns in all things animate, and binds
Man to his fellow,—man to everything
That lives and moves, and feels the mighty pulse
That throbs within the One Heart of the World.
Poor souls! yet I who know the better law,
Taught by an instinct kindlier and true,
Shall I not strive to teach their ignorance,
And spread amongst them that great law of love?"
Thus he—not knowing yet the perfect Law,
But groping for the Light he dimly saw,
With great compassion for the sins of men,
Desired to be a Saviour; from that hour
Zennichi's heart was set to be a priest.

III.

A road-side inn, beside a sluggish stream
That winds across the plains into the sea,
And bears upon its bosom clumsy boats
Laden with rice, or charcoal, and long rafts
Of rough-hewn timber from the distant hills.

And from the inn a host of tiny flags
Welcome the traveller with silent show
Demonstrative of hospitality.
Whilst underneath, upon the raised floor,
Sit host and hostess, serving man and maids,
And with loud cries of welcome long drawn out
Receive the traveller, as he stops to rest
And pass the midday hour;—and peeps beyond
Into the kitchen, where, with ceaseless talk,
And bustling clatter amidst pots and pans,
The cooks are busied with the simple meal
That suits a simple folk. Anon, a priest,

Slender, erect, and straight of limb, and tall
With bright eye gleaming from an active soul,
And lips that speak determined force of will,
Such as could force a sin and conquer it
Or sway with eloquence a furious crowd ;
His dusty cassock tucked up round his waist,
And on his back a little oilskin pack
That held his property ; and round his wrist
The rosary of beads where on to pray,
And, in the bosom of his folded dress,
A carved image of the mighty Lord,
The Indian Buddha.

Thus he came,
And sat him down upon the daïs floor,
Beside the great hibachi of mine host,
And sipped his tea, and took his simple bowl
Of rice, and beans.

Whilst thus he sat, there came
A troop of children, rushing from behind,
And filling all the air with noisy shouts,
Some running on in front, while others dragged
A cart with creaking wheels, and filled with dolls ;
Dolls, such as children in all countries love,
Old ones with battered faces, broken arms
And minus legs—and in the midst of these
Like some great giant on a pigmy ship
There rode in state, with shattered hands and arms,
Wanting a nose and ear, begrimed with dirt,
And bearing signs of dastardly neglect,
An image of the Buddha.

When the priest,
Turning to watch the children at their games,
Beheld the holy idol in such plight,
Irreverently jostled by the boys,
His face flushed anger, and his fingers twitched,
With boiling passion, though his tongue was tied.

Then with one stride he dashed among the boys,
Who fled with terror at this fierce attack,
And tore the holy idol from its cart,
And bore it gently back into the house,
As one would lift the object of his love
Bearing her out of danger ;—then he turned
And spoke in quiet accents, as a man
Speaks, when his will subdues his mighty wrath :—
"How came these children by this holy thing ?"

To whom the host with cringing reverence,
"Nay, reverend Sir, this is no holy thing,
Though once we deemed it such—for, you must know,
The learned Shinran lately passed by here,
From Kamakura—the great holy priest,
Who spoke of the one Buddha, Amida,
And told us that we need but trust in him
And with thankful heart repeat the words
'Hail, Amida the Buddha !'—As for him
Whose image you have rescued from the cart,
He told us it was vain to trust in him,
Who bid men save themselves by works of law
A long circuitous journey, whereas now,
'Believe and you are saved by Amida !'
And so this idol that you snatched away,
As being useless to us, we had stored
In one of the outhouses, where the lads
Found it and took it for their childish game."
Felt his heart sink within him :—for it seemed
As though the sun were darkened in the heaven,
And Renchō, when he heard the landlord's words,
And all the brightness of the Truth were gone.

For, in the Temple by the eastern sea—
Kyosumidera, with its aged priest

Dōzen—the boy Zennichi had become
Renchō the priest,—and Dōzen's mouth had taught
Renchō the mysteries of the holy law
Of Buddha, those that Kōbō brought with him
From China—*Shingon*, "world of Truth," a path
By fasting, prayer, and pious formulas
To reach unto the holy truth that leads
To Buddhahood, true Wisdom of the Soul.
And scarce a murmur of the wicked act
That preached of Amida and His Paradise,
Wherein all men may enter just by faith,
Had reached that quiet village. So the years
Passed by in stillness—till the lad became
The full-grown priest, with faith, deep, clear and strong,
For all the mighty wisdom that there lies
In that great Faith of Buddha and the love
For sinful men ensnared in error's net,
Without one hope of ever being freed,
Save one should teach them—filled his ardent soul
With that pure fire that makes a man a saint.
But in that Temple was there dearth of books,
And Dōzen seeing Renchō's eager zeal
To press into the deepest mysteries,
Was fain awhile to lose his company
And bid him venture forth into the world,
And seek elsewhere for learning more profound
Than a poor village temple could afford;
And Renchō, nothing loth to see the world,
Shouldered his pack, and tucked his cassock high,
And staff in hand, set forth from home to walk,
Across Musashi's solitary plain,
Where long years afterward great Yedo rose,
To seek the Shōguns Kamakura court,
And all the holy priests assembled there.

So with a righteous grief within his soul,

Renchō went upon his lonely road:
"Alas! the Holy Faith is well-nigh dead,
The image of its Founder being cast
To bats and mice in some dark dirty barn,
And dragged by children through the streets in play.
Ah me!"—and then there rose within his heart
Some dim foreboding of a work to come,
A burden laid on him to purify,
Reform, restore and build the Faith again,
And, his warm heart responding to the hand
That laid the burden on it, and he strode on
With firmer stride, and figure more erect,
Conscious of hidden purpose, power and sanctity.

IV.

Kyōsumidera by the Eastern sea;
And all the peasants of the neighbourhood
Come flocking through the Temple gates in crowds,
And take their seats upon the matted floor,
Or crouch upon the wooden steps in front
And wait the Preacher's advent.—For they hear
That Renchō preaches his first sermon there.
And some old men are mindful of the day
When Renchō's father—sitting there apart,
With fond paternal pride, to hear his son—
First came, an exile, to the fisher town;
And others mindful of the slender lad
Zennichi, whom they all disliked at school,
And how he loved the speechless beasts and birds,
And how they pelted him and called him names,
And all remembered how, ten years ago,
He left the village temple and remained
Long years a travelling student, wandering
To all the famous temples in the land,
In search of wisdom, and religious lore;

And how returning he seemed shy and sad,
Keeping his counsel, and refused to speak
Of all the men and marvels he had seen.
For when they asked him of the Shōgun's Court
At Kamakura, hoping for some tale
About the lords and warriors of the place,
He answered them about the myriad shells
Dancing in sunlight on the wave-beat shore;
Or when they spoke of the Imperial town,
Kyōtō, or of Nara midst the hills,
Or Hiyeizan's far-famed monastery,
And how the faith progressed throughout the land,
He said that at Kyōtō all the trees
Were white with cherries; that the wind blew strong
On Hiyeizan, and Nara's snows were deep.
But not one word he spoke where with to feed
The spiritual hunger that was in their souls.
But now the time of silent thought was done,
Renchō was going to preach.
And all the folks
Came, wondering what the sermon would be like.
Dōzen was there, the aged priest, who first
Had given the tonsure to the wayward lad
Zennichi,—and by her husband sat,
His aged mother—beaming with the pride
A mother feels in listening to her son;
And Tōjō too was there, the governor
Of all that province, for he too had heard
Of Rencho's fame and now was hither drawn.
Then when the drums were silent which were beat
As preludes to the service, Renchō straight
Mounted the pulpit and with steadfast look,
Changing the phrase where with the priests were wont
To preface their orations, ten times cried,
"Hail to the scripture of the Holy Law,"
And raised a book above his head, and there,

Striking the desk with his uplifted hand,
Commenced to speak:—
"The time has come," he said,
"When Buddha's holiest law should be proclaimed,
The last and noblest teaching that he gave.
For verily the faith is flickering out,
And few there are that know the path of life.
For look you, brethren, in this land of ours
The teaching of the Buddha which was one,
Is broken into sects, and heresies,
Each claiming to be Buddha's truth, yet each
Presenting doctrines contradictory.
For we, my brethren, in this Shingon sect
Exalt the great Dainichi, whom they call
Vairocana the Wisdom of the World,
And with much show of wisdom, many charms,
And incantations, seek to bolster up
This substitute for Shaka's simple creed.
Whilst in a Temple not a mile from here,
The priests of Zen, professing to be taught
From heart to heart a secret form of Truth
That passes words and knowledge, make themselves
The laughing-stock of all the neighbourhood,
With their contemplative retirement
Thinking of nothing,—sleeping half the time,
And feeding on the nightmares of their dreams.

"Or, if you like we'll take the Jōdo sect,
Which late has shown such vigour in our land,
With Shiuran for its prophet—what of it?
The blankest, soul-destroying, heresy,
That puts a fable in the place of Truth
And preaches Amida—who's Amida?
And what is all this Jōdo ritual
But crying 'Nembutsu in a horse's ear?'

What need I speak about that mongrel creed
That seeks to patch a worn-out cloak afresh
With brand new pieces of a different hue,
And grafts the Buddhas on the ancient stock
Of Shinto gods or demi-gods, and thus,
Serving two masters,—learns to serve the times,
But, slave to error, cannot serve the Truth?
But in this book from which I preach to-day,
The last and holiest of Shaka's law,
Saddharma pundarika—Hokekyō—
The Lotus Scripture of the Holy Law,
I find the truest teaching of the Lord,
That highest form of doctrine which he gave
To be the lasting guide of future years.
Listen, my brethren, while I teach it you."

But, as a lion growling in his wrath,
So from his audience came a murmuring sound,
Muffled at first, but growing to a roar,
And all the people rose upon their feet
And cursed him loudly for a heretic
That durst blaspheme the mighty Amida,
And ridicule the holy priests of Zen,
And like a bird that fouls its native nest
Proclaim the Shingon as a sect of fools!
And as the uproar grew, and men dispersed
In quest of swords and sticks, as men are wont
To back the unrighteous cause with violence,
Then Dōzen softly drew to Renchō's side,
And plucked him by the sleeve, and whispered him
To pass out quietly and leave the hall,
Lest bloodshed bring disgrace upon the scene
And thus the Holy Temple be defiled.
So Rencho passed away, and fled the land,
Going he knew not where—and presently,

The author of the mischief being away,
The crowds dispersed in peace—yet many bore
The seeds of Rencho's doctrine in their hearts

V.

A dip amongst the sand hills by the sea,
Far from all haunts of men—and in the dip
A shed of loose construction, fit to serve
For temporary shelter from the sun
Or sudden bursting tempest: overhead
The placid moon beams on the peaceful scene.
And, by the narrow path that winds amongst
The tall grass in the bottoms and the pines
Of stunted growth that crown the sandy hills,
A young priest wanders with uncertain step,
As one who, having lost his way, scarce knows
Which way to turn his sore and weary foot;
Slow coming to the shed, from which the sound
Of muttered prayers and chaunts monotonous
Proclaims the presence of some anchorite,
Who in this wild and solitary spot
Makes his devotions.

"By our leave, fair Sir,
If that I may disturb you at your prayers,
I fain would known where dwells a priest of fame
Whom once I knew at Hiyeizan when we
Were students there together."—

"A priest, say you?
What was his name?"

"Rencho, his name, fair Sir,
A priest of noble stature, tall and slim,
With sharp cut features, strong ascetic mien,
And eyes that flashed forth fire from his soul.
A learned priest."

"Renchō, my friend, is gone:
And Nichiren now lives in Renchō's stead;
I am the man you seek for. Your request?"
Whereat the younger priest, on bended knees,
Bowed down in fear, and worshipped Nichiren:
"O Lord," said he, "for surely Lord art thou
Whose wisdom seems like Buddha's—I have heard
Of all thy learning, and the truth that hangs
Upon thy lips, and therefore am I come.
For truly in the halls at Hiyeizan
I learned to venerate that holy book
Saddharma pundarika—Hokekyō—
The last and holiest book of Shaka's law:
But as it seemed to me, there hung a veil
Upon the face of all that studied it,
And none could penetrate its inmost sense.
Thus what should be the mainstay of our life
Became our poison. Therefore when I heard
That thou hadst reached into the very heart
And essence of the highest form of Truth,
I purposed to come to thee and hear
From thine own lips the truths that thou hast found.
But when I came to yonder eastern shore
Across the bay, to that religious house,
Kyosumidera, I found them all in wrath,
Saying that thou wert mad, for thou hadst preached
Blaspheming words against the holy sects
That flourish in this land, and didst extol
Saddharma pundarika—Hokekyō—
As the sole Scripture of the Lotus Law.
What mad? thought I.—Nay, in the company
Of fools the wise man seemeth to be mad,
For wisdom ever weareth cap and bells
When fools do judge of her. Therefore the more
I sought thee that thou mightest be my Lord
And I thy servant."

"Nay, no servant thou.
They who in evil times defend the Truth
Are warriors, but not servants,—therefore thou
Mayst be my soldier.
"Canst thou bear the fight,
The veiled neglect, the hard indifference,
The bitter scorn and base malignity
That officed Error bears against the Truth
Left in the cold outside? Or canst thou be
Naught but a voice that, through long weary years,
Cries in the desert of the coming dawn,
To men whose ears and eyes are closed and barred
To every access of unwelcome facts,
Who love the shadow-battles of the night
Above the glorious victory of Truth?
Remember, I alone fight 'gainst the World,
And none there are to help me, but the Truth
And my good conscience. Shouldst thou follow me,
Naught have I but the Truth to offer thee.
Promotion cometh not to such as me
That dare to think against the current thought.
Therefore, bethink thee, ere thou follow me."

To whom the other: "Yea, my Lord I can
Stand with thee 'gainst the tide of current thought.
For I have found the current thought but vain,
And all this jargon of the Vehicles,
Wherein men ride according to their powers
To various havens, heavens, or nothingness,
Are but the fancied dreams of foolish men.
For Truth is *One*, and Shaka's Truth is *One*,
And that Great Heart that beats in all the world
Is only *One*, and thus the Hope of Man
Is only *One*—and thou, O Lord, hast dared
To teach this Oneness in diversity,
So will I follow thee, thou holy man."

VI

A sudden storm upon the rock-bound coast
Of Idzu, and amidst the waves a ship,
With low-reefed sail scudding before the wind
To gain the safety of the open sea.
Near it a low rock, half a mile from land,
The home of gulls and sea mews, where the spray,
Dashing with fury covers all the crag
With snow-white foam, and, underneath, the tide
Roars like the thunder through the hollow cave,
And undermining tunnels.
On the rock,
With rosary in hand, his bright eye fixed
In meditation, stands a priestly man,
And heedless of the tumult of the storm,
Recites his evening orisons—as though
He knelt in peace within some country shrine
Embosomed in a pine grove's holy calm.

For in the Shōgun's town, Kamakura,
Daily from early morn to dewy eve,
Choosing some crowded corner of the street,
Our Nichiren had preached the holy Law
That he had found within the Lotus-book;
And when the crowd, attracted by the drum,
And loud stentorian voice of him that spake,
Had gathered round to hear him, he denounced
With measureless invective all the sects
That called themselves the Buddha's following,
That neither knew, nor loved, nor followed
The teachings of their Lord.
And some that heard
Passed with a sneering shrug—"Look at that fool!
This comes from over-study:—he is *mad*.
Andn too much learnig's done it."

But the rest,
Wincing at some home thrust—some bitter taunt
That laid right bare some hidden course of sin,
Laughed,—but with anger—and the angry laugh
Gave birth to ruder violence, till the crowd
Jostled the preacher from his vantage coign,
And drove him off with sticks and flying stones.
But Nichiren, undaunted, came again,
And with the sun's first rays began to preach
The same old sermon, crying in the streets
To shame the false professors of the Law,
And every night at sunset he returned
To that lone cottage 'midst the shifting dunes,
Where, by the dim light of a rustic lamp,
He penned a book—the mirror of his soul—
Strong, vehement, and couched in bitter words,
In which he prayed the Shōgun's Majesty
To take good counsel for the Empire's weal,
And extirpate these shoots of heresy
That choke the good seed of the Holy Law.
For, verily, the Ruler's chief concern should be
To make Religion prosper—and the Truth
Alone can make a nation's lasting Peace.

But when the Shōgun read the audacious book
That dared to speak so fiercely of the Church,
And macerate the sins of vicious priests,
Exposing to the world schismatic ways
And paths of heresy, his heart was stirred
To anger, and he banished Nichiren
To rocky Idzu.—"There, my gentleman,
Preach till you're hoarse about the Lotus law,
And save the crows from schism and heresy."

So Nichiren was placed upon a ship and sent
Across the bay to Ito; where the sea,

With roaring breakers, beat against the shore,
And boiling surf was dashed against the cliffs,
And sudden tempest lashed the pent-up waves,
Which, when the mariners beheld, they feared
A near approach, and coming to a rock,
The home of gulls and seamews, far from land,
They made their captive leave the ship and leap
Upon the rocky islet—"In that bay,"
They cried, "lies Ito, now your prison-home.
When the sea calms, then you may swim to shore."
With that they turned, and stood to sea, and left
Poor Nichiren alone upon that rock.

But he, as one inured to danger, stood
Upon the level summit of the isle,
Beaten with surf and howled around by wind,
And from his breast produced the well-thumbed book,
And, standing there in posture worshipful,
Intoned his evening orisons, and his voice,
Rising above the discord of the storms,
Was borne upon the gale towards the shore
Like some loud signal bell upon a buoy
That sounds to warn the mariners from harm.

Just then an aged sailor from his hut,
That nestled half-way up the hollow chine,
Embowered in orange trees, came out to view
The havoc of the tempest. As he stood,
The loud, shrill, cadence of the Buddhist prayers
Struck on his ear, and looking out to sea,
He saw upon the distant isle of rock
A priest, unmoved, saying evensong,
Right in the cauldron of the boiling surge,
"Ah me!" cried he, "some shipwrecked traveller,

Thrown from his ship into the stormy deep,
Has swum to that precipitous rock, and climbed
Its slippery sides:—e'en now, methinks, he prays;
And I'm the answer heaven has sent to him."

With that he strode down to the roaring beach
And launched his skiff, and sculled her out to sea,
Nor recked of danger, till he reached the shore,
And safe returning brought the priest to land.
There in that cottage in the leafy chine,
Close to a spring that bubbles from the earth,
Boiling as from some cauldron underground,
Three years the aged sailor and his wife
Tended the exiled Nichiren with care
And fond attention, like their only son,
And he, who had no silver in his purse,
No earthly power of recompense, bestowed
That which he had—the gift of Truth—and taught
The Lotus Scripture of the Holy Law,
And all the saving doctrine.

Thus it came,
That out of evil Heaven contrived the good,
And even in that mountain land remote,
The drum of righteousness began to beat.

VII.

Crowds in the dusty thoroughfares,
And on all faces dwells a look of fear.
And at a corner near the palace gate
There stands a crowd around the meagre priest
Who, with excited look and eager voice,
Is stirring up the fear-struck crowd to wrath:
"Did I not tell you ofttimes, as I stood
Here at this corner, that the wrath of Heaven

Hung o'er this land, her people and her lords ?
Yet you believed me not, and when I strove
With earnestness to witness to the truth,
And root out error, you misliked my words,
And sought to take my life by guile or force.
Yes ; and the Shōgun too became my foe,
And drove me hence to exile.—But you see
Now, that I spoke the Truth : the stroke of Heaven
Has fall'n with pestilence upon the land ;
Who amongst you that mourns not for his dead,
Snatched from him prematurely by the plague
That spares nor lowly hut nor royal halls ?
And has there not been fear throughout the land
Of fierce invasion by the Mogul hordes ?
Do not your hearts now fail you ?—Do ye ask,
Why this distress—this fear,—this pestilence ?
Look at yourselves, your sins, your heresies !
They are the cause of all your present woes :
Therefore be guided ere it be too late.
Denounce these wicked teachers and their ways,
Weary the Shōgun with your boisterous plaints,
Till Truth prevail and it be deemed a crime
To offer up a prayer to Amida,
Or meditate on nothing or repeat
The silly sounds of mystic Sanskrit words,
Save only such as from the Hokekyō
I and I only can expound to you."
So day by day before the palace walls
Our Nichiren provoked them with his talk,
Lashing their errors with his scathing tongue ;
And day by day the people's murmurs grew
Louder and stronger, and the active foes
Of Nichiren besought the Shōgun's self
Once and for all to stay the preacher's tongue,
Lest his fierce eloquence disturb the state.

So from the palace went the officers
With swords and staves and dragged him from his post,
Right in the fervid midst of his harangues,
And led him forth to die upon the sands
By virtue of the mandate of their lord.
There where the solitary sand hills stretch
Towards Enoshima and the jutting crag
Of Koshigoye, the sad cavalcade
Stopped and the prisoner, kneeling on a mat,
Prepared himself to meet a martyr's death.
Thrice, as he knelt upon the mat and prayed,
With rosary in hand, and face up-turned,
"Hail to the Scriptures of the Lotus Law,"
He gave the signal to the officer
Who stood with sword drawn for the deadly stroke.
Thrice did the doughty executioner
Upraise the flashing blade as though to strike.
And, thrice the lightning from the angry sky
Descending stayed the uplifted stroke of death,
And all men stood and wondered! and he rose
Acquitted by the open doom of Heaven,
As one on whom the hand of death had lost
Its power—one brought back from death to life.
Henceforth, unlet, he went upon his way,
And, with a power from another world,
Preached to the people from his holy book,
And taught the One True Path of Buddha's Law,

CONCLUSION.

A quiet tomb amidst the pine-clad hills
Of Ikegami, looking o'er the sea
Towards the mountains of that eastern land
Where Nichiren was bred, and where he preached
His first great sermon on the Lotus Law.
And near the tomb a pair of temples stand

Embowered in sombre pines, and worshippers
Offer unceasing prayers, and noisy drums,
By day and night proclaim the holy Law,
That came to bring a sword throughout the land;
And peaceful pigeons flutter on the roofs
And build their nests beneath the mighty eaves,
Fittest inhabitants of sacred spots.

Of these twin Temples, one is plain and bare,
And on its unused floor are piled up
Benches, and boards, and timbers, broken lamps
And boxes full of mouldering properties
Right up to Shaka's lotus pedestal;
The other richly carved, with ornaments
Of gold and tinsel, costly lamps and seats,
And richly lacquered altars, upon which
There lie the sacrificial cakes of dough,
Perpetual offerings, and incense smoke
Sends up a ceaseless fragrance with the prayers
Of many worshippers, who bow before
The great red idol of Saint Nichiren!
Thus he who grieved because Lord Amida
Drove Shaka from his lotus pedestal,
Usurps himself the self-same upstart place.
And Shaka yields to greater Nichiren
The chief seat in the Temple and the heart!
So that great spendthrift son, Posterity,
Reverses all the labours of a life,
And builds a costly sepulchre to hold
The bones of him whose works it follows not!

So peace be to thy soul, good Nichiren,
And in that Unseen World, where thou art now,
May'st thou behold the Christ thou knew'st not here,
And so approach the highest realm of Truth,

The knowledge of the Father and the Son,
Wherein consists alone eternal life.

And thou, oh Christ, fulfil thy perfect work,
Build up thy Church with every gift and grace,
To show to men the wisdom manifold
That dwells in God—take to thyself once more
Thy Kingdom upon earth, and reign a king.

TRANSACTIONS

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